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The First
One Hundred
Years

Volume 2

Edited by
Ernest L. Wilkinson

Brigham Young
University Press

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Editor's Comment

As this second volume, which covers the administrations of Franklin S. Harris, Howard S. McDonald, and the first six years of Ernest L. Wilkinson, goes to press, the centennial year is well under way. Every effort has been made to maintain the standards of thoroughness, authenticity, propriety, and objectivity that were established for the first volume of this work. The editor was chosen for this project because, in the opinion of President Dallin Oaks, he knew more about the University during the twenty years of his presidency, when the school witnessed its greatest growth, than any other person. However, the editor recognized that this intimate acquaintance with and involvement in BYU history during the last twenty-five years posed problems as to the objectivity of this history. With this in mind, the editor submitted all of the chapters dealing with the Wilkinson Administration in this volume to a review committee composed of Leonard J. Arrington, LDS Church historian; Robert K. Thomas, academic vice-president of BYU; and Frank W. Fox, assistant professor of history at BYU. They have carefully reviewed the manuscript, have offered valuable suggestions for its improvement, and, in some instances, have revised the chapters. The editor is grateful to them for their assistance.

The acknowledgments in volume 1 enumerated the primary persons then working on this Centennial History. They also were largely responsible for a good part of volume 2. However, many of the original staff had to return to school work, and others have been recruited to work on volumes 2 and 3. The researchers working on all three volumes (who have varied from one to as many as five at one time) drafted summaries of their research, but these drafts have always been reviewed and rewritten by others, sometimes as many as ten or more times. The editor, who has carefully reviewed and revised all of the chapters, takes full responsibility for their contents. Valuable service has been and is being rendered by others on campus, many of whom are not a part of the Centennial History Staff. A more complete list of those who have contributed will appear in volume 3. With the assistance of all those who have contributed, the editor has hoped to make the history as accurate as possible. Considering the facts, which will be discussed in the third volume, that BYU, in addition to serving the 25,000 students on the Provo campus, now renders, in one way or another through our Division of Continuing Education, educational services for 262,000 enrollments and has over 157,000 alumni, this has not been an easy task. So much has happened in the one hundred-year-history of the University that it has been impossible to either relate or do justice to all of it. The project has been one of arduous labor, fraught with constant changes to accommodate newly discovered material.

The history is divided into presidential periods only for the convenience of chronology. All who have served during the respective presidential administrations are entitled to credit for the accomplishments which have been made. None of the presidents could have carried on the work of the University without the devotion of a loyal faculty, competent administrators, and a devoted staff of workers.

Ernest L. Wilkinson
August 1975

Brigham Young University

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Franklin Stewart Harris: The Right Man in the Right Place

LDS Commission of Education

As President George H. Brimhall devoted more of his time and energy to the supervision of the growing LDS seminary system during 1920 and 1921, he was able to give less time to Brigham Young University. In fact, during those two years an executive committee composed of Brimhall and his two counselors, Joseph B. Keeler and Amos N. Merrill, acted as an interim administration for the University until a new president could be selected.¹ This was also a time for changes in the entire LDS Church Educational System. On 3 April 1919 David O. McKay was appointed Church commissioner of education. He chose Stephen L Richards and Richard R. Lyman as his counselors. Commissioner McKay and his two counselors recommended on 16 July 1919 that Adam S. Bennion be appointed superintendent of Church schools.²

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1. Minutes of the Church Commission of Education, 11 May and 18 May 1920, 2727R, Church Historical Department (hereafter cited as Church Commission Minutes).
 2. Minutes of the General Church Board of Education, 16 July 1919, Church Historical Department (hereafter cited as General Board Minutes).



Apostles at 1922 BYU commencement,
including (left to right) John A. Widtsoe,
James E. Talmage, Joseph Fielding
Smith, Charles W. Penrose, President
Heber J. Grant, David O. McKay,
Stephen L. Richards, and Richard R.
Lyman.

President Grant realized that these men had more educational training than he, and he respected their judgment. The Church Commission acted under the direction of the First Presidency and the General Church Board of Education to formulate educational policy for Brigham Young University and the other LDS Church schools.

David O. McKay was ordained an apostle on 9 April 1906 at the age of thirty-two. A professional educator, he graduated from Weber Stake Academy in 1891 and the University of Utah in 1897. He was president of his senior class at the University of Utah and class valedictorian; his major field was English Literature. He taught in the Huntsville, Utah, public schools in 1895 and 1896. He served as principal of Weber Stake Academy from 1903 to 1908 and as assistant general superintendent of the Deseret Sunday School Union from 1906 to 1918. He was appointed general superintendent of the Deseret Sunday School Union in 1918 and served on the Board of Regents of the University of Utah from 1920 to 1922. In December 1920 President Grant commissioned him to make the first world-wide inspection tour of LDS Church missions. He visited the nations of the Far East, the islands of the Pacific, New Zealand, and Australia, and returned by way of Singapore, India, Egypt, Palestine, Italy, Scotland, and other countries.³ The tour encompassed almost 56,000 miles. Elder McKay married Emma Ray Riggs, daughter of Obediah H. Riggs, former territorial superintendent of schools, in whose home McKay boarded while attending the University of Utah. Joseph Anderson, who served for many years as secretary to the First Presidency, studied under David O. McKay at Weber Stake Academy during the 1903-4 school year. Mr. Anderson recalled that

David O. McKay was at that time a young man in his early thirties, and yet was principal of the academy. He was also

3. Ralph B. Simmons, comp., *Utah's Distinguished Personalities* (Salt Lake City: Personality Publishing Co., 1933), p. 148; and Joseph Fielding Smith, ed., *Essentials in Church History* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1973), pp. 537-39.

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June 19, 1908.

Elder Jesse Knight,
Provo, Utah.

Dear Brother Knight:

The letters that came about Commencement week have lain unanswered until this week. Yours mentioning the Karl S. Maeser Memorial Building was among them. I beg your pardon for my delay in answering.

Being on your list, and knowing what it means to solicit contributions to a new building, I willingly subscribe the \$100.00 you ask for. However, I must send it to you in installments, and I trust you will not need any from me for two months yet.

With best wishes, and kind personal regards to you and yours, I am

Your friend and brother,
David O. McKay.

the English teacher. He was then, as he remained during his entire life, a tall, handsome man with an outstanding personality, and was easily the greatest schoolteacher I remember. The lessons I learned in his English classes remained with me all my life. . . . He also won the love and admiration of the students by the way he taught us some of the English classics. He taught them in such a way that showed his great love for them and made them so come to life for us that few of us ever forgot them. I shall never forget the beauty of such literature as “The Lady of the Lake” and “The Princess” as taught to us by him. . . . President McKay was a man of action. Whenever a question was before him, he did not hesitate to act regarding it if he was satisfied that it was his responsibility and duty to act and when he felt that the inspiration of the Lord was directing him.⁴

Stephen L Richards, first assistant to Commissioner McKay, was ordained an apostle on 18 January 1917 at the age of thirty-seven. After graduating from the University of Utah he taught school in Cache County and then studied law at the University of Michigan and at the University of Chicago where he became intimately acquainted with Dean James Parker Hall of that school; Hall later said that Richards was the best student he had during his twenty-five years of deanship. After graduating from the University of Chicago in 1904, Elder Richards returned to Utah where he practiced law and became a member of the law faculty at the University of Utah. In 1917 he was being groomed to be governor of Utah, but he declined to run for that position after he was called to serve as a member of the Council of the Twelve Apostles.⁵ Like David O. McKay, Stephen L Richards served as a member of the general superintendency of the Deseret Sunday School Union. Observing Stephen L Richards as a member of the Council of the Twelve, Joseph Anderson

4. Joseph Anderson, *Prophets I Have Known* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1973), pp. 119-23.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 140.

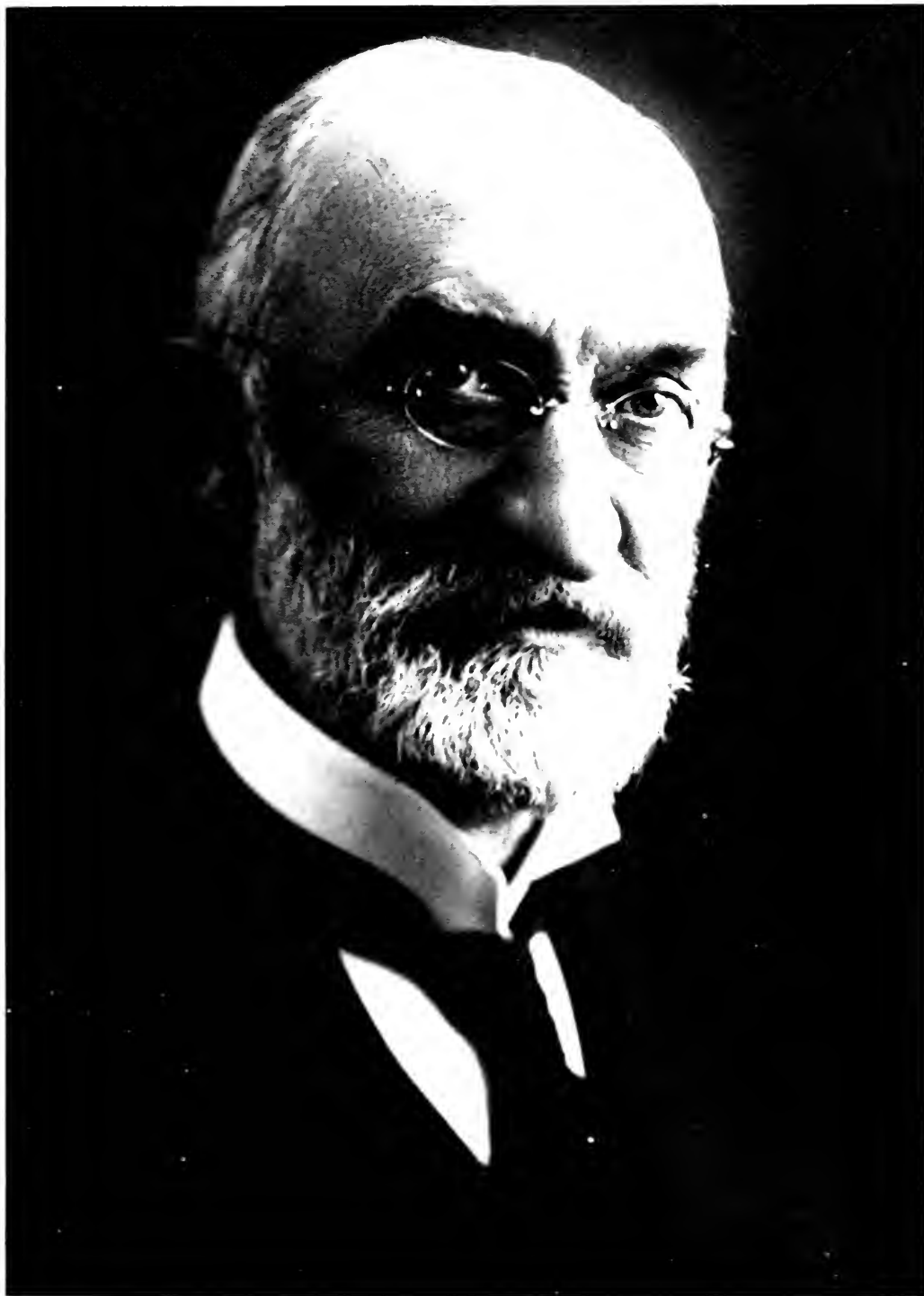
soon learned to watch his reactions to questions under discussion and discovered that not only was his opinion sound, given after thorough, analytical thinking, but that the recommendations that he frequently made after summing up the discussions very often became the sentiment of the group and the action of the Council. I found that this man had the happy faculty of being able to analyze a problem thoroughly, seemingly not overlooking any possible contingency. He had an astute, analytical mind, great wisdom and capacity, and his judgment was dependable. Perhaps he had attained these skills by a native intelligence highly trained in the legal profession.⁶

Along with his superior mental capacity, Stephen L Richards was a man of humble demeanor and consummate tact. David O. McKay probably relied on him more than any other man. President McKay not only selected him as assistant superintendent of Sunday Schools and as assistant commissioner of education, but later as first counselor in the First Presidency of the Church.⁷

Commissioner McKay's second assistant was Richard R. Lyman. Ordained an apostle on 7 April 1918 at the age of forty-seven, he was educated in the public schools of Utah. At Brigham Young Academy he was class president and business manager of the school paper. After graduating from the BYU Normal School in 1891, Lyman received his bachelor's degree in civil engineering from the University of Michigan in 1895. He was awarded his MCE degree at Cornell University in 1903 and his doctor's degree from Cornell in 1905. Elder Lyman was professor of civil engineering at the University of Utah from 1896 to 1922 and was largely responsible for establishing the School of Engineering at that university. He was a member of the Society for the Promotion of Engineer-

6. Ibid.

7. Elder Richards later was spokesman for the Executive Committee of the BYU Board of Trustees which recommended Ernest L. Wilkinson to be president of the school. President Richards had a heart condition which caused him to safeguard his health, and he preceded President McKay in death by nearly ten years.



Heber J. Grant, President of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints from 1918 to 1945.

ing Education in Utah and was awarded the Cross Gold Medal by the American Society of Civil Engineers in 1915.⁸

The fourth member and executive officer of the Church Commission of Education was Adam Samuel Bennion, another experienced professional educator. As early as 1915 he had been chosen by David O. McKay and Stephen L. Richards to be a member of the Board of the Deseret Sunday School Union.⁹ Bennion was educated in Utah public schools and received his A.B. degree at the University of Utah in 1908. He earned his master's degree from Columbia University in 1912 and did further graduate study at the University of Chicago. In 1923, after his appointment as superintendent of Church schools, he was awarded a doctor's degree by the University of California. He had been an instructor in English at LDS High School in Salt Lake City from 1909 to 1911, principal of Granite High School from 1913 to 1917, and assistant professor of English at the University of Utah from 1917 to 1919, when he was appointed superintendent of Church schools. He was one of the most dynamic and popular speakers in the Church and was in great demand by civic organizations.

Duties of the Commission of Education

Almost immediately following their appointment on 3 April 1919, the Commission of Education began formulating policy for Church schools that was almost always approved by President Grant and the General Church Board of Education. The Commission began its formal duties on 1 July 1919, at which time it became the "head of the Church School System."¹⁰ The commissioners outlined their duties to the presidents of the boards of the various LDS schools as follows:

-
8. Simmons, *Utah's Distinguished Personalities*, p. 139; and Anderson, *Prophets I Have Known*, p. 140.
 9. Adam S. Bennion in *Conference Report of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, April 1953, p. 113.
 10. Circular letter from the Church Commission of Education to presidents of all Church school boards, in Church Commission Minutes, 11 August 1919.



Adam S. Bennion, superintendent of LDS Church schools from 1920 to 1928, with his wife, Minerva, and son at Aspen Grove.

I. Duties of the Commission in cooperation with the General Church Board of Education:

1. To determine the policy of the Church School System of Education.
2. To recommend amount of Church appropriation.
3. To determine upon distribution of Church appropriation.
4. To approve of presidents, principals, and faculties as recommended by Boards of Education and the Church school superintendent.
5. To appoint Church school superintendent.
6. To call conventions and with the superintendent to arrange program of various sessions of the convention.
7. To assume the duties heretofore performed by the board of examiners.

II. Duties of the Superintendent:

1. To see that the educational policy of the Church schools is maintained at the highest efficiency.
2. To visit each school at least twice a year, except the four remote schools, which should receive one annual visit.
3. To keep the statistical records.
4. To recommend to the Commission new policies for the benefit of the Church school system.
5. To superintend and make effective all organizations included in the school system, as approved and established by the General Authorities and the Church Board of Education.

Concluding their letter, Commissioner McKay and his two assistants stated their philosophy of the role of LDS Church schools:

Seldom if ever have the different school systems throughout the land faced greater issues than those before them today. Our Church schools cannot avoid — even if it were desirable to do so — some of these problems. But it will be not an unpleasant task to meet them if in doing so we can be guided by the inspiration of the

Lord. The one important thing for the Church school workers to know and to know always is this: That everything done by Board, Faculty, or Student Body is done to further the Cause of Righteousness. Our one single purpose is to lead the boys and girls of the land to know the Truth as it has been revealed and to live in accordance therewith. Surely if this be our aim our Heavenly Father will shed the light of His Holy Spirit upon the pathway we tread.¹¹

Changes in the Church Educational System

The Commission of Education soon began to make extensive recommendations for improvement of the Church Educational System. Working to simplify the administration of Church schools, the Church Commission of Education recommended on 19 January 1920 “that the General Authorities of the Church do not serve as members of the Boards of Education of the various schools, with the exception of President Heber J. Grant, who under the law, must serve in a nominal way at least, as Chairman of some Boards.”¹² In February 1920 Commissioner McKay “proposed that all small Church Schools in communities where LDS influence predominates be eliminated and that we maintain four or five schools with the aim in view of giving first class training to teachers.” He also recommended training “strong men and putting them in charge of well organized and efficient seminaries which are to work in connection with the Church Authorities of the neighborhood.”¹³

In March 1920 the Commission wrote President Grant and members of the General Board of Education that limited Church revenues, requests for the establishment of additional Church academies, the need to raise teachers’ salaries in the existing Church schools, and the increasing number of state-supported public high schools demanded major changes in

11. Ibid.

12. Church Commission Minutes, 19 January 1920.

13. Church Commission Minutes, 24 February 1920.

the LDS educational system. The Commission recommended that the Church should

I. Eliminate the following academies, either

1. By selling the buildings and grounds to the state to be used as high schools; or
2. By using the property for other Church purposes: Emery Academy, Murdock Academy, St. Johns Academy, Cassia Academy, Millard Academy, Uintah Academy, Gila Academy, Snowflake Academy, Fielding Academy, and possibly Oneida Academy.¹⁴

II. Establish a two years' Normal College Course in centers supporting the following schools:

B.Y. University, B.Y. College, Weber Normal College, Snow Normal College, Ricks Normal College, Dixie Normal College.

They further recommended that "There should be one institution in the system at which a complete college course leading to a degree is offered and we recommend that this be the BYU at Provo. For this school, all the other normal colleges should be feeders."¹⁵

At a 13 April 1920 meeting of the Commission of Education, David O. McKay reported that either Dr. Franklin S. Harris, Dr. William W. Henderson, or Dr. Hugh M. Woodward could likely be appointed as the new head of Brigham Young College at Logan, subject to the consent of Dr. Elmer G. Peterson of Utah State Agricultural College.¹⁶ Franklin S. Harris was at the time director of the Utah State Agricultural Experiment Station and head of the Department of Zoology and Entomology at USAC; Henderson was principal of

14. In the original document there is a line drawn through "Gila Academy," and the word *hold* is written in after it. There is also a line drawn through the words *and possibly* which precede "Oneida Academy."

15. Church Commission of Education to Heber J. Grant and members of the General Church Board of Education, 3 March 1920, 2727R, Church Historical Department.

16. Church Commission Minutes, 13 April 1920.

Weber Academy; Woodward had been president of Dixie Normal College in St. George, Utah, from 1914 to 1918 and was on leave as assistant director of educational work for the U.S. Bureau of Public Health in Washington, D.C. Henderson was appointed president of Brigham Young College at the 28 April 1920 meeting of the Commission of Education.

The subject of faculty salaries, especially for Brigham Young University, was discussed by the Commission in their 28 April 1920 meeting. All three commissioners agreed that the faculty needed to be improved. They expressed slightly different solutions to the problem. Commissioner McKay stressed the need to keep “strong men” in the faculty who could mold character. He pointed out that while men frequently succeeded as “administrative officers, and teachers of facts, they lack the power frequently to mold, which is an essential characteristic.” Commissioner Lyman proposed the hiring of young men, “graduates from various schools,” whose salary expectations would not be as high as the more experienced teachers. Commissioner Richards suggested merit pay for faculty members. He did not believe that limited Church appropriations would permit general salary increases at Church schools in the near future. He said that, “Just as in law, medicine and business . . . we should make provision for a particularly efficient man and pay . . . the salary” necessary to hold him “in the profession.” Elder Richards’s general views prevailed, though not with the variance in salaries that he favored.¹⁷

On 4 May 1920 the Commission recommended that “professors at the BYU in Provo doing college work should be granted a sabbatical leave . . . at half salary, that thereby we might keep up the scholarship of the school.”¹⁸ Continuing their work to upgrade the University, the Commission granted a request from Brigham Young University in August 1920 for the organization of a School of Education and a School of Arts and Sciences and gave the school power to

17. Church Commission Minutes, 28 April 1920.

18. Church Commission Minutes, 4 May 1920.

award the bachelor of science degree as well as the bachelor of arts degree.¹⁹

Though the actions of the Commission of Education generally benefitted Brigham Young University, the new policies did not relieve the financial distress of the school. The Board of Trustees anticipated ending 1920 with a deficit of \$8,281 in their operating budget and \$16,603 in their building budget. They predicted a deficit of an additional \$9,270 in teachers' salaries, office help, and the library budget.²⁰ In December, Commissioner David O. McKay embarked on his tour of Church missions, leaving Commissioners Richards and Lyman and Superintendent Bennion to continue the work of the Commission in his absence.

It was during this time of change in the Church Educational System that Church leaders selected a new president of Brigham Young University.

Selection of a New President for Brigham Young University

In March 1920 Commissioner McKay, on behalf of the Church Commission of Education, recommended to the General Board of Education that President George H. Brimhall be released and that Dr. Milton R. Bennion be appointed president of Brigham Young University. Since 1912 Bennion had been dean of the School of Education and director of the Summer School at the University of Utah.²¹ Later in March, Commissioner McKay reported that he had conferred with Dr. John A. Widtsoe, president of the University of Utah, about securing the services of Dean Bennion as the new president of Brigham Young University. Dr. Widtsoe "abstained from making any definite answer as to whether he would feel all right about letting Brother Bennion go from the University, further than to say that if the brethren thought that

19. Church Commission Minutes, 3 August 1920.

20. Executive Committee of BYU Board of Trustees to Church Commission of Education, 10 December 1920, Franklin S. Harris Presidential Papers, box 2, folder H, BYU Archives (hereafter cited as Harris Presidential Papers).

21. General Board Minutes, 8 March 1920.

Brother Bennion could do better work in another position he would not stand in the way.”²² Following Commissioner McKay’s report, a discussion ensued on the question of

the advisability of releasing Brother Brimhall from the Presidency of the Brigham Young University and trying to put Brother Bennion in his place. President Anthon H. Lund, who is one of the Board of Regents of the State University, expressed the opinion that it would be dangerous at present to take Brother Bennion from the University. . . . President Grant also remarked that he was not clear in his mind that it would be a wise thing to take Brother Bennion from the University.

Even though “the brethren generally felt that Brother Milton Bennion was the ideal man for the Brigham Young University to initiate the normal work now contemplated,” President Grant and President Lund influenced the Board to postpone making a final decision on the matter. Therefore, Commissioner McKay was authorized to “make further investigation to see if some other suitable man could be secured.”²³

Elder McKay apparently left on his world tour without making further recommendations to the General Board, and the responsibility for finding a suitable replacement for George H. Brimhall fell to Commissioners Stephen L. Richards and Richard R. Lyman and to Superintendent Adam S. Bennion. On 12 April 1921 the Commission recommended to President Heber J. Grant and the General Church Board of Education that President Brimhall should retire as active head of BYU and become president-emeritus of the University at a salary of \$3,000 per year. Speaking for the Commission of Education, Stephen L. Richards recommended “that Dr. Frank Harris of the Agricultural College be tendered the position at a salary of \$4500.00 a year, with an allowance of \$500.00, if necessary, for moving to Provo. . . . After considerable discussion Brother Ivins moved that this Board recommend to the local board the proposal to tender

22. General Board Minutes, 31 March 1920.

23. Ibid.

Dr. Frank Harris the position of President of the Institution at a salary of \$4500.00.”²⁴

The minutes of this important meeting of the General Board did not record the presence nor the participation of Thomas N. Taylor, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Brigham Young University Board of Trustees, although he gave the following account of the part he played in the selection of the new president:

In addition to my Stake work I was called by Pres. Grant to be Vice Pres. of the Board and Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Brigham Young University. In selecting a President of the School (Pres. George H. Brimhall having been released) among a list of names presented at a meeting of the Church Board of Education which I was asked to attend, I said, “Dr. F. S. Harris is the man.” Some thought he would not leave the A.C. at Logan where he had [a] fine job in a Scientific line that he had prepared himself for. I said, “I know his Father and Mother and if he is called to go to the BYU he will go, but be kind to him by way of salary.” I was asked who would be my second choice. I said, “I have none. You want but one President and should Frank Harris die if I can be of any service to you in selecting a new President, I will be happy to come up again and meet with you.” I asked to be excused from the meeting in order to catch my train for home. Apostle Richard R. Lyman followed me out, and said, “What manner of a man are you to have no second choice?” I said to him, “The school wants but one President, and Frank Harris is that man.”²⁵

The minutes of the meeting of 12 April 1921 did not contain the “list of names” which T.N. Taylor indicated was presented

24. General Board Minutes, 12 April 1921. Anthony W. Ivins, who made the motion to appoint Franklin S. Harris, was sustained in the same meeting as a new member of the General Church Board of Education. He was at the time second counselor in the First Presidency and also chairman of the Board of Trustees of Utah State Agricultural College where Dr. Harris was employed.

25. Unpublished memoirs of Thomas Nicholls Taylor in possession of his daughter Delena Taylor Taylor (xerox of original handwritten copy

at the meeting he attended. They contained only the name of Franklin S. Harris as successor to George H. Brimhall as president of Brigham Young University.

In accordance with the decision of the General Church Board of Education, Franklin S. Harris was called into the office of the First Presidency of the Church on 15 April 1921 and offered the “presidency of the Brigham Young University.” Present at the meeting, according to Dr. Harris, were President Heber J. Grant, President Anthony W. Ivins, and Elder Stephen L Richards.²⁶ It is evident from his diary that Harris was not prepared to give an immediate answer to the First Presidency on the proffered appointment. Rather, before accepting the presidency he spent the following week consulting with the First Presidency and with educational leaders of the state, including President Elmer G. Peterson of Utah State Agricultural College where he was employed; Dr. John A. Widtsoe, president of the University of Utah; President William W. Henderson of Brigham Young College at Logan; and President Guy C. Wilson of Latter-day Saints College in Salt Lake City. He also consulted with Adam S. Bennion, superintendent of Church schools, and with Charles W. Nibley, Presiding Bishop of the Church, in whose hands many of the financial affairs of the Church resided. He accepted the presidency on 22 April 1921.²⁷

The newspaper scoop on the Harris acceptance belonged to the young editor of *White and Blue*, Ernest L. Wilkinson. Although his scoop, which was still ahead of the state and

in BYU Centennial History research files, BYU Archives). Delena Taylor believes the memoirs were written sometime between 1940 and 1942. In his account, Taylor refers to nineteen years of association with Dr. Franklin S. Harris, calling him “a great man,” one of “the best executives the school has ever had.” Delena Taylor and her oldest brother Sterling Taylor confirmed in personal interviews on 11 January 1974 and 29 January 1974, respectively, that they heard their father relate the above story to his family upon his return from the meeting in Salt Lake City in 1921.

26. Diary of Franklin Stewart Harris, 15 April 1921, ms. 923.7, H24, BYU Archives.

27. See diary of Franklin S. Harris for 15, 16, 17, 18, and 22 April 1921.

national press, was not published until 27 April 1921 in *White and Blue*, his audacity as a young campus editor gave him the story on the day of Harris's acceptance, even though the formal action of appointment by the local Board of Trustees did not take place until April 26. Hearing the rumor that Harris had been appointed, Wilkinson went to Brimhall's office; the personnel there claimed no knowledge of the rumor. Wilkinson then telephoned Harris in Logan, telling him he had heard on "good authority" (the typical jargon of newspaper men) that he had been appointed president of BYU. Harris confirmed his appointment and agreed to meet Wilkinson in Salt Lake City the next day for an interview.²⁸ Wilkinson later recalled,

When I came into the lobby of Hotel Utah to meet him the next day, I was rather embarrassed by running directly into President Brimhall, with whom, as editor of the student newspaper, I was not always on the friendliest of terms. President Brimhall immediately relieved my embarrassment by chivalrously introducing me to Dr. Franklin S. Harris, a young man of thirty-six. . . . I was later informed that President Brimhall had wanted either Dr. John A. Widtsoe or Dr. Franklin S. Harris to succeed him. Dr. Widtsoe in the meantime had been appointed to the Quorum of the Twelve. So both he and President Brimhall had recommended the appointment of President Harris.²⁹

On 6 April 1921 President Heber J. Grant, in accordance with the BYU Articles of Incorporation, announced the names of the members of the Board of Trustees for the next three years. They were Heber J. Grant, Susa Young Gates, Reed Smoot, Stephen L. Chipman, Lafayette Holbrook, Joseph R. Murdock, Joseph Fielding Smith, Joseph Reece, Zina Young Card, Willard Young, Thomas N. Taylor, and J. William Knight. On April 26 the Board elected Heber J.

28. From an address by Ernest L. Wilkinson at memorial services for Franklin S. Harris, 23 May 1960, BYU Archives.

29. *Ibid.*

Grant as president, Thomas N. Taylor as vice-president, and Edward H. Holt as secretary and treasurer. Thomas N. Taylor, J. William Knight, and Stephen L. Chipman were named members of the Executive Committee.³⁰ The Board then acted on the recommendation from the General Church Board of Education that “President George H. Brimhall be honorably released as the active president of the Brigham Young University, and that he be made president emeritus . . . to take effect July 1, 1921.” President Grant complimented George H. Brimhall for the success of his administration, saying

I appreciate more than I can tell the very wonderful force and power and spirit of the Gospel of Jesus Christ that has been manifest in this school under the administration of President George H. Brimhall. I feel in my heart that from the time Brother Brimhall took charge of this school the spirituality in it — the spirit that should characterize our church school system, namely, that which is necessary in the making of Latter-day Saints — has existed in the school as perfectly as it is given to mortal man to make it.³¹

After further eulogizing President Brimhall and commending him for his willingness to adjust to a proposed change in the leadership of Brigham Young University, President Grant continued:

It has been one of the saddest tasks of the General Board’s life, so to speak, at least since I became a member, to feel that in this day of educational progress there was any necessity to make a change in the Brigham Young University. So far as I am concerned, having practically no education at all, I am not as capable of understanding these necessities as some other men who have had opportunities in an educational way.

30. Minutes of meeting of the Brigham Young University Board of Trustees, 26 April 1921, in office of the secretary of the Board of Trustees (hereafter cited as BYU Board Minutes).

31. Ibid.



Franklin Stewart Harris, president of
Brigham Young University from 1921
to 1945.

The Board approved the motion of Susa Young Gates that Franklin S. Harris be appointed active president of Brigham Young University. The appointment was to take effect on 1 July 1921.³²

The Right Man in the Right Place

George H. Brimhall, Stephen L. Richards, Richard R. Lyman, and Thomas N. Taylor were all instrumental in the selection of Franklin S. Harris as the new president of Brigham Young University. President Heber J. Grant showed his approval of President Harris when he said, "We want this school to be all that-it is possible to be, to be worthy of its founder, and to be worthy of the Church. We feel that we have got a man to preside over it who owes a part of his success in life to the teaching and the spirit of this school . . . and we feel that we have the right man in the right place."³³ President Grant was an astute judge of men. His endorsement of the qualifications of the newly appointed president of the University was based on his own observations and feelings and was strongly influenced by his panel of educational experts, the Church Commission of Education.

Harris was careful to accept the presidency of BYU on his own terms. He had an understanding with Church educational leaders that, while he would work in cooperation with the Church Commission of Education, he was to have direct access to the local Board of Trustees, the General Church Board of Education, and the First Presidency in matters concerning Brigham Young University. Later in his administration (1933) when the relationship between the authority of the president of the University and the authority of the General Board of Education was once again being discussed, Harris wrote Joseph F. Merrill, Church commissioner of education, "When I was invited by the First Presidency to come here [BYU] about twelve years ago, I went into this matter with them in considerable detail, since I could see that conditions

32. Ibid.

33. Ibid.

might arise that would lead to unpleasantness, and they, at that time, explained their ideas which have ever since been the point of view that I have had in mind.”³⁴

Even though Harris was not to take office until July 1, he presented six recommendations to the Board of Trustees in their 26 April 1921 meeting, and Harris received immediate approval:

1. To interview faculty members for reemployment for the coming year and report his findings to the Executive Committee and the Church School Commission for approval.
2. For sabbatical leaves for three faculty members on the basis of their present salaries: James L. Brown, Amos N. Merrill, and William J. Snow.
3. For a policy to encourage endowments for the support of the University.
4. For the appointment of President-Emeritus Brimhall as professor of theology.
5. For members of the BYU Women’s Organization to take courses of instruction in the University free of charge.

His recommendation that a Department of Social Leadership and Education in Religion, an Extension Division, and a Research Division be established was referred to the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees and to the Church Commission of Education. At the same meeting, on recommendation of the Church Commission of Education, the salary of the new president was “placed at six thousand dollars a year.”³⁵

Franklin Stewart Harris: Scientist, Educator, Humanist

Franklin Stewart Harris was born in the small farming community of Benjamin, a few miles southwest of Provo, Utah, on 24 August 1884. In a biographical sketch, his mother said of him,

34. Franklin S. Harris to Joseph F. Merrill, 1 April 1933, box 40, folder M, Harris Presidential Papers.

35. BYU Board Minutes, 26 April 1921.



BYU college graduates of 1907: (front row) Robert H. Sainsbury, Georgia Hoagland, Franklin S. Harris; (back row) Hans C. Peterson, George R. Hill, and Harvey Fletcher.

One of his chief characteristics in his boyhood, his young manhood, and which has remained with him all along through life, and I suppose the one upon which his success has depended, was his desire to study his problems out without help. He wanted to study away where no one would make a suggestion. He was always a student. He learned to read by studying out the letters on signs and advertisements. He was orderly and industrious and had a fine understanding of the value of time even in his youth.³⁶

Professor Karl Young, Oxford University scholar, wrote,

A biography of Franklin Stewart Harris might be written under a variety of headings. A life could be written of F.S. Harris the Humanist, or of Harris the World Citizen, or of Harris the Educator, or of Harris the Man of Religion, or of Harris the Big Brother to All His Fellows. But Franklin Harris's greatest work in life was in education. He was born into a family of educators. His father and his mother had both been teachers before they married and were both teachers after their marriage. His father left a post as superintendent of schools in the Nebo District of Utah County to teach, first at Colonia Diaz, and then at Juarez Academy in Chihuahua [Mexico] . . . Franklin's own career as a teacher began in 1904, when, as a twenty-year-old, after one year of college at Brigham Young University, he taught science at Juarez Academy. Then, on returning to Provo, he served as an assistant [in agricultural chemistry] to Dr. John A. Widtsoe until he received his bachelor's degree [from Brigham Young University] in 1907. Dr. Widtsoe encouraged him to go on working for a Ph.D., and, after a year as assistant chemist at Utah Agricultural Experiment Station, he enrolled at Cornell University. He took his bride, Estella Spilsbury, with him to Ithaca where they lived on Spartan fare for three years while he earned his doctorate. During this period at Cornell, he served as assistant and as instructor with such distinction as to earn for himself a professorship in agronomy at Utah State Agricultural

36. Eunice Stewart Harris, biographical sketch of Franklin Stewart Harris, BYU Archives, p. 1.

College in 1911. He stayed in Logan for ten years, as Director of the School of Agricultural Engineering from 1912 until 1916, and then as Director of the Experiment Station until 1921.³⁷

In 1920 Dr. Harris was president of the American Society of Agronomy, and at the time of his appointment as president of BYU he was secretary of the experiment station section of the American Association of Land Grant Colleges. An extremely versatile author, he had written four books: *The Principles of Agronomy* (with George Stewart), 1915, a widely used textbook; *The Young Man and His Vocation*, 1916; *The Sugar Beet in America*, 1918; and *Soil Alkali*, 1920. He was also the author of fifteen bulletins at the Agricultural Experiment Station and publisher of an additional twenty bulletins. He published numerous technical papers in scientific journals and many articles in farm journals.

As he took charge at BYU, Harris had the complete confidence of the First Presidency of the Church. In September 1921 Heber J. Grant wrote Harris that he was "glad to learn that you are getting your work properly lined up and assure you again of my complete confidence in your ability to conduct the University so that it will not only maintain its past standard but rise to greater heights."³⁸ President Anthony W. Ivins, who was second counselor in the First Presidency as well as president of the Board of Trustees of Utah State Agricultural College at Logan, regretted to have Harris leave the Logan school because he thought Harris was "the logical man to succeed Prest. Peterson." However, "the fact that we needed your services at the BYU influenced me to decide that it would be better for you to go to your present post." In 1923 President Ivins was "still of the opinion that you made no mistake."³⁹

37. Karl E. Young, biographical sketch of Franklin S. Harris in "Memorial Services for President Franklin Stewart Harris," BYU Archives, pp. 7-8.

38. Heber J. Grant to Franklin S. Harris, September 1921, box 1, folder G, Harris Presidential Papers.

39. Anthony W. Ivins to Franklin S. Harris, 16 June 1923, box 5, folder 1, Harris Presidential Papers.



Franklin S. Harris monitoring a
sugarbeet experiment at a Utah State
Agricultural College experiment station.



Franklin S. Harris with his wife, Estella,
and their daughter, Arlene, just before
leaving Cornell for Utah State
Agricultural College.

Characterizing the breadth of Harris's vision and his educational philosophy, his secretary, Kiefer Sauls, said,

He found at BYU a faculty that had some misgivings about the future of the institution, but this young president brought to the school a new vision and enthusiasm which was contagious. He immediately charted an ambitious course for the destiny of BYU as he envisioned it and set sail. I once heard a faculty member philosophize about a young man with grandiose plans; it was thought the young man's sail was too big for his rudder. President Harris' sail was big, but the rudder proved adequate. . . . Dr. Harris believed in a well-rounded education. He had one. He had a better working knowledge in more fields of learning than any person of my acquaintance. Though his major field of study was science, he loved the classics in literature, art, and music and knew of the accomplishments through the centuries of the great artists in these areas. He realized the tendency of many students to neglect the arts.⁴⁰

Agriculturalist, scientist, educator, Dr. Franklin Stewart Harris was eminently prepared to serve as president of Brigham Young University. For the first time in its forty-five-year history the school was to have a president with a doctor of philosophy degree.

The Great Church University

Dynamic Frank Harris lost no time in tackling the challenges of his new position. As his mother said, time was of the essence to him. Two days after his official appointment and sixty-three days before it was to take effect, he visited BYU with the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees to address the faculty and student body. He said,

From the time of opening this institution has had a spirit unparalleled in the world. I feel lifted up when I consider the lives of the trustees, president, and the faculty. The

40. Kiefer Sauls, tribute to Franklin S. Harris in "Memorial Services for President Franklin Stewart Harris," BYU Archives, p. 45.

President of the Church, Commission of Education, and all who have anything to do with Church schools are determined to make this “the great Church University.” No limits are set. When someone tells you that all the institution will do will be to prepare teachers, tell them they don’t know what they are talking about. There is nothing greater than to be a teacher, but the school will have to prepare leaders in other directions just as well. We are expected to render service, and our people are destined to lead the world in all things good. We want to make this institution the greatest on earth, as it is now in many respects. It doesn’t take a big plant to be great. We want more buildings, more equipment and a greater faculty; but first of all we want to establish pre-eminent scholarship and leadership. All Mormondom cannot be educated here, but I hope to see the time when two of a city and two of a county will come here to become leaders.⁴¹

That same day Harris “submitted a plan of organization” for the University to the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees.⁴² The Executive Committee approved the establishment of the Extension and Research Division “to coordinate with the School of Arts and Science and the School of Education.”⁴³ The Executive Committee also recommended to President Harris that the faculty be henceforth employed for the full year with one month’s vacation and with the proviso that faculty members could be given compensation for special work such as teaching summer school. Harris spent April 29 and April 30 in conference with faculty and students at Brigham Young University and then returned to Logan to finish his duties as director of the Agricultural Experiment Station.⁴⁴

41. “Dr. Harris, President-Elect, Visits School,” *White and Blue*, 4 May 1921.

42. Minutes of meetings of the Executive Committee of the Brigham Young University Board of Trustees, 28 April 1921, UA 148, BYU Archives (hereafter cited as BYU Executive Committee Minutes).

43. Ibid.

44. Diary of Franklin S. Harris, 29 and 30 April 1921.

In May and June Harris intensified his efforts to establish Brigham Young University as the great Church university with preeminent scholarship and leadership. First, he involved prominent LDS scholars like Dr. John A. Widtsoe, former president of both the Utah State Agricultural College and the University of Utah, and Dr. Harvey Fletcher, eminent physicist, in his planning for the great Church university. Second, he began a campaign to hire new faculty members who had completed or were near completion of their doctor's degrees or who had already established reputations in their fields. Third, he gained permission from President Grant to establish a lecture series at the University to be given by General Authorities of the Church who had themselves obtained advanced degrees and who had established reputations in the academic world.

Formulating Plans for the Great University

While formulating plans for Brigham Young University, Harris especially consulted with his former teacher, John A. Widtsoe. Widtsoe referred him to the writings of Roger W. Babson, president of Babson Statistical Organization, who admonished that

We must teach in the schools a simple religion of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, and the scientific basis for overcoming evil with good. For teaching this the best characters should be employed, irrespective of church or creed, men and women whom the entire community love and respect. Moreover, not until persons of such character are in demand and are paid highly for their services, will such teaching be respected. This has been the history of art, music and literature.⁴⁵

Harris appreciated Dr. Widtsoe's advice, resolved to follow Babson's philosophy, and looked forward "to years of consultation with" Widtsoe "in connection with building up a great institution at Provo."⁴⁶

45. Roger W. Babson, *The Future of the Churches: Historic and Economic Facts* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1921), p. 106.

46. Franklin S. Harris to John A. Widtsoe, 23 May 1921, box 3, folder W, Harris Presidential Papers.



Franklin S. Harris with John A. Widtsoe, consistent friend of BYU and adviser to President Harris.

President Harris also corresponded with Harvey Fletcher, a fellow student in Dr. Widtsoe's chemistry class at BYU. It is said that each tried to outdo the other in giving their professor a rough time on the first day of class. Harris and Fletcher both received their bachelor's degree in science from Brigham Young University in 1907. By 1921 Fletcher had become an eminent physicist and inventor with Western Electric Company in New York. It was natural that President Harris should reach out to his former classmate in formulating plans for the great Church university. In response to Harris's request, Dr. Fletcher wrote him a long letter during the summer of 1921 to offer suggestions for the improvement of BYU. Fletcher believed that "the aim of the school should be to make the students loyal to the Church, and instill into their very being duty to God and their fellow men." To enable BYU to meet this high goal, Harvey Fletcher made the following specific suggestions:

The quality of the educational work which is done should be second to none. Then it will not be necessary to do so much *positive* advertising. The name Church Teachers College should be eliminated. It has served its purpose and has no further usefulness. There is a peculiar antipathy toward the name teacher for many young men and women. So I think this name drives away some young people. The school must compete in these fundamental things with other educational institutions before it can attract a sufficient number of college students to accomplish its aim.

In the college of arts and sciences the courses in such fundamental subjects as English, History, Sociology, Economics, Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, and Biology, should be made equal to any given in any college. In the college of applied arts and sciences the courses should be shaped as preparatory for the professions such as engineering, agriculture, medicine, etc. I do not mean to say that sufficient work should be given to prepare for these professions for that cannot be done in any college without neglecting fundamentals. The training for these professions should be done in some graduate school. But

preparatory courses leading to these professions could be outlined and given with profit. In my judgement such courses would attract a large class of students who are now going elsewhere to school. It would add only a few to the faculty necessary for the college of arts and sciences.

I think the commercial department should be raised to the dignity of a college of commerce where business administration, banking, and accounting can be taught from the college point of view.

The normal school should give the standard four years' course with two years [of] high school entrance requirements. A majority of those who take this work will be young women who cannot spend more than six years in training after leaving the grades. The turnover in the profession of grade teachers is so great that we are hardly justified in requiring more formal preparation. . .

Within the next one or two years I would like to see the school organized somewhat along the following lines:

Brigham Young University

- A. College of Arts and Sciences
- B. College of Applied Arts and Sciences
- C. College of Commerce
- D. Normal School
- E. Secondary Training School
- F. Elementary Training School

A high school diploma or equivalent should be required for entrance into A, B, or C, and two years [of] high school work required for entrance into D. The normal time to complete the work in any of the four branches should be four years. The enrollment in E & F should be limited to a definite number.

With this arrangement I think more teachers would be turned into the secondary and elementary schools of Utah who had a BYU training than at present.⁴⁷

47. Harvey Fletcher to Franklin S. Harris, box 1, folder F, BYU Archives. While the letter carries no date, it was certainly written sometime in the early summer of 1921. In a letter dated 19 August 1921 Harris thanked Fletcher for his suggestions and indicated that " 'Great minds run in the same channel' because we are this year planning to put into operation a number of suggestions that you make. . . . I feel all the safer . . . since you with your better perspective believe in them."

Publicizing the Plan

On 25 May 1921 President Harris was ready to unveil the first stage of his plan for “the great Church university.” It bore a remarkable resemblance to certain features of the service and extension programs he had known so well in his position at Utah State Agricultural College, to the suggestions of Dr. Harvey Fletcher and Dr. John A. Widtsoe, and to certain concepts in the writing of Roger W. Babson. In an article published in the *White and Blue* of 25 May 1921, Harris said,

I cannot think of the outlook for the Brigham Young University without growing enthusiastic. The opportunities for service are so great and the possibilities for growth so unlimited that a glance into the future shows an institution unrivaled as a place for training young men and women for leadership in the best things of the world. Here we have a university unfettered by limitations in teaching the truth wherever it be found. There are no restrictions limiting instruction in the revealed word of God, which after all is our most direct source of truth.

The institution has a history of which we may all be proud. It was conceived in the spirit of making inspiration a constant guide in all instructions. This idea has been so fostered that a distinct spirit has permeated the classrooms and halls of the institution — a spirit of unity, helpfulness, and goodfellowship. The warming influence of this spirit has entered the hearts of thousands of students who have become leaders in their home communities, and it has made them better able to resist temptation and to cope with the many difficult problems of life. . . .

The future of the Brigham Young University is bound up essentially with service to the Church, which in reality means service to humanity. Its chief function is to train for leadership. . . . It is impossible in a single institution to educate all the people of the Church; other agencies are available for training the great masses. What this particular university must aim to do is to train for leadership in its highest forms: leadership in the Church itself, leadership in social affairs, leadership in business, leadership in

art, leadership in citizenship, in fact leadership in all that will contribute to the betterment of the world and the happiness of its people.

If this is to be done, we must have an institution that is second to none in the World. It does not need to be large, but its standards must be high. We do not need a large faculty, but it must be made up of men and women of unquestioned integrity and loyalty to all that is good. They must have the best scholarship that can be found in the world, and they must be so thoroughly interested in the service they are rendering that it will become almost a passion with them. A place on the faculty of the Brigham Young University must be made the highest intellectual honor that can be reached by scholars of the Church. The institution must be able to select for its service the most capable and the best trained men and women of the Church wherever they are found. Only by insisting on the highest possible standards of scholarship (coupled with true manhood and womanhood), shall we be able to build a faculty that will command respect throughout the world, and only by having such a faculty can the institution become truly great.

Harris continued the press release by pointing out that at the heart of such a great institution would be a great library, receiving regularly the best of the technical journals in each of the areas in which the institution would specialize. He noted that the concepts of leadership and service would require involvement beyond the confines of the classroom and even beyond the University. He therefore proposed the establishment and expansion of an Extension Division. Harris also proposed that a Research Division “should foster the investigations of new truth with special emphasis on the problems that are of interest to the Church.” He maintained that every teacher would be a better teacher if he were “doing some research.” He concluded his press release by stating that time would be required to work out his complete plans for the future of the University, but that “gradual growth is much more sound than mushroom growth.” He emphasized that the growth of the University should be substantial rather than

rapid — that it should be the growth of an oak rather than that of a mushroom.⁴⁸

Recruiting New Faculty Members

As dean of the College of Commerce and Business Administration, which was established on 25 May 1921, Harris was able to recruit Harrison Val Hoyt, a thirty-six-year-old Harvard graduate with a master's degree in business administration. Hoyt had been an efficiency engineer and consultant for large manufacturing companies in New York. At the time of his appointment to the faculty of BYU, he was general manager of the McDonald Candy Company. Harris also brought Dr. Thomas L. Martin, a 1912 graduate of BYU who had a doctor's degree from Cornell University, to campus to head the Agriculture Department. President Harris hired Lowry Nelson as head of the newly organized Extension Division. Nelson was a 1916 graduate in agronomy from Utah State Agricultural College. He later served as secretary to the president of that institution and as a member of the USAC Extension Division. At the time of his appointment at Brigham Young University he was editor of *Utah Farmer*, an extension-oriented publication of the Utah Farm Bureau.

Though Harris was unable to promise large salaries to new faculty members, his enthusiasm and his plans for the future of BYU encouraged most of the men he approached to accept his offers. However, he sometimes suffered from the backlash of troubles of the Brimhall Administration. When Harris needed a professor of psychology, he offered the position to Professor Kimball Young and three others. Young was at that time assistant professor of psychology at the University of Oregon. He graduated from Brigham Young University with a bachelor of arts degree in 1915 and received his master's degree from the University of Chicago in 1918. He was to receive his doctor's degree from Stanford University in 1921.

48. "President-Elect Harris Writes on Future of School," *White and Blue Supplement*, 25 May 1921.

On 20 May 1921 President Harris wired Professor Kimball from Logan,

Church Authorities have decided to make Brigham Young University the big Church university. We are reorganizing entire institution along modern lines with emphasis on high scholarship. Plans for next year provide for a College of Education, College of Arts and Sciences and probably a College of Commerce and Business Administration. Am seeking a faculty of high grade men. When do you get your doctors degree? Would you be interested in the Chair of Psychology at a salary of thirty-two hundred?⁴⁹

Kimball Young wired his reply on May 22, expressing some reservations he would have about accepting the offer and asking for further clarification. President Harris wrote the next day, explaining that the teaching load would not be as great as it had been at BYU: "In Provo the other day I told a number of professors that there would be a lot of people fired if they attempted to teach as many hours as they had been teaching in the past. We can't have our staff loaded up with so much work that the quality will not be strictly up to standard." President Harris also assured Professor Young that teachers would have as many student assistants and as much equipment as the budget would permit.

The real crux of Young's inquiry dealt with the issue of academic freedom for professors. Young had been an undergraduate during the modernism crisis at Brigham Young University (*see* chapter 13). Harris promised Young that teachers would have complete academic freedom, being required only to "teach the truth as near as it can be discovered. I stand for academic freedom without any attempt to avoid issues. We have nothing to fear from the truth. Of course, it is not always wisdom to shake a red flag in the face of a charging bull. I assume that men of our faculty will have due discretion

49. Telegram from Franklin S. Harris to Kimball Young, 20 May 1921, box 3, folder XYZ, Harris Presidential Papers.

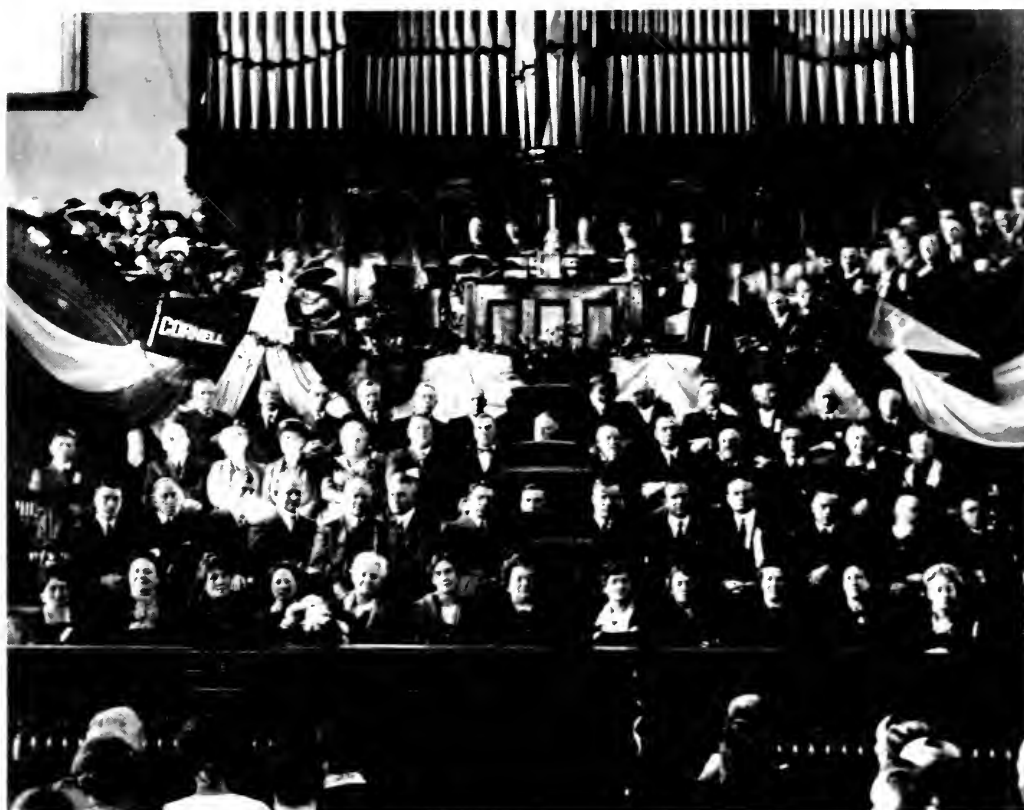
in this matter but we must stand squarely for the truth as nearly as it can be found out.” Harris commended Professor Young for raising questions before accepting the position. He stated that if Young had not been earnest enough about his work to ask these questions, he would not want him on the faculty of Brigham Young University. Harris was determined to “stand for the highest grade of scholarship.”⁵⁰ Despite reassurances of academic freedom, Professor Young decided not to accept the position at Brigham Young University.

Lectureships for General Authorities

Continuing his work to improve the academic atmosphere at BYU, President Harris wrote President Grant proposing a series of lectures by General Authorities of the Church who had excelled in the academic world. On 3 June 1921 President Grant wrote Franklin S. Harris that he could consider himself “at perfect liberty to approach any members of the Council of Twelve in regard to proposed lectureships, and that any agreement entered into between you and them will receive our hearty approval.”⁵¹ The Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees supported President Harris by recommending to the entire Board that prominent General Authorities be invited “to become affiliated with the university in the way of special lecturers.” According to the *White and Blue* of 5 August 1921, Dr. John A. Widtsoe was selected to give a series of lectures on “The Making of Science”; Dr. James E. Talmage a series on “Revelation and Prophecy”; Dr. Richard R. Lyman a series on “Community Building”; Stephen L Richards a series on “Social and Industrial Problems”; Joseph Fielding Smith, Jr., LDS Church historian, a series on “Ecclesiastical History”; and Dr. Adam S. Bennion a series on “Comparative Religion.” The entire lecture series, to run for the full academic year, was to carry one hour of University credit per quarter.

50. Franklin S. Harris to Kimball Young, 23 May 1921, box 3, folder XYZ, Harris Presidential Papers.

51. Heber J. Grant to Franklin S. Harris, 9 June 1921, box 1, folder G, Harris Presidential Papers.



Scene at the inauguration of Franklin S. Harris as president of BYU in the Utah Stake Tabernacle on 17 October 1921.

By the time the appointment of Franklin Stewart Harris as president of Brigham Young University became official on 1 July 1921, he had launched the school into a new era of academic growth. And by the time of his formal inauguration on 17 October 1921, President Harris was prepared to enunciate definite goals for the University.

Inaugural Address

In his inaugural address, delivered in the Provo Tabernacle on 17 October 1921, Harris formally stated his goals for the University. Noting that BYU was an institution “conceived under inspiration, founded on the rock of truth, and dedicated to the welfare of mankind,” President Harris reiterated that “Brigham Young University aims to maintain standards equal to those of any college in the land. It is not so much interested in building a big institution as in building a good one.” Since BYU could not “attempt to compete with every institution in the land,” it needed to “specialize. While we take all truth for our province, there are certain types of work to which we must direct our chief energies.” President Harris saw the need for the school to continue to influence “the lives of students apart from their regular school work.” To him, “The first task of the future is to preserve at this Institution this spirit that comes to us from the past — the true spirit of the Brigham Young University.”

President Harris intended to stress high-quality academics. His goal for the College of Education was “to maintain the finest opportunities for the training of teachers that can be found in the land.” The College of Commerce and Business Administration would train “men who are able to analyze factors entering into success of a business and by scientific study of the past and the present forecast the business future.” He also recognized that “the training of women for the duties of the home” was “equal in importance to any training that we can give to men in preparing them for the activities of life. . . . We talk in loud tones of the energy and tact necessary to operate a bank, or a factory; but what about the requirements of managing a household, and making the home the best

place on earth for an irritable husband who imagines he is carrying all the burdens of the universe.” Of the fine arts he stated, “The Brigham Young University and Utah County have long been famous for work in the various fine arts including painting, sculpture, and music. . . . Since interest in these subjects is so great and the possibilities so unlimited, it seems that the near future will call for the organization of these various courses, including those in dramatic art, into a college of fine arts, which should be worthy to take its place among the finest colleges of its kind in the world.”

Noting the provision for vocational education in the Deed of Trust, President Harris said, “We cannot build a great university without also giving attention to the industries. Men attend college not only for the cultural value of its courses, but they expect also to learn something of the occupation which they have selected as a means of earning a livelihood. . . . Fortunately the deed of trust under which this institution operates specifically mentions this type of training and makes it mandatory that such courses be offered.” Harris said the University also needed to “maintain departments of the highest possible standard in the various branches of science.” In addition, the school should “prepare linguists in order that the message it has for mankind may be carried throughout the world to every people. It must give special attention to English in order that writers and speakers of great power may be developed.”

Harris emphasized that BYU had “a special duty to be a teacher of things spiritual. Most of the modern universities concern themselves but little with this branch of learning, but we must make of this institution a great center of religious thought and we must have in our library the leading writing on religious subjects from all parts of the world.” President Harris asserted that the newly established Extension Division would extend the school’s “usefulness to the thousands of ambitious persons whose duties make it necessary for them to remain at home.” The new president wished to provide in the Research Division a “means for carrying on useful investiga-

tions" in order to "foster the spirit of research and to aid the discovery of truth."

Because the school's classrooms were already "filled almost to the point of bursting," President Harris called for an extensive building program:

A building designed for modern laboratory use is much in need. At the present time the entire plant is in jeopardy because of the necessity of housing laboratories in buildings that are not fireproof. A gymnasium is among our most urgent needs. . . . The library of the institution has grown to be exceedingly valuable and its present quarters are very hazardous. At an early date a library building should be erected. . . . With a growing student body the question of adequate housing becomes more acute. This difficulty cannot be entirely solved until a number of dormitories under the control of the institution can be provided.

In order to insure the growth of the school, BYU needed endowments: "The Church is doing its utmost to assist in the building up of the University, but we should have additional funds provided by persons of means who are interested in education." Finally, President Harris said that "The building of a great university cannot be accomplished without bringing to its faculty men and women of outstanding scholarship and integrity." Concluding his remarks, President Harris said,

One cannot look toward the future of the Brigham Young University without becoming enthusiastic. The very fact that it is engaged in the work of helping banish from the world ignorance — that great arch-enemy of man — and that it is devoting its energies to the teaching of truth to a large group of young people who are to assume leadership in building up the world makes one grow humble in feeling and reverent in attitude. . . . It now remains for us who are charged with the responsibility of conducting the institution to live up to our possibilities. May God grant us wisdom and strength to play well our part.⁵²

52. "President Delivers Inaugural Address," *Y News*, 17 October 1921, *Y*

For twenty-four years, longer than any other president of the school, and amidst the greatest depression in modern history, Franklin Stewart Harris energetically worked to make Brigham Young University the great university he envisioned in his inaugural address.

News replaced *White and Blue* as the school newspaper in the fall of 1921.

16

Looking beyond the Mountains

The concept of “the great university” to which President Franklin S. Harris committed himself in his inaugural address of 17 October 1921 was the first in a series of steps toward obtaining recognition for Brigham Young University as a genuine university. However, in 1921 the school was still essentially an intermountain denominational college. Although the Academy granted degrees as early as 1897, established a four-year program in 1900, changed its name from Academy to University in 1903, awarded bachelor of arts degrees beginning in 1906 and master’s degrees beginning in 1916, by 1921 it still had a college enrollment of only 438 students. Since the University was not yet accredited, its graduates were not automatically recognized at other universities, and they were often able to gain admission to graduate schools only on personal merit after completing preparatory courses.

The Educational Image of Utah and the Mormons

President Harris felt that BYU should look beyond the mountains. However, when he became president of BYU the school was not recognized as a university by any educational accrediting agency in the United States, nor was it listed in the

Educational Directory of institutions of higher learning published by the United States commissioner of education in 1920. One of President Harris's first goals as president of the school was to gain for Brigham Young University the recognition he felt it deserved.

Like Franklin S. Harris, President Heber J. Grant worked to promote the image of LDS schools. In an address to the Knife and Fork Club of Kansas City, Missouri, delivered on 16 December 1920, President Grant told of a map that allegedly hung on a wall "of one of the houses of Congress" in Utah's territorial days which showed that there were only four states or territories in the United States that had a higher literacy rate than Utah. He said that while "Utah was a territory and we had no public lands to sell to help us in education, we had forged to the front without receiving one single, solitary dollar from the sale of public lands from the United States." President Grant was proud of the record that Mormon students were making in eastern universities. He also recalled that, "While I was presiding over the European Mission of our Church [1903-1906], I read in the newspapers that we had overtaken and equalled one of the states in the Union for second place in literacy. Doctor Winship, one of the great educators of our country, has given us credit, in recent lectures, for having the finest laws on education of any state or territory in the Union."¹

As President of the LDS Church, president of the General Church Board of Education, and president of the Board of Trustees of Brigham Young University, Heber J. Grant was in a good position to promote the cause of Mormon educational institutions. He invited prominent non-Mormon educators to address the April general conferences of the Church in 1921 and in 1922. His first invitation went to Professor Perry G. Holden of Iowa State College and the International Harvester Company. Holden was a Congregationalist by faith. President

1. Heber J. Grant in *Conference Report of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, April 1921, p. 211. The speech was reprinted at the end of the *Conference Report* from the March 1921 issue of *Coast Banker*.

Grant then extended invitations to Professor Thomas Nixon Carver, political economist of Harvard University; Walter Ernest Clark, president of the University of Nevada; and Charles A. Lory, president of Colorado Agricultural College, to speak in general conference in April 1922.²

President Grant introduced Professor Holden to the general conference audience as “a man with a national and international reputation as an extension worker.” He quoted Professor Holden’s statement that “Money spent on education is not a tax. It is an investment.”³ Professor Holden began his rather lengthy but highly complimentary address to the conference by pointing out that, while he was not a Mormon, he was a good friend of the Mormons. He referred to Dr. A.E. Winship as perhaps the only other man in the United States who had said more in favor of the Mormons outside of Utah. Professor Holden said, “In my estimation your Church illustrates better than anything I have ever known in all America the great principle of vision.” He especially complimented the Saints on their religious approach to education, and on their religious attitudes and customs:

One of the things that impressed so much those eastern people, as they came here last year, was . . . when you open your meetings with a prayer, and ask that the people might have open hearts and willing souls to gather from what the speaker may say something to take home;

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2. Editor’s Note: Nonmembers of the LDS Church have seldom addressed sessions of general conference. Presidents of the United States and other high-ranking persons have spoken in the Salt Lake Tabernacle, but not at general conference. In the 1920s LDS stake presidents and mission presidents addressed overflow meetings of the conference in the Assembly Hall on Temple Square, but the talks before the main body of the conferences have usually been given by General Authorities of the Church, although at times presidents of Brigham Young University have been accorded that honor.
 3. Heber J. Grant in *Conference Report*, April 1921, p. 147. Perry Greely Holden was listed in *Who’s Who in America, 1922-23*, as professor of agronomy, University of Illinois, 1896-1900; professor of agronomy and vice-dean, Department of Agriculture, Iowa State College, 1902-22; and director of agricultural extension, International Harvester Co., 1912-22. He was the author of numerous articles and monographs on potatoes, corn, and sugar beets.

and then they closed with prayer that we shall take home some of these things and put them into our lives and into our practices. I hope you will never give up those little customs, because they are wonderful.⁴

At the close of Professor Holden's remarks, President Grant commented, "I feel as he has said, that we are coming into our own."⁵

Like President Grant and Dr. Harris, President Anthony W. Ivins of the First Presidency saw the need to look beyond the mountains. In the general conference of the Church held in April 1922, he said,

The problems with which the Church is now confronted, while differing from those of the past, are none the less dangerous and difficult of solution. The Church is not now confronted by the problem of separation from other people, by migration to an unknown country, and the difficulties of colonization. The political differences which have divided the "Mormon" people and their fellow citizens have been largely solved. After separating ourselves from the world, the world has come to us, bringing with it much that is good, much which is bad. One thing this changed condition has taught us: We are an integral part of the great world, and whether we desire it or not, we must be influenced, to a greater or less extent, by its environment with which we are surrounded.⁶

At that same conference Professor Thomas Nixon Carver and presidents Walter Ernest Clark and Charles A. Lory gave short extemporaneous speeches that were complimentary to the Mormon people and their system of education. President Clark stressed the need for education in spiritual values to keep up with the material advancements of science:

It is my belief and strong hope that in the years just ahead men are going to illuminate life in spiritual terms; that

4. Perry G. Holden in *Conference Report*, April 1921, p. 151.

5. Heber J. Grant in *Conference Report*, April 1921, pp. 155-56.

6. Anthony W. Ivins in *Conference Report*, April 1922, p. 41.

just as they have, within these twenty-five years, on the mechanical side, touched that marvelous thing we call radium and learned that it gives fifty million times the energy of other substances science has been handling, so there lies within us, if we will but open our souls and receive the endowment that freely has always been offered, many, many times the spirit power men have known. My impression from the hours I have had in your city is that this people are holding their souls open, and the great Giver of life and power will answer their prayers.⁷

President Lory of the Agricultural College of Colorado agreed with President Clark that the time had come when men needed to “build spirituality. The curve that represents the growth of spirituality is rather a flat one; the curve that represents the increase in wealth, the increase in material knowledge, is rather a steep one; and somehow, we must learn to do as you are doing; carry our religion into our day’s work — not religion on one day only, but religion on seven days, and every hour of the twenty-four.”⁸ In line with the vision of President Harris’s inaugural address, prominent educators thus saw the role of LDS Church schools to be leaders in the field of spiritual education.

Extension Division

Conscious of the need “to extend the work of the University to the people of the State and, in fact, to members of the Church everywhere,”⁹ President Harris received approval to establish an Extension Division of Brigham Young University on 28 April 1921.¹⁰ The purpose of the Extension Division was to enlarge, coordinate, centralize, and extend the school’s program of academic service to the community. As Lowry Nelson, first director of the Extension Division, explained,

7. Walter E. Clark in *Conference Report*, April 1922, pp. 17-18.

8. Charles A. Lory in *Conference Report*, April 1922, pp. 18-19.

9. “Extension Division Is Established at University,” *Y News*, 5 August 1921.

10. BYU Executive Committee Minutes, 28 April 1921.

“My job was to organize a correspondence-study department and to establish some order in the formation of extension classes.”¹¹

Even though the Extension Division was officially organized in April 1921, it only existed on paper until Lowry Nelson’s arrival in August of that year. Nelson, a graduate from Utah State Agricultural College in agricultural extension work, a county agricultural agent, and editor of *Utah Farmer*, admitted that the “position at BYU was foreign to my training because extension work at that institution represented mainly correspondence courses and extension classes.”¹² However, Nelson was an effective and ambitious director, and he soon had matters in hand. He wrote for information from institutions which were famous for their correspondence class work, including the University of Chicago and the University of Wisconsin. Nelson said, “They sent me their forms, copies of regulations, and their catalogue of courses.” At the same time, he “solicited from members of the faculty, courses they felt they could organize and carry through.”¹³

After two months of work on the new Extension Division, Nelson reported to Harris that “the major effort has been spent thus far in developing a plan of organization and in the publication of a circular describing the work of the Division.”¹⁴ The Extension Division was composed of four major sections:

1. *The Bureau of Social Service*, organized to assist the various “community leaders, church officers, and teachers. This bureau will also endeavor to develop welfare work, such as individual and community health and sanitation, home nursing, charities and welfare work, social dancing, dramatics, pageantry, and home entertainments.”

11. Lowry Nelson, “Eighty: One Man’s Way There,” copy of unpublished typescript in Lowry Nelson biographical file, BYU Archives, p. 56.

12. Ibid.

13. Ibid., p. 57.

14. Lowry Nelson to Franklin S. Harris, 13 October 1921, box 3, folder N, Harris Presidential Papers.

2. *The Bureau of Publications*, organized to “issue from time to time bulletins, circulars and periodicals containing information for people interested in various lines of work.”
3. *The Bureau of Correspondence Study*, organized to “offer many courses appearing in the University curriculum for home study.”
4. *The Bureau of Lectures and Entertainments*, organized to “supply appropriate lectures for MIA or ward Lyceum courses.”¹⁵

Within two months of the organization of the Extension Division, “8500 people have been addressed, entertained, or have witnessed demonstrations by representatives of the various departments of the institution.”¹⁶

Since “all of the extra campus services of the members of the faculty” were looked upon as extension work, whether that work came “as a special assignment through the Extension Division or not,” members of the regular faculty were “therefore looked upon as members of the extension staff; or, to state the relationship another way, the Extension Division is the managing agent of the ‘outside’ activities of the faculty members.”¹⁷ The Extension Division provided faculty members a form for reporting all work done off campus, and until the latter part of 1928 the extension work of faculty members was reported each week in faculty meeting.¹⁸

The idea for Leadership Week, one of the most successful features of the Extension Division from its very inception, was conceived one day while President Harris, Director Nelson, and Kiefer B. Sauls, secretary to President Harris, were walking home for lunch. As Lowry Nelson recalled, “It frequently happened that he [Harris], Kiefer and I walked at least part of

15. *Lehi (Utah) Sun*, 23 June 1921.

16. Lowry Nelson to Franklin S. Harris, 13 October 1921, Harris Presidential Papers.

17. Lowry Nelson, “Annual Report of the Brigham Young University Extension Division — 1 June 1922 to 30 June 1923,” box 1, folder 2, UA 547b, BYU Archives.

18. BYU Faculty Meeting Minutes, 19 September 1921 and 24 September 1928, BYU Archives (hereafter cited as BYU Faculty Meeting Minutes).



Dance class at an early BYU Leadership Week.



Participants in an early BYU Leadership
Week gathered in front of College Hall.

the way together when we went to lunch. On one such occasion, Dr. Harris, ebullient as usual, said he had a great idea for me: 'Let us organize a special program for a week in late January, to which we can invite leaders of the Church in the surrounding area.' We called it Leadership Week."¹⁹ President Harris presented the idea to the faculty on 1 December 1921 and to the Board of Trustees eight days later. Everyone received it enthusiastically, agreeing that the school should "make an effort to have leaders in the various lines of community activity, particularly Church leadership lines, spend a week at the institution and take a special course in the various lines."²⁰

The idea for Leadership Week was deep-seated in Harris's agricultural college background. A similar program was in full operation at Utah State Agricultural College when Harris was there. Its main purpose had been to place the knowledge derived from experiments in agriculture into the hands of the local farmers through a week of special instruction.²¹ During Harris's time this week was known as Farmers' Round-Up Week, and he admitted his idea for Leadership Week came from his experience with the program at Logan.²² This, in turn, was based upon his fundamental belief that education was not for the few but for all.²³

Organized around the theme "Training for Leadership," the new program included instruction in the administration

19. Lowry Nelson, "Eighty," pp. 57-58.

20. BYU Faculty Meeting Minutes, 1 December 1921.

21. Interview with Louis L. Madsen, 8 April 1974.

22. Franklin S. Harris to J. M. Christensen, 19 January 1922, box 1, folder C, Harris Presidential Papers.

23. Harris once declared, "There is a dogma of education about in the world — it frequently raises its head even in these days — which says that education should be given to the few, to the few who are blessed with unusual brains and that the rest should be allowed to go. . . . This Institution [Utah State] was founded in protest against this dogma, and the protest is that all of the people all over the world should be benefitted as a result of education" (Joel Edward Ricks, *The Utah State Agricultural College: A History of Fifty Years, 1888-1938* [Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1938], p. 123).

of Church auxiliaries and classes in genealogy and other topics of general interest. The First Presidency and many of the General Authorities were invited to speak on religious subjects. Harris did his utmost to promote the idea that Leadership Week would be “the forerunner of a great movement to put the Church and University in touch with each other.”²⁴ The first Leadership Week took place the week of 23 through 28 January 1922. After morning classes, there was a general assembly in College Hall which was addressed by members of the First Presidency and the Quorum of the Twelve. Students were entertained at plays, symphonies, and concerts during the evenings.

Shortly after the first Leadership Week, President Harris wrote D.E. Harris in Canada, “We are just recovering from a big affair we had here in what we called our Leadership Week. We had over three thousand people at the institution from the outside sections and we conducted eighteen different departments.”²⁵ Considering that the assembly room in College Hall seated only 600, the first Leadership Week was a real success. Many compliments came to Harris and the entire faculty for “‘putting over’ a big thing for community progress.”²⁶

President Harris continued to promote Leadership Week, always sensitive to the wishes of the General Authorities. In November 1924, just before the third Leadership Week, he wrote the First Presidency,

We shall be glad to continue to carry on any of these departments that the General Authorities would like to have us conduct, but we realize it is not our duty nor prerogative to initiate courses of instruction either in the duties of the various Priesthood quorums nor in the work

24. “Preeminence of Leadership Week Expressed in Sentiments,” *Y News*, 25 January 1922.

25. Franklin S. Harris to D. E. Harris, 2 February 1922, box 2, folder H, Harris Presidential Papers.

26. Henry Peterson to Franklin S. Harris, 1 February 1922, box 3, folder P, Harris Presidential Papers.

of the auxiliary organizations. We want to make the University more useful to the Church and shall be glad to comply with any request that is made of us.²⁷

The First Presidency's reply removed the priesthood classes from the curriculum, saying "it would be better not to have a department in the school to conduct Priesthood work."²⁸ Years passed, and Leadership Week changed as faculty members replaced Church authorities as instructors (except at devotional assemblies). With professional instructors, Leadership Week classes began to focus on academic subjects.

KSL Radio, founded in 1925 by former BYU instructor Earl J. Glade, did much to publicize Leadership Week. In 1926 the school paid ten dollars for two hours of time on the telephone line from Provo to Salt Lake City, and a large audience listened to President Grant's Leadership Week devotional message. Taking advantage of this new method of mass communication, President Harris appointed Lowry Nelson, Harrison R. Merrill, and Carl Eyring to work as an Extension Division committee "for the building up of a proper radio program . . . that will be favorable for the institution."²⁹ For years thereafter BYU radio broadcasts were some of the school's most effective means of extending University programs to residents of the Intermountain States.

Conscious of the importance of the Extension Division, BYU administrators developed more effective correspondence courses, promoted lyceum programs, upgraded lecture series, and expanded Leadership Week. As Lowry Nelson explained, Leadership Week remained a major feature of the Extension Division work: "No other undertaking of the University at that time did so much to create goodwill throughout the Mormon Country as did Leadership Week."³⁰

27. Franklin S. Harris to the First Presidency, 24 November 1923, box 7, folder F, Harris Presidential Papers.

28. First Presidency to Franklin S. Harris, 26 December 1923, box 7, folder G, Harris Presidential Papers.

29. Franklin S. Harris to Lowry Nelson, H. R. Merrill, and Carl Eyring, 26 March 1925, box 12, folder N, Harris Presidential Papers.

30. Lowry Nelson, "Eighty," p. 60.

Contributions of Faculty Members to Church Magazines

In 1922 the Brigham Young University faculty provided fifteen percent of all materials published in the *Improvement Era*, the official LDS Church magazine. Chief among BYU contributors to the magazine were President Harris; President-Emeritus George H. Brimhall; Lowry Nelson, head of the Extension Division; Dr. Thomas L. Martin, new head of the Agriculture Department; and Harrison R. Merrill, new professor of English and journalism. President Harris contributed an article on "Education, the Emancipator" to the February 1922 issue of the *Improvement Era*. His article in the October 1922 issue was entitled "Town and City Planning."

President George H. Brimhall wrote the course of study on "Sources of Joy and Factors of Happiness" for the advanced senior classes of the MIA published serially in the *Era*. His lessons covered a wide range of subject matter. At the end of the January 1922 lesson, Brimhall asked the questions "When does knowledge become scientific?"; "In what four ways is eugenics expected to add to the happiness of human life?"; "Why should vivisection not be legislated against?"; and "What scientific discovery in the field of medicine has done most for man's mastery of the microbe?" In 1923 Dr. Harrison Val Hoyt, new dean of the BYU College of Business, joined President-Emeritus Brimhall in joint authorship of the advanced senior MIA course entitled "Life's Visions and Purposes." In the same year, Dr. L. John Nuttall, Jr., of the BYU School of Education, wrote the teacher-training text published in the *Era* for the General Church Board of Education. In 1924 A. Rex Johnson, John C. Swensen, Newburn I. Butt, and Dr. Carl F. Eyring also published articles in the *Improvement Era*.

Besides Extension Division and faculty publications, Brigham Young University promoted other programs which increased the school's public exposure in the early 1920s. Beginning in 1921 BYU sponsored the Rocky Mountain Drama Festival and the Heber J. Grant Oratorical Contest. In 1925 Brigham Young University inaugurated an intermountain commercial contest for high school students. This was

good public relations, looking to future enrollment at the University.³¹

Change of Commissioners

On 26 January 1922, shortly after Franklin S. Harris began his drive for an enlarged extension service, for greater service to the Church, and for a wider public image for the University, David O. McKay resigned from his position as LDS commissioner of education “to devote more time to foreign missions.”³² Elder McKay’s resignation was a great loss to the Church school system, but a very capable man, John A. Widtsoe, was appointed to take his place. Widtsoe, a Harvard graduate in chemistry, a former professor at BYU, and former president of Utah State Agricultural College and the University of Utah, had an even more extensive background in education than the man he replaced. Dr. Widtsoe was a true friend of BYU. After graduating with high honors from Harvard he was offered comparable faculty positions and salaries at Brigham Young University and Brigham Young College in Logan. While he preferred to join BYU, he accepted the position in Logan because all of his salary would be paid in cash instead of partly in scrip, as would have been the case at BYU. He needed the cash to pay his debts. Even while president of state universities, he maintained that Utah high school teachers should be trained at Brigham Young University. President Harris received enthusiastic support from the new commissioner, his former teacher, as he continued his vigorous program of promoting the academic growth of Brigham Young University.

The Heber J. Grant Library

In 1922, soon after Harris became president of BYU and shortly after John A. Widtsoe became LDS commissioner of education, Harris outlined an extensive building program to

31. All of these service programs have continued as a vital part of the program of the University.

32. “Passing Events,” *Improvement Era* 25 (March 1922):472.

be implemented “during the next few years.” He proposed the construction of a library first, then a “thoroughly modern science building.” After that, he wanted a gymnasium, a women’s building, and a general classroom building.³³

Believing that an excellent library is the heart of a great university, President Harris naturally gave priority to the construction of such a new facility for BYU. At that time the school’s library, which included about 19,000 volumes, was still housed in Room D of the Education (Academy) Building on lower campus. Emphasizing the “imperative need” for a suitable library, Harris took his request for a new building to the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees as early as September 1923.³⁴ After “going thoroughly into the question,” the Executive Committee was “convinced that steps should be taken to provide a library building.” The Executive Committee took its recommendations to President Heber J. Grant six months later. By that time the library’s collection of books, augmented by Harris’s book drive, completely filled existing facilities, with bound volumes numbering 35,000. Furthermore, Room D was hardly adequate to accommodate the study needs of a college student body that more than doubled between 1921 and 1924.³⁵

Following President Grant’s suggestion, the Executive Committee petitioned the General Church Board of Education on 2 April 1924 for permission to build a library. The General Board referred the matter to the Church Commission of Education.³⁶ After visiting the University, Dr. Widtsoe reported that “during the last few years, the academic character of the Brigham Young University has changed very greatly. . . . The character of the work and the needs of the institution have correspondingly changed. The library has

33. Franklin S. Harris to Adam S. Bennion, “A Program for Brigham Young University,” 12 November 1925, box 61, Harris Presidential Papers, pp. 3-4.

34. BYU Executive Committee Minutes, 11 September 1923.

35. Executive Committee of BYU Board of Trustees to Heber J. Grant, 6 February 1924, box 7, folder G, Harris Presidential Papers.

36. General Board Minutes, 2 April 1924.



Heber J. Grant Library, dedicated on
16 October 1925 during BYU's semi-
centennial celebration.



Participants in dedicatory services for the Heber J. Grant Library, including Heber J. Grant, Franklin S. Harris, and George H. Brimhall (center of photo).

become more of a workshop, as more advanced students have come to the University, and there is today greater need of ready accessibility of the books of the library. The library should always be as the heart of an educational institution.” He therefore proposed to the General Board that a library building be constructed at BYU “in the near proximity of the Maeser Memorial Building, since a large proportion of the work of the University is already done in the two buildings on the hill.”³⁷ On 6 August 1924 the General Board appropriated \$125,000 for the planning and construction of the new facility.³⁸

Word of the General Board’s decision reached BYU on 18 August 1924, and architect Joseph Nelson of Provo was hired to begin plans for the building. On that same date the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees recommended, “in view of the unusual activity of President Grant in the giving away of books and fostering the reading of good books,” that the new building be named the Heber J. Grant Library.³⁹ President Harris and architect Joseph Nelson left ten days later on an eleven-day tour of university and public libraries as far east as Chicago to get ideas for the new building.⁴⁰

Groundbreaking for the 23,133 square-foot building was held on Founders Day, 1924, and the Heber J. Grant Library was dedicated on Founders Day, 1925, by Hyrum G. Smith, patriarch of the LDS Church. The building was a two-story structure made of glazed granite brick. Library facilities included closed stacks of steel construction and a large reading room comprising half of the second floor. Office space and special rooms were provided in the northwest section of the second floor. The first floor consisted of classrooms and offices. Though this new building seemed very adequate to fill the needs of Brigham Young University, President Harris’s

37. John A. Widtsoe to General Church Board of Education, 17 June 1924, in General Board Minutes, 6 August 1924.

38. General Board Minutes, 6 August 1924.

39. BYU Executive Committee Minutes, 18 August 1924. The entire Board of Trustees officially approved the name on 28 January 1925.

40. Diary of Franklin S. Harris, 28 August through 8 September 1924.

building program designated the Heber J. Grant Library as just the first unit of a structure which would eventually include an addition on the north side of the building.⁴¹ The Heber J. Grant Library was the first step in the optimistic plan of Brigham Young University officials for construction of a great university.

The Uncertain Role of BYU, 1921 to 1926

Ironically, during the period from 1921 to 1926 when Franklin S. Harris was working for improvements, the role of the University in the Church school system was often debated. Some Church leaders even felt that the school should be discontinued. Dr. Harris told Dr. John T. Wahlquist, prominent Mormon educator who later became president of San Jose College, that he wished “the Brethren would tell me what they want done to the BYU — am I to starve it. am I to phase it out, or am I supposed to make it a reputable institution?”⁴²

Though the LDS Church continued its commitment to education,⁴³ financial conditions of the 1920s forced President Heber J. Grant to call for a complete reassessment of the entire educational program of the Church. Mormon leaders were not alone in feeling that they needed to reevaluate the role of church schools in a society that was becoming increasingly dependent on tax-supported schools. As early as 1904 the Presbyterian Synod of Illinois had asked,

41. Karl A. Miller interview with Kiefer B. Sauls, 1972. *See also* Franklin S. Harris, “A Program for Brigham Young University”; and BYU Executive Committee to Heber J. Grant, 6 February 1924. Because of the projected addition, the building was not provided with a north entrance.

42. John T. Wahlquist to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 6 April 1971, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

43. In 1923 John A. Widtsoe said, “We have in this Church 8.6 young people attending college out of every thousand members of the Church; whereas, in the whole United States there are only 4.9 per thousand population attending college. In this Church we have nearly twice as many college students per capita as in the country at large” (“Editor’s Table: Educational Comparisons,” *Improvement Era* 26 [June 1923]:744).

What is the function of the Church in education? Does it go beyond religious instruction? If so, does it embrace primary and secondary education as well as higher education? If we yield primary and secondary education to the state, can we expect to retain much influence in the realm of higher education? These are the real questions which we have to face. They concern the welfare of both Church and State.⁴⁴

In a special January 1923 meeting of the Board of Education of Snow Junior College, Dr. John A. Widtsoe, Church commissioner of education, explained the policy of the General Church Board of Education for Church junior colleges. Commissioner Widtsoe noted that “the church was going through a very distressful period financially and that expenses must be curtailed.” Therefore, the General Board formulated “a policy to establish Junior Colleges at convenient places throughout the church and make them strong and efficient leadership centers with the primary motive of developing teachers for elementary schools, others for senior college work and others for efficient service for the communities in which they settle.”⁴⁵ As president of the Church Teachers College, Franklin S. Harris worked closely with presidents of LDS junior colleges to administer the Church’s junior college program.

In 1925 increasing financial pressures caused the Church to again appraise its educational system. Adam S. Bennion, superintendent of the Church Department of Education, asked President Harris to outline the future of Brigham Young University. Responding to Bennion’s request, President Harris wrote that his plan looked forward to “the next dozen or so years.” Harris prefaced his report by saying that “The development of any educational project is so closely tied

44. Daniel W. Kucera, *Church-State Relationships in Education in Illinois* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1955), p. 134.

45. R.P. Findlay, “Snow College, Its Founding and Development, 1888-1932” (M.Ed. thesis, Utah State Agricultural College, 1952), pp. 118-19.

up with the availability of funds that it is difficult to outline an exact plan of development without knowing the probable income. The Brigham Young University is essentially a Church institution and it will probably always derive the greater part of its funds directly from the Church." Therefore, "The growth and development as well as the general policies of the University will inevitably be determined by the funds which the Church is able to put into the project."⁴⁶

Harris indicated that the organization of the University into five colleges, three divisions, and thirty-four departments in 1925 furnished "all of the machinery that will be needed until the University has reached at least double its present size." As he saw it, the three greatest needs of the University in 1925 were an improved faculty, more adequate scientific equipment, and more books in the library. While there might be some opportunity to secure funds for special purposes from organizations such as the Harmon Foundation, the Carnegie Corporation, and the Rockefeller Foundation,⁴⁷ Harris maintained that if the Church were realistic about the expansion of BYU, the current \$200,000 Church appropriation, the main source of the school's operating revenue, needed to be increased at a rate of \$16,000 per year until in six years the appropriation would reach at least \$300,000 annually.⁴⁸

In the cover letter accompanying the copy of the report Harris sent to the Executive Committee of the BYU Board of Trustees, he said he believed that "the Church University should keep pace in growth with the Church itself."⁴⁹ Zina

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46. Franklin S. Harris to Adam S. Bennion, "A Program for Brigham Young University," 12 November 1925, box 61, Harris Presidential Papers.
 47. Editor's Note: BYU has obtained very little financial help from these foundations, perhaps because the school is religiously oriented and conservative in its philosophy while these foundations have maintained a liberal, secular orientation.
 48. Notwithstanding Harris's recommendation, the BYU budget remained \$200,000 for the next six years.
 49. Franklin S. Harris to J.W. Knight, 14 November 1925, box 14, folder K, Harris Presidential Papers. BYU Archives also has copies of the same letter sent to Lafayette Holbrook and Zina Young Card.

Young Card, daughter of Brigham Young, responded to the report in some detail, giving Harris all the encouragement she could:

Your scholastic needs loom up before me and I see that it will be the labor of years to carry out your master mind's ideas. From my standpoint, you have done marvelous already, especially in the qualifying of former teachers in the broader fields of Science, English, Music, and books for our wonderful library. . . . God grant the way to open up and some tightwads will feel to impart of their surplus for the benefit of our rising generations. . . . Let us pray that the "Annual Maintenance" will be \$300,000 this coming year. Six years is too long to wait. We need it now, and don't be afraid to say so.⁵⁰

Stephen L. Chipman of the Executive Committee also thought that the increase in the Church appropriation of \$16,000 per year suggested by Harris was "modest." In his judgment, it was not sufficient "to do what ought to be done for the school. The sooner the Brigham Young University is made the Great College it should become, the more rapidly we will have men and women to man our High Schools, Seminaries and Church Institutions."⁵¹ Senator Reed Smoot, another member of the Board of Trustees, wrote Harris that his program for BYU "covered the present and future needs of the University. I trust that it will not be long before your prediction that two thousand students will be attending the school will be verified."⁵²

Even with this support from his Board of Trustees, Harris's plan for the development of the school was not implemented. In fact, early in 1926 the General Church Board of Education called for a third review in three years of the Church school system and Church educational policies. In response to his

50. Zina Young Card to Franklin S. Harris, 23 November 1925, box 16, folder C, Harris Presidential Papers.

51. Stephen L. Chipman to Franklin S. Harris, 19 November 1925, box 16, folder C, Harris Presidential Papers.

52. Reed Smoot to Franklin S. Harris, 18 November 1925, box 18, folder S, Harris Presidential Papers.

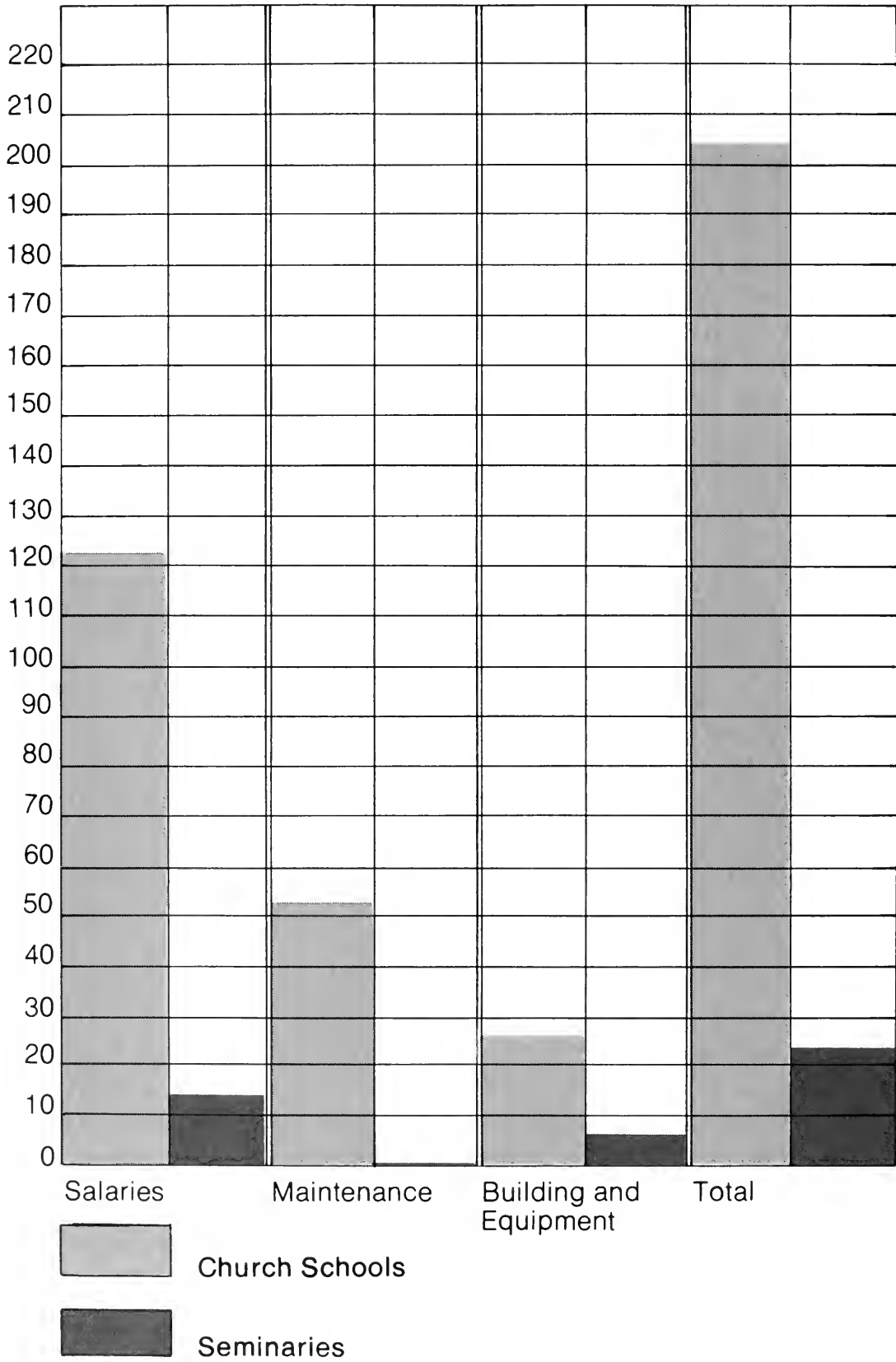
assignment, Superintendent Bennion submitted a paper entitled "An Inquiry into Our Church School Policy" to the General Church Board of Education on 3 February 1926. Noting that Brigham Young College at Logan and Ricks College in Rexburg, Idaho, had asked permission to substantially expand their academic offerings, Bennion asked, "Can the Church afford further to expand its educational programs?" Bennion felt that to grant the requests of Brigham Young College and Ricks College, especially since Ricks had requested permission to expand to a four-year college, would mean curtailing other institutions in the Church Educational System, including Brigham Young University. Even though BYU was "growing remarkably" and "operating at a very low per-capita cost," Bennion knew that it too would require the expenditure of considerable Church funds: "The new Library Building, which, furnished, has been supplied at the cost of \$165,000, is a great asset to the institution, but within the next ten years the school will likely be under the necessity of asking for a new science building, a new gymnasium, a new women's building and possibly a new classroom building."⁵³

While BYU and other Church schools called for increased appropriations, the General Board was faced with the problem of determining the future of the expanding system of Church seminaries. The Church had closed twelve of its academies from 1921 to 1924 while at the same time expanding to fifty-nine the number of seminaries adjacent to state high schools. In the 1924-25 school year the LDS seminaries provided religious courses for over nine thousand Mormon students at about one-tenth the cost per capita of operating Church schools (*see* accompanying chart). Having established two Church educational programs which seemed to be competing with each other for funds, the General Church Board of Education was forced to formulate priorities for spending Church money on education. Superintendent Bennion suggested that the General Board had three basic alternatives: It could hold Church schools to their present level of operation

53. General Board Minutes, 3 February 1926.

Comparative Church Expenditures Per Student
in Church Schools and Seminaries

1924-25



and expand the seminary system; it could extend the scope of operation of Church schools at an annual cost exceeding \$1,000,000; or it could “withdraw from the field of secular instruction altogether” and center Church educational efforts on the “promotion of a strictly religious education program.” If the General Board chose the third alternative, which would call for the closing of BYU and other Church schools, the entire Church school effort would be to “complement the work of the entire public school system wherever our people are affected by offering adequate religious instruction.”⁵⁴

The General Board heard the report of Superintendent Bennion and seriously considered the three alternatives he suggested. In turn they raised further questions:

1. Does the Church receive benefit in return from an 8 to 1 investment in Church schools as against Seminaries?
2. Do these returns equal the returns possible in other fields from the same investment?
3. Does there lie ahead in the field of the Junior College the same competition with State institutions that has been encountered in the high school field?
4. Can the Church afford to operate a university which will be able creditably to carry on against the great and richly endowed universities of our land? . . .
8. Assuming that the Church should continue to operate Church Schools, can it launch a permanent campaign for funds which will adequately provide for all academic needs?⁵⁵

The questions under discussion were of such significance that Stephen L Richards suggested that each member of the General Board be allowed time to give the recommendations serious consideration before the General Board took up Superintendent Bennion’s report for general discussion and action. President Grant said that nothing had worried him more since he became President of the Church than

the expansion of the appropriation for the Church school

54. Ibid.

55. Ibid.

system. With the idea of cutting down the expense, we appointed three of the Apostles as Commissioners; but instead of cutting down we have increased and increased, until we decided a year or two ago that there would be no further increase. We decided to limit the Brigham Young University to \$200,000. Last year that school got \$165,000 extra for a new building, and inside of two or three years they expect a regular appropriation of \$300,000, besides which they have plans laid out for new buildings involving an expenditure of over a million if not a million and a half. Well, we can't do it, that's all.⁵⁶

After further discussion, the General Board accepted Stephen L Richards's recommendation and adjourned without taking specific action.

The General Board met again on 3 March 1926 to consider a proposed Church school budget of \$717,646 for the 1926-27 school year. Brigham Young University asked for \$235,000. Following a detailed presentation by President W.W. Henderson of Brigham Young College in Logan of a proposal to make that school a four-year institution, the general educational policy of the Church again came under discussion. President Charles W. Nibley, second counselor in the First Presidency, urged that the question was whether the Church should "continue to compete with the State in education and duplicate the work being done by the State or shall we step out and attend strictly to religious education? . . . It must be borne in mind that the whole school situation in the country has changed very materially in the last ten or fifteen years and the Church has got to face it." Willard Young agreed with President Nibley and questioned the ability of the Church to compete with the state in secular education. Stephen L Richards agreed that the Church could choose to emphasize "religious education and gradually get out of the field of secular education, but unless the President has the inspiration to do that I personally doubt the wisdom of taking such revolutionary action."⁵⁷ He suggested that if the Church

56. Ibid.

57. General Board Minutes, 3 March 1926.

could not support all of its educational programs, then it should limit enrollment at BYU, which “would operate to the benefit of the junior colleges in their districts.” David O. McKay strongly favored the continuation of Church schools. He said,

I think the intimation that we ought to abandon our present Church Schools and go into the seminary business exclusively is not only premature but dangerous. The seminary has not been tested yet but the Church schools have, and if we go back to the old Catholic Church you will find Church schools have been tested for hundreds of years and that church still holds to them. . . . Let us hold our seminaries but not do away with our Church schools.⁵⁸

After this meeting of the General Board, Superintendent Bennion sent letters inviting the presidents of the Church schools to meet with the General Church Board of Education at a special conference on 10 March 1926. The letter to President Franklin S. Harris stated that Church educational policies were being given full consideration and that the Board wished to take full advantage of “your years of experience in Church schools.” Harris was instructed to be prepared to lay before the Board “your conception of the place and function of our Church Schools generally, and more specifically, will you point out what in your judgment is the particular mission of your own school.”⁵⁹ When the group assembled, President Grant asked the presidents of the Church schools to consider the problems of meeting the budgetary demands of Church schools, which had more than doubled while “the tithes of the Church had not increased.”⁶⁰ The meeting was adjourned without definite policy being established.

At a March 18 meeting of the General Board, Superintendent Bennion recommended

58. Ibid.

59. Adam S. Bennion to Franklin S. Harris, 4 March 1926, box 16, folder B, Harris Presidential Papers.

60. General Board Minutes, 10 March 1926.

- a. That we continue to establish seminaries wherever their need is keenly felt and wherever the local people exhibit a spirit of cooperation and enthusiasm which seems to guarantee for successful operation of such institutions.
- b. That we plan to withdraw from the field of Junior Colleges as the State may make provision to take them over.

His specific recommendations for the future of Brigham Young University were

that we organize the Brigham Young University on the basis of a senior college and a junior college. That we take steps to have the junior college taken over by the Provo City or Utah County or both and that pending such action attendance at this junior college be limited to its geographical unit, comparable to the unit of our other junior colleges. That arrangements be entered into so that the expense of the training schools now operated in connection with the Brigham Young University be borne by Provo City.

That we discourage the enthusiasm to build a great Church University involving, as it will require, an elaborate building program.

That we discourage the giving of ultra technical courses that at best can serve but very few students.

That we stress the preparation of such teachers of religious subjects as shall make of these subjects the outstanding subjects of the institution.

That above all else the function of this school shall remain the better equipping for their life work of Latter-day Saint leaders.

That we foster a movement to encourage endowments in the interest of a small but eminently superior Church university.⁶¹

Discussion of Superintendent Bennion's recommendations was continued in the 23 March 1926 meeting of the General Board. Dr. John A. Widtsoe expressed the belief that "higher

61. General Board Minutes, 18 March 1926.

institutions of learning in the Church, if maintained, will ultimately have to be supported by endowments." President Grant replied, "I doubt if we will be able to maintain the higher institutions at all, for our people are not in a position to make endowments." David O. McKay said that two extreme views had been expressed,

one favoring higher education with the hope of endowment, the other eliminating Church schools entirely and going into the seminaries. I stand right between these two extremes. I am not in favor at all of spending money on higher education in Church Schools . . . but I hesitate about eliminating the schools now established, because of the growing tendency all over the world to sneer at religion. When President Woodruff sent out his letter advising Presidents of Stakes to establish Church Schools, he emphasized that we must have our children trained in the principles of the gospel. We can have that in the seminaries, it is true, but he added this, "and where the principles of our religion may form part of the teaching of the schools." President Young had the same thought in mind when he told Dr. Maeser not to teach arithmetic without the spirit of the Lord. The influence of seminaries, if you put them all over the Church, will not equal the influence of the Church Schools that are now established.⁶²

President Grant insisted that Church revenues were not adequate to continue the Church schools as David O. McKay proposed. He asked Elder McKay what he would do about the increases in budget requested by the schools, "to which Brother McKay replied that he would not grant them." Dr. John A. Widtsoe then proposed that President Grant set aside a certain sum "for the disposal of the Department of Education." Widtsoe proposed that the Church should use this sum to establish seminaries in conjunction with state high schools and to maintain "a small but excellent institution of higher learning."

62. General Board Minutes, 23 March 1926.

Superintendent Adam S. Bennion remained insistent that “finally and inevitably we shall withdraw from the academic field and center upon religious education. It is only a question as to when we may best do that.” Bennion’s solution to the problem was to “supplement the University of Utah with religious education under strong men. . . . In the main men in the State Universities are seeking the truth, and I think it somewhat a foolish idea to believe that they are wilfully perverting the truth.” Bennion further proposed that seminaries be established at the University of Utah and the University of Idaho at Moscow. Richard R. Lyman agreed with Bennion that “the seminary alongside the State institution is going to be more effective than the Church School.”

President Charles W. Nibley, feeling that the General Board was not near to a solution, proposed that the matter “be submitted to the First Presidency and the Superintendent. . . . Let us form some definite policy and work to that end. If it is to establish seminaries, let us establish them. If it is to go on and continue to compete with the State schools, why let us go ahead, but the main thing is to get some definite policy for the future.”⁶³ President Nibley’s motion carried unanimously, and the meeting adjourned.

On 7 April 1926 Superintendent Bennion met with the Board of Trustees of Snow College in his office in Salt Lake City where he announced that the Church had established a policy to eventually withdraw from the academic field.⁶⁴ There is no evidence that the decision reported by Superintendent Bennion to the Snow College Board of Trustees was ever brought back to the General Board of Education. In June 1926 Melvin C. Merrill wrote President Harris that he had heard that Superintendent Bennion had told the Brigham Young College faculty that the new Church policy contemplated “doing away with the church schools and that Ricks, the Weber, and the BYU are soon to go. I can’t believe that is true

63. Ibid.

64. Findlay, “Snow College,” p. 121.

of the BYU. How about it?"⁶⁵ Harris, optimistic as ever, replied, "It may be that one or two or more of them will close, but I think there is no chance of the BYU closing in my day or yours. Dr. Bennion did talk a little freely but he is not talking that way now and there is no sentiment among the General Authorities (I am informed from the very best authority) to close the BYU."⁶⁶

Around the World

Confident that BYU would not be closed, President Harris turned his attention to the international scene. He had been invited to present a paper at the third Pan-Pacific Science Congress to be held in Tokyo, Japan. Convened every three years, the congress was attended by a limited number of scientists from each participating country. The purpose of the congress was to consider the problems of the countries bordering the Pacific Ocean.⁶⁷ Harris, an authority on alkali in soils, was invited to present a paper on "Soil Alkali as a Scientific Problem in Pacific Regions."⁶⁸

Though the conference was to last only two weeks, Harris received permission from the Board of Trustees on 11 February 1926 to extend his trip to a full year's travel around the world on behalf of the University and the Church. He intended in particular to study educational institutions throughout the world. He was also commissioned by the First Presidency of the Church to study the question of colonization of the Armenian Saints in Syria and to report on the branches

65. Melvin C. Merrill to Franklin S. Harris, 10 June 1926, box 17, folder M, Harris Presidential Papers.

66. Harris to Merrill, 14 June 1926, box 17, folder M, Harris Presidential Papers.

67. Franklin S. Harris, "First Glimpse of Japan," ms. 340, box 19, folder 5, BYU Archives; Franklin S. Harris, "An International Science Congress," *Improvement Era* 30 (February 1927):348-51.

68. "President Harris to Address Pan-Pacific Congress in Japan," *Y News*, 5 September 1926. In 1920 Harris published a work entitled *Soil Alkali: Its Origin, Nature, and Treatment* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1920).

of the Church in Japan.⁶⁹ In a special blessing given on 23 August 1926, Anthony W. Ivins promised Harris that he would be recognized as “a man of wisdom and understanding.” President Ivins admonished Dr. Harris to “be a witness of the truth of the Gospel and its fruits. . . . Without making this your major purpose, you shall not cover your light under a bushel.”⁷⁰

Armed with introductions from such officials as the secretary of agriculture of the United States, the governor of Utah, and the First Presidency of the Church, Harris embarked by train for San Francisco on 26 August 1926, leaving the administration of Brigham Young University to L. John Nuttall, Jr., dean of the College of Education.⁷¹ Dean Nuttall corresponded with President Harris while he was gone, informing him of conditions of the school and decisions to be made. Because of slow communications, Acting President Nuttall was forced to make many decisions on his own. Harris approved of his decisions, often writing him to do what he thought was best.⁷²

True to the purpose of his travels, President Harris visited Stanford University before he left the United States and the University of Hawaii on his way to Japan.⁷³ He was the very first delegate to arrive at the Pan-Pacific Congress, coming early because he wanted some extra time “to study Chinese and Japanese education and agriculture before the Congress opened.” He was met at the dock on 21 September 1926 by an

69. See diary of Franklin S. Harris, 30 March 1926; and Alma O. Taylor to the First Presidency, 21 August 1926, box 19, Harris Presidential Papers.

70. “A Blessing upon the Head of Elder Franklin S. Harris, by Presidents Heber J. Grant, Anthony W. Ivins, and Charles W. Nibley, President Ivins Being Voice, Given Prior to His Leaving on a Trip around the World,” 23 August 1926, ms. 340, box 19, BYU Archives.

71. Harris also carried letters of introduction from Provo City Corporation, the Utah state superintendent of public instruction, the *Improvement Era* magazine, the National Education Association, the American Country Life Association, the secretary of state of the United States, the BYU Board of Trustees, and the mayor of Provo.

72. See appendices for a biographical sketch of L. John Nuttall, Jr.

73. Diary of Franklin S. Harris, 25 August and 8 September 1926.

escort who offered transportation by taxi or by rickshaw. Harris recalled, "I chose the latter, for I was out for new experiences and I felt there was little to add to my experience with Fords. . . . The man who trotted along with me did not seem to be much more than half my size and was much older than I. It made me feel a little ashamed to have this little fellow pulling me, a fullgrown robust man who needed exercise."⁷⁴ Trying to make the most of his early arrival, Harris spent the better part of a month touring, sightseeing, and visiting the educational institutions of Japan,⁷⁵ Korea, Manchuria, and Northern China. He took a side trip to study the educational system of the Philippines. He traveled throughout Japan, visiting with members of the Church. In Sapporo he interested some of the younger members of the Church in attending Brigham Young University.⁷⁶

His journey into Northern China was difficult because of "revolutionary activities that have been going on in this section. Almost every day there is fighting along the [railroad] line and frequently the train service is entirely demoralized."⁷⁷ Despite the danger, President Harris's journey was uneventful, and he felt very rewarded for going: "Quite a thrill went over me when I realized that I was finally standing on the great wall of China, one of the seven wonders of the world. Here I was actually walking along this great barrier of defense which was built 200 years before Christ."⁷⁸

After touring such universities as the Imperial University at

74. Franklin S. Harris, "First Glimpses of Japan."

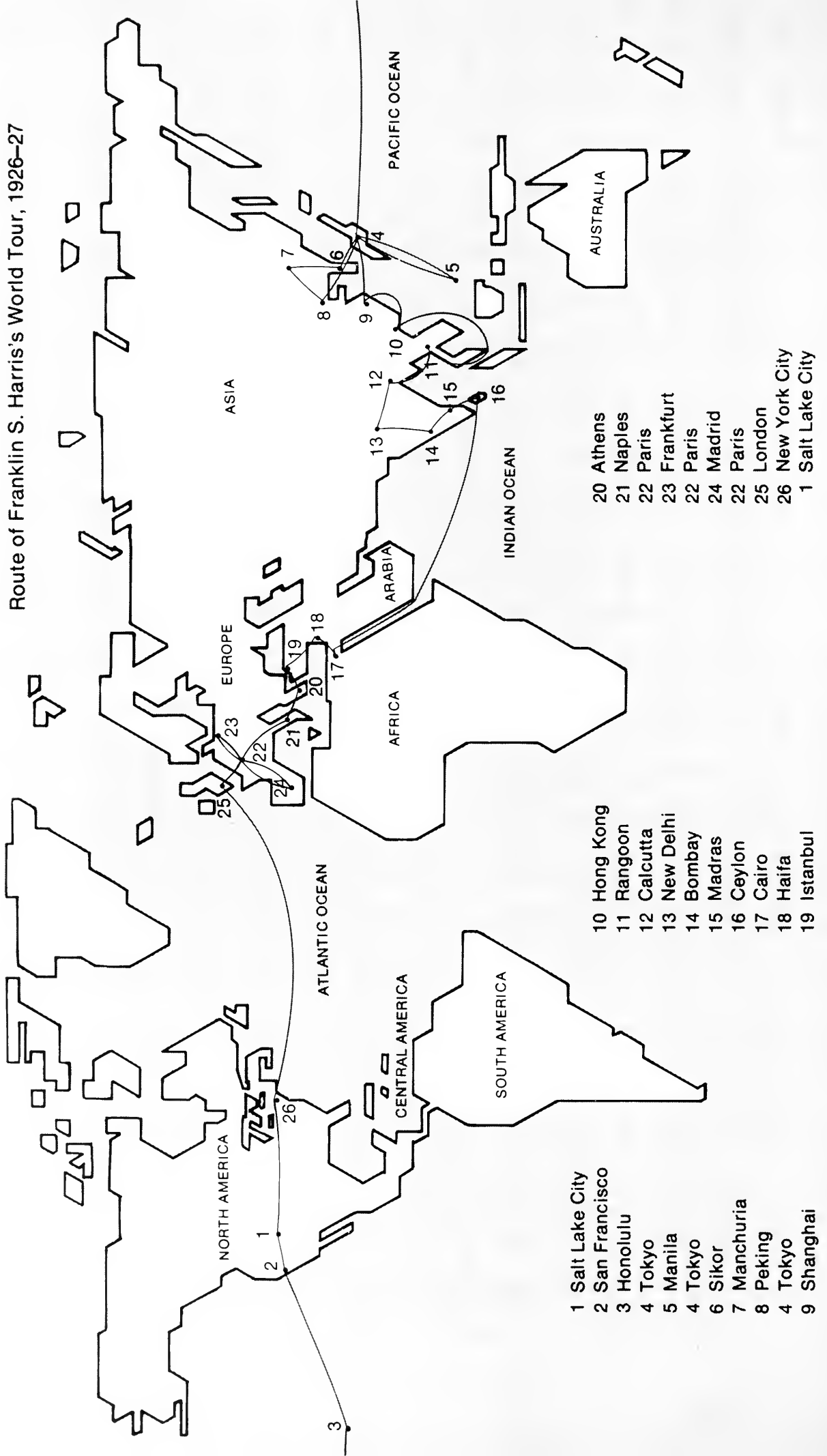
75. Many of the spots in Japan were so beautiful and enchanting that Harris wrote, "I felt a good deal like the boy who attended a three-ring circus and tried to look at all three rings at once and got very much confused" ("First Glimpses of Japan").

76. See diary of Franklin S. Harris, 21 and 24 September 1926; and Franklin S. Harris to L. John Nuttall, Jr., box 1, folder 9, L. John Nuttall, Jr., Papers, BYU Archives. Two of the boys later attended BYU. They were the first BYU students to come from outside North or Central America.

77. Franklin S. Harris, "Mukden to Peking," ms. 340, box 19, folder 5, BYU Archives.

78. Franklin S. Harris, "Peking," October 1926, ms. 340, box 19, folder 5, BYU Archives.

Route of Franklin S. Harris's World Tour, 1926-27



Sapporo, Japan; the University of Peking; and the University of Korea, Harris noted that “there is much more of education in the Orient than some of us have realized.”⁷⁹ He returned to Japan on October 25 for the beginning of the conference. Franklin S. Harris represented his school and country well at the congress, being elected chairman of the agricultural section of the conference.⁸⁰ He was very impressed with the meetings, spending many hours “in daily contact with a number of the greatest scholars of the world and in comparing notes with them about our respective institutions.”⁸¹

After the congress closed on November 9, Harris boarded the *S.S. President Van Buren* to finish his world tour. Passing through the South China Sea the steamship stopped at Shanghai, Hong Kong, Singapore, Penang, and Rangoon long enough for him to tour famous sights and visit important universities. By the end of November he was in Calcutta, India, where he landed to see the country in more detail. From there he traveled to the cities of Delhi, Bombay, and finally south to Madras so he could visit the island of Ceylon before traveling up the Suez Canal to Egypt. Analyzing the educational systems as he traveled, Harris commented, “Here one sees how the world goes where there is practically no education. Of the 300,000,000 people in India only the merest fraction can even read and write.”⁸²

The new year found Harris in Cairo, Egypt, a land “‘dripping’ with ancient history.” He found Egypt “tremendously interesting and instructive.”⁸³ At Cairo’s major university, the leading institution of the Mohammedan world, Harris observed 1,300 students working without the benefit of

79. “Greetings from Distant Japan,” *Y News*, 24 November 1926.

80. The congress was divided into sections according to subject matter, as follows: biological sciences, physical sciences, agriculture, geography, architecture, astronomy, botany, hygiene and medicine, entomology, geology, zoology and fishery, anthropology and ethnology, and radio waves.

81. “Greetings from Distant Japan,” *Y News*, 24 November 1926.

82. Franklin S. Harris to L. John Nuttall, Jr., 30 December 1926, box 1, folder 9, Nuttall Papers.

83. Franklin S. Harris to L. John Nuttall, Jr., 27 January 1927, box 1, folder 9, Nuttall Papers.

scientific equipment. Their curriculum revolved around the Koran, holy scriptures of the Islam religion. In Palestine he met Joseph William Booth and prepared to visit the Armenian Saints in Aleppo, Syria. As a result of World War I, many Armenians had been driven from their homeland. The American Near East Relief Organization gave them some assistance, but the work was slow. Joseph W. Booth had spent half his life as a missionary among the Armenians, and the Church sent him to Syria to help the Armenians recover from the war. Though nearly a decade had passed since the initial exodus and relocation, the Armenian Saints were in a state of unemployment and poverty. Booth and Harris visited members of the Church in Beirut, Damascus, Aleppo, and Jerusalem.

On 10 February 1927 Harris sent his report to the First Presidency. He found the Saints in Syria to have a remarkable comprehension of the gospel. They were beginning to free themselves from their impoverished conditions. Harris recommended that the Armenian Saints should settle in groups to promote economic well-being, solidarity in the Church, and sound education for the young. He disagreed with the philosophy that “east is east and west is west, and ne’er the twain shall meet.” He felt, however, that the missionary system as practiced in America and Europe was not entirely suited for the Orient with its different social systems and its “peculiar psychology.” He pointed out that “Our whole system of ethics is . . . different from that in the Orient.” He felt the settlers needed to have American leaders who could help them improve their methods of colonization. In recommending a location for the Armenian Saints to settle, Harris stated the choice could only be made if it were determined whether the colony was to be largely agricultural or industrial. Harris analyzed the advantages of both types of colonization. In case no colony was to be organized, he proposed the establishment of a mission headquarters in Haifa, Palestine, from which the mission president could monitor the work in Palestine and Syria.⁸⁴ Having completed his assignment, President Harris

84. Franklin S. Harris, “Report Sent to First Presidency,” 10 February 1927, ms. 340, box 19, folder 6, BYU Archives.

left for Turkey on February 11, "impressed with President Booth and the Armenian Saints."⁸⁵

Franklin S. Harris planned extensive travel and study in Europe during the remaining six months of his tour. Making his way through Turkey and Greece, he visited the University of Athens and other attractions. In Italy he stopped at Naples to see the city's 600-year-old university with its library containing more than a million volumes. After seeing Switzerland and the Alps, he settled in Paris in March for extended study and travel from that central location. He attended lectures and discussions at the University of Paris and used the school's fine library. He visited universities in Northern France, Holland, Belgium, and Germany with two professors he met, Dr. Ray Russell and James L. Barker.⁸⁶ Harris was particularly impressed with the educational exhibit at the University in Frankfurt, Germany: "As I went through these exhibits a lot of suggestions came to me wherein our own College of Education might work up something of the kind suited to our own conditions. I marvel at what some of these European countries are doing in an educational way with small means."⁸⁷

With only a week between excursions, President Harris and his friends set out for Spain. Commenting on the Spanish educational system, Harris wrote L. John Nuttall that, "In general we have but little to learn from them in an educational way, only some things to avoid."⁸⁸ Harris's wife, Estella, joined him on 6 May 1927, and they toured Scandinavia together. He noted, "Those countries seem to have education systems which promote great stability, and their scholars have a finish

85. Diary of Franklin S. Harris, 11 February 1927. The First Presidency later decided not to establish a colony in Syria. However, a mission was organized in the Middle East. On 18 October 1927 Elder James E. Talmage met with President James Wilford Booth in the grove on Mount Carmel to dedicate the city of Haifa as mission headquarters and a gathering place for the Saints (Mary R. Booth, "A Glance at Palestine," *Improvement Era* 33[September 1930]:746-47).

86. Russell was a BYU graduate, and Barker had been on the faculty at BYU.

87. Franklin S. Harris to L. John Nuttall, Jr., 20 April 1927, box 1, folder 9, Nuttall Papers.

88. Franklin S. Harris to L. John Nuttall, Jr., 9 May 1927, box 1, folder 9, Nuttall Papers.

which one seems to find more conspicuous in the older countries.”⁸⁹

After touring the British Isles for a month, the Harrises boarded a steamer bound for the United States. They returned to Provo on 19 August 1927, just a few days short of a year from the time President Harris left for San Francisco. He recorded in his diary that he had traveled 47,000 miles, had slept in 146 different beds, and had crossed international boundaries forty-four times. The First Presidency called him to Salt Lake City on August 31 where he made an extensive report of his trip. He spent most of September recounting his travels to various social, educational, and Church groups. Within the next year he published over twenty magazine articles about his excursions.⁹⁰

The world tour was a valuable broadening experience for President Harris. Evaluating his trip for students and alumni in the *Y News*, he confidently stated that even though BYU did not have a large library, effective cataloguing and indexing made its resources more readily available than materials in some of the greatest libraries in the world. He also observed that BYU had more buildings than some of the famous Old World universities. He desired to combine the good things he had found in international education with the spirituality and friendship existing at BYU to make it a great university. He strongly felt that the past half-century of BYU history had worked well to fill the needs of the people it had served. BYU did not have the equipment or the hundreds of years of tradition that the schools of Asia and Europe enjoyed, but it did have “what is more precious than any of these, the spirit of devotion to a cause, and high ideals that stimulate us in all our activities.”⁹¹ Though President Harris had visited many schools throughout the world, he was certain that “No institu-

89. Franklin S. Harris to L. John Nuttall, Jr., 15 June 1927, box 1, folder 9, Nuttall Papers.

90. See Franklin S. Harris Personal Papers, ms. 340, box 19, BYU Archives.

91. “President Harris Tells of Trip to Alumni,” *Y News*, 27 September 1927.

tion in the world has a greater opportunity for service” than Brigham Young University.⁹²

A New Superintendent of Church Schools

On 9 November 1927, a little more than a month after Harris’s return from his world tour, Adam S. Bennion resigned as superintendent of Church schools to accept a position with the Utah Power and Light Company. His resignation was to take effect on 1 February 1928. At a special meeting of the General Church Board of Education on 27 December 1927, Dr. Joseph F. Merrill, dean of the School of Engineering and Mining at the University of Utah, was appointed to take his place.⁹³ President Harris was naturally concerned to know whether the change in leadership would bring a change of policy that might endanger the future of BYU. Dr. Merrill assured Harris, “If my views can be approved by the Board you will have, I think, no reason to regret my recent appointment.”⁹⁴

On 1 February 1928 Bennion made his final report to the General Church Board of Education which he entitled “A Brief Summary of Historical Background, the Present Status, and Possible Future Development of the Latter-day Saint Educational System.” In his report Bennion reiterated his statement to the Board of Trustees of Snow College two years before that it was the intention of the Church to withdraw from the field of secular education.⁹⁵ The General Board confirmed Superintendent Merrill’s impression “that the policy of the Church was to eliminate Church schools as fast as circumstances would permit.”⁹⁶ In spite of his assurances to President Harris that BYU would not be closed, Superinten-

92. “Returns Full of Enthusiasm for Y Future, Predicts Great Things for University after Making Circle of Entire Globe,” *Y News*, 31 August 1927.

93. General Board Minutes, 28 December 1927.

94. Joseph F. Merrill to Franklin S. Harris, 5 January 1928, Harris Presidential Papers.

95. General Board Minutes, 1 February 1928.

96. General Board Minutes, 22 March 1928 and 20 February 1929.



Joseph F. Merrill, commissioner of LDS
Church schools from 1928 to 1933.

dent Merrill worked throughout the five and one-half years of his administration to fulfill the request of the General Board.

On 20 February 1929 the General Board publicly reaffirmed its intentions to close Church schools. The next day Commissioner Merrill wrote Thomas N. Taylor, chairman of the Executive Committee of the BYU Board of Trustees,

On or before the close of another school year two or more of our Church schools in Utah will be closed. The closing of the others will probably follow in June 1931. This has reference also to Ricks College in Idaho and Gila College in Arizona. But what is of particular interest to you, it has reference also to the junior college work of the BYU at least. At the Board meeting yesterday it was not definitely stated so, but it seemed to be the minds of most of those present that the BYU as a whole was included in the closing movement; and that is specially the reason why I am writing you. My own hope and fondest desire is that we may retain the BYU as a senior and graduate institution, eliminating its junior college work, and make the University outstanding, a credit to the Church, and a highly serviceable and necessary institution. But whether this can be done or not will, of course, depend on conditions. So, I hope that you, President Harris, and other influential men in Utah County, will immediately get in touch with your delegation in the Legislature and such others as you may know, to insure such legislative action as will permit the establishment of a junior college in Provo under public auspices by the present Legislature.⁹⁷

Merrill also told Taylor that unless the structure of Brigham Young University changed as suggested, the entire University would probably be eliminated. On 22 February 1929, the day after Merrill's letter to Taylor, Senate Bill 206, "An Act to Provide for the Organization and Maintenance of Junior Colleges," was introduced into the Utah State Legislature. Known as the Candland Bill, it was read the first time

97. Merrill to Taylor, 21 February 1929, box 24, folder T, Harris Presidential Papers.

and referred to the Committee on Revision and Enrolling.⁹⁸ No action was taken on this proposed legislation.

On 24 February, two days after the Candland Bill was introduced into the state senate, President Harris wrote his mother, "There is considerable agitation from the announcement of the Church Board of Education of their intention of closing all Junior Colleges in the near future. The thing that worries us so is their inclusion of the BYU Junior College in it. We are not sure just how they may affect us."⁹⁹ After President Harris communicated his fears to faculty members, Dr. Thomas L. Martin wrote him to express "great faith in your generalship. . . . Your advice is sound that we keep calm. I shall attempt to act as though nothing threatens and hope with you that we shall spend our days in this great work of service made possible through this institution."¹⁰⁰

Harris explained the situation to John A. Widtsoe, who was in Liverpool, England, presiding over the European Mission of the LDS Church:

I certainly wish that you were here now. We have [been] having "great doings" in our Church school system, and we need a steady hand. Some of the things that you have previously told me about are now materializing, and some of our faculty members are very much worried, although I personally feel certain that everything will come out all right. The Church board was pretty outspoken in its announcements to try to induce the legislature to action, but at the present time the legislature is very much confused and Dr. Merrill has asked me to get on the job and see if the thing cannot be straightened out so that Weber, Snow, etc., can be transferred to state control. I hope you will be back before they go too far with the BYU. The whole thing is full of dynamite.¹⁰¹

98. *Utah Senate Journal*, 1929, p. 500.

99. Franklin S. Harris to Eunice S. Harris, 25 February 1929, box 23, folder H, Harris Presidential Papers.

100. Thomas L. Martin to Franklin S. Harris, 25 February 1929, box 23, folder M, Harris Presidential Papers.

101. Harris to Widtsoe, 2 March 1929, box 24, folder W, Harris Presidential Papers.

When the news spread that there was a possibility of either discontinuing the first two years of the BYU program or of closing the entire University, many faculty members feared for the future of the school. Lowry Nelson, who was doing graduate work in Madison, Wisconsin, wrote President Harris,

All my ruminations during the past week have born in upon me the conviction that the present administration of the church very decidedly wants nothing to do with liberal education. I do not believe that they will abandon the BYU entirely, but, if one projects a line of probability based upon the trend of the past 10 years, one is led to the conclusion that they do not have in mind building there a great university of liberal education. I do not know how you feel about it. Along with you for the past eight years, I have maintained a spirit of confidence and optimism for the future of the school. I had thought that if they felt they had to withdraw from the junior colleges, that such an act would make possible the liberal expansion of the BYU. I can see now that to the present administration, with its avowed "policy to withdraw from the field of secular education," such a policy would be grossly illogical and inconsistent.¹⁰²

In reply to Lowry Nelson's letter, President Harris explained that "Some members of the Church Board of Education would like to see the BYU gradually restrict its lower division work somewhat on the Stanford plan; that is, as soon as the graduate and upper division work is magnified and the junior colleges are ready to take care of the lower division students, gradually to have our upper division work dominate." President Harris maintained his confidence in the General Church Board of Education. He wrote,

I have read all the minutes of their meetings and have talked with practically all of the authorities, and I am not the least bit excited. Up to the present time everything that has been done toward consolidating the system I

102. Nelson to Harris, 8 March 1929, Harris Presidential Papers.

think has been right, and I do not look for the authorities to make any great mistakes. They are pretty deliberate and take pretty careful counsel. This is very much in contrast to what I have experienced in the legislative bodies during the last ten days when I have been with them. I only wish that the educational affairs of the state were as well considered as those of the Church.

Harris reassured Professor Nelson that he expected to “see the Brigham Young University move right on long after I am dead, and I do not expect to see it during this time have any serious set-back.”¹⁰³

Harris wrote Melvin C. Merrill, brother of the Church commissioner of education,

In your letter you mention the possible elimination of the junior college at the BYU. I am so convinced that this would be a mistake that I do not believe it will ever take place. Your brother Joseph has been rather in favor of that. He has in mind Johns Hopkins University and other graduate institutions. Certainly, we have not in hand the resources to build a great graduate institution, and until that is the case I think we should keep what we have intact. Our present organization, built up with over fifty years of experience, is well fitted for the work to be done here, and I should not like to see it interfered with.¹⁰⁴

Throughout the crisis, President Harris remained calmly optimistic about the future of BYU. While many Church academies were closed and most of the Church’s junior colleges were turned over to the state, he capably defended BYU’s role as the Church University.¹⁰⁵

Problems with Financing Church Schools

President Heber J. Grant’s decision to close Church schools

103. Harris to Nelson, 12 March 1929, box 23, folder N, Harris Presidential Papers.

104. Franklin S. Harris to Melvin C. Merrill, 21 March 1929, box 23, folder M, Harris Presidential Papers.

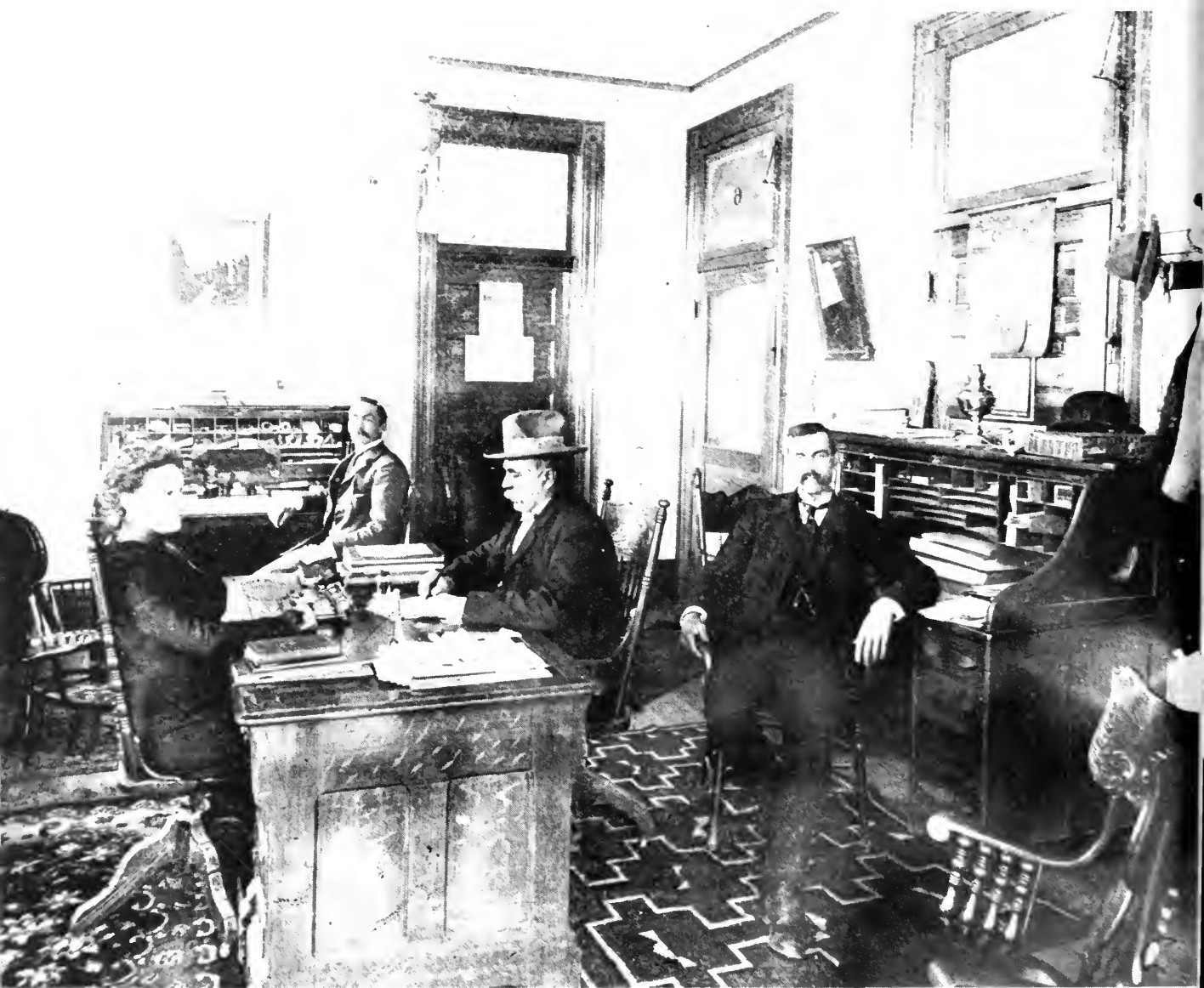
105. Between 1931 and 1934 the LDS Church turned Weber College at

was based on stern financial realities. Church leaders felt it impossible to increase expenditures for education at the expense of other growing Church programs. The total budget expenditures of the LDS Church for 1921 were \$2,773,881. Of this amount, \$893,000 was devoted to education. Church stakes and wards were allotted \$925,585. Missions received \$518,647; charities, \$266,649; and temples, \$170,000.¹⁰⁶ By 1927 Church budget expenditures had risen to \$4,040,916; and expenditures for education had been reduced to \$805,117. Expenditures for wards and stakes had risen to \$2,041,920; expenditures for missions were up to \$767,647; and expenditures for temples totaled \$230,110.¹⁰⁷ Church expenditures dropped sharply after 1927, reaching a low of \$2,400,000 in 1934. They did not reach the four million dollar mark again until 1937. With the exception of 1938, Church expenditures did not exceed five million dollars per year until 1945. Church expenditures for education also fluctuated with the general economic conditions of the nation and the revenues of the Church in the period from 1921 to 1945. From highs of \$893,000 in 1921 and \$958,440 in 1925, expenditures for education hit a low of \$459,580 in 1934. They reached \$924,495 in 1940 and \$954,814 in 1945, finally passing the million dollar mark in 1946. While the percentage of the entire Church budget spent for education generally declined during Harris's administration, the percentage of the General Church Board of Education budget allocated to Brigham Young University rose from thirteen percent in 1921 to forty-four percent in 1944.

Ogden, Utah; Snow College at Ephraim, Utah; Dixie College at St. George, Utah; and the Gila Academy at Thatcher, Arizona, over to the state.

106. *Conference Report*, April 1922, p. 13.

107. *Conference Report*, April 1928, p. 5. Church expenditures cited in this chapter are taken from published reports of Church general conferences. The financial report for a given calendar year was published in the report of the succeeding April conference. Figures on appropriations for Church schools and for Brigham Young University are derived from the minutes of the meetings of the General Church Board of Education and the BYU Board of Trustees.



Jesse Knight (wearing hat) at work in his Provo office. Knight was a consistent financial benefactor of BYU. Inez Knight Allen, William E. Bassett, and Reed Smoot are also shown.

President Harris was always able to get BYU a fair share of Church money allocated to education, and the University managed to survive economic crises that closed many other Church schools, but as he struggled with financial problems and threats to the survival of BYU, he had to defer his dream for the great university he envisioned in his inaugural address. The national economic difficulties following World War I and the accompanying decrease in LDS Church revenue prompted LDS educators to reassess the operation of the Church school system. Brigham Young University entered the 1930s with its survival in question. Nevertheless, Franklin Stewart Harris continued to optimistically work for the financial improvement and academic progress of the school. He always looked beyond the mountains.

17

Toward a Real University

When Franklin Stewart Harris was named president of Brigham Young University in 1921, he wrote John C. Swensen that “The General Authorities of the Church seem determined to have the Institution there [Provo] develop into the type of advanced institution that we should all like to see.”¹ N. L. Nelson, a former member of the faculty, wrote Harris, “The old School is scheduled for a rebirth.”²

The Administrative Council

A council, appointed by President Brimhall in consultation with the superintendent of Church schools and consisting of President Brimhall, Amos N. Merrill, Martin P. Henderson, Christen Jensen, Eugene L. Roberts, and William H. Boyle, administered Brigham Young University affairs during the 1920-21 school year.³ This Administrative Council immediately recognized that the collegiate program at BYU

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1. Franklin S. Harris to John Swensen, 4 May 1921, box 116, Harris Presidential Papers.
 2. N.L. Nelson to Franklin S. Harris, 23 April 1921, box 3, folder N, Harris Presidential Papers.
 3. Church Commission Minutes, 11 May 1920.

needed to be revitalized. While the school had awarded fifty-nine bachelor's degrees in 1916, only seventeen students graduated from BYU with that degree in 1920, and only twelve in 1921. There had been only two master's degrees awarded since the graduate degree was first offered in 1916.⁴ There was still too little difference between high school and college courses. And, during the 1920-21 school year there were only 438 college students at BYU.⁵

Made up of the more scholastically vigorous men of the school at that time, the Administrative Council sought to change the image of BYU as a teachers college with limited enrollment. Under their direction, the name "Church Teachers College" became "School of Education," and they proposed the establishment of a "School of Arts and Sciences."⁶ The Administrative Council wished to appeal to LDS students "who desire a college education, but who have life ambitions other than a teaching career. Many of these young people now attend other educational institutions since they feel that the Brigham Young University is at present only a normal school."⁷ While the Council felt that teacher education was the main role of BYU, they did not believe it should be the sole function of the school. They said, "It should not be inferred from this advocacy of the School of Arts and Sciences that there would be any disposition to minimize or lessen the efficiency of the School of Education. . . . The new School . . . would in no way impair the growth of the School of Education. . . . Our present departments of instruction and courses of study will serve the needs of both schools."⁸ On the understanding that Church appropriations to BYU would remain the same, the Church Commission of Education ap-

4. David A. Robertson, "Accrediting Report for Association of American Universities," 1 May 1924, Harris Presidential Papers, p. 10.

5. Franklin S. Harris, "Annual Report," box 5, Harris Presidential Papers.

6. Administrative Council to Church Commission of Education, 2 August 1920, box 28, folder 3, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

7. *Ibid.*

8. *Ibid.*

proved the establishment of the School of Arts and Sciences for the 1920-21 academic year.⁹

Martin P. Henderson, at that time the only faculty member with a doctor's degree, was appointed dean of the School of Arts and Sciences. Henderson had graduated from the University of Utah in 1911 and received his doctor's degree in 1914 from the University of Wisconsin. He came to Brigham Young University in 1915 to head the Botany Department. His scholastic insight was a real strength to the institution during the transition from the Brimhall to the Harris era.

Besides establishing the School of Arts and Sciences, the Administrative Council reorganized the high school program at BYU. Feeling that the high school should no longer function as part of the University except as a secondary training school under the School of Education, the Council gained approval to change the name of the original Academy Building on University Avenue from High School Building to Education Building.¹⁰ The Council also recommended limiting enrollment in the high school program.¹¹

College of Education

Immediately after his appointment, Franklin S. Harris seized the opportunity to reorganize the academic structure of the University. As he saw it, the creation of a number of colleges for the various academic areas was an important step toward the establishment of a real university. Under his direction, the name of the School of Education was changed to the College of Education.¹² L. John Nuttall, Jr., a graduate of Columbia University with a master's degree, was named dean of the College of Education on 25 January 1922.¹³ In Feb-

9. *BYU Catalog*, 1920-21, p. 14.

10. The idea was proposed in Deans' Council on 10 April 1922 and approved by the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees the next day.

11. Administrative Council to BYU Board of Trustees, 12 March 1921, box 2, Folder H, Harris Presidential Papers.

12. *BYU Catalog*, 1921-22, p. 14.

13. Nuttall later received his doctor's degree from Columbia University.

ruary 1922 plans were being formulated to create departments within the College of Education to solve problems caused by having all educational work at the University administered by one department.¹⁴ By July, seven departments had been organized within the College of Education.

College of Arts and Sciences

In line with his change of the name of the School of Education, President Harris changed the name of the School of Arts and Sciences to the College of Arts and Sciences.¹⁵ Martin Henderson and Franklin Harris worked together to develop the College of Arts and Sciences, but Henderson's sudden death in 1923 ended his short career as dean of the new college.¹⁶ President Harris found a capable successor to Dr. Henderson in Carl F. Eyring, who graduated from BYU in 1912 with a bachelor of arts degree under Harvey Fletcher and then received his master's degree in 1915 from the University of Wisconsin. He received his doctor's degree in 1924 from the California Institute of Technology where he studied under Dr. Robert A. Millikan.

College of Commerce and Business Administration

Following the LDS tradition of emphasizing the importance of a practical education and with the precedent of a strong Department of Commerce at BYU, the Board of Trustees approved the establishment of a College of Commerce and Business Administration on 25 May 1921. As Harris said in his inaugural address, "We cannot build a great university without also giving attention to the industries. Men attend college not only for the cultural value of its courses, but they expect

14. Franklin S. Harris to Amos N. Merrill, 14 February 1922, box 2, folder M, Harris Presidential Papers.

15. *BYU Catalog*, 1921-22, p. 14.

16. Dr. Henderson contracted an unidentified infection during the summer of 1923 and failed to recover. He died in November of that year at the age of forty-nine. See "Dean Henderson Now Recovering," *Y News*, 19 September 1923; and "School Mourns Loss of Dr. M.P. Henderson," *Y News*, 14 November 1923.

also to learn something of the occupation which they have selected as a means of earning a livelihood.”¹⁷ The establishment of a College of Commerce and Business Administration at BYU was also in harmony with the national trend to emphasize business education.¹⁸ Harrison Val Hoyt was appointed dean of the new College of Commerce. Hoyt had received a bachelor’s degree in electrical engineering from Purdue University in 1913 and a master of business education degree from Harvard University in 1917. At the time of his appointment as dean of the College of Commerce, he was employed in Salt Lake City.¹⁹

College of Applied Science

On 25 January 1922 President Harris persuaded the Board of Trustees to establish a new college to consolidate “the work of the departments of Agriculture, Home Economics, and Mechanic Arts, and any other lines of a like nature; and to bear the name of the ‘College of Applied Science.’ ”²⁰ Harris recruited Melvin C. Merrill, then head of the Department of Horticulture at Utah State Agricultural College, to become dean of this college at BYU. After graduating from USAC with a bachelor’s degree in horticulture, Merrill had studied at Cornell and the University of Chicago, where he was awarded

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17. “President Delivers Inaugural Address,” *Y News*, 17 October 1921.
 18. See Edward L. Christensen, “History of the College of Business,” BYU Archives, for a detailed discussion of developments in the College of Commerce. Harris’s attitude was reminiscent of James H.S. Brossard and J. Frederick Dewhurst, who wrote, “To prepare for commerce or engineering or scientific agriculture in the United States in recent times implies the same usage of education as a tool and the same utilitarian, nay, even vocational, motive as preparation for public life in ancient Greece, as training for a career in the church in the Middle Ages, or subsequently, the cultivation of ‘cultural pursuits by the leisured sons of an established nobility’ ” (*University Education for Business* [Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1931], p. 251).
 19. He received his doctor’s degree from Stanford University in 1931. See Christensen, “History of the College of Business,” pp. 113-17. for more on Hoyt’s life and education.
 20. BYU Board Minutes, 25 January 1922.



President Franklin S. Harris with members of the BYU College of Applied Science, including (front row) Hilda L. Knudsen, Christen Jensen, President Harris, President-Emeritus George H. Brimhall; (behind front row) LaVal Morris, Maud Tuckfield Holdaway, Ione Palfreyman, Anna Page, B. F. Larsen, Vilate Elliott, Effie Warnick, Thomas L. Martin, and Clawson Y. Cannon.

a master's degree in botany. He also had a master's degree in chemistry from Harvard University and a doctor's degree in horticulture from Washington University in St. Louis.

College of Fine Arts

Himself a lover of the arts, President Harris decided to place special emphasis on the fine arts by recommending that the first college of fine arts in the West be established at BYU in 1925. The new college included the departments of Art, Music, and Dramatic Arts.²¹ Enrollment in the College of Fine Arts included only about a hundred of the 1,153 college students at BYU during the 1925-26 school year, but it was an important part of the University community from the beginning.²² Gerrit de Jong, a cultured Dutch immigrant with a master's degree from the University of Utah, became the first dean of the College of Fine Arts.²³

The five new colleges worked effectively together to administer the interrelated academic programs of the school, introducing BYU students, faculty, and Trustees to the world of a modern, well-organized university.

The Graduate Division

President Franklin S. Harris organized a number of "divisions" to complement the work of the colleges at BYU. A Graduate Division was inaugurated in April 1922. To begin the graduate program, Dr. Christen Jensen, Dean Melvin C. Merrill, and Dr. Hugh Woodward were asked to conduct a study on the graduate work being done at BYU. The committee reported that the purpose of graduate work at BYU was to develop in students "power to do independent work and to encourage the spirit of research. Each candidate for a higher degree is expected to possess a broad, general knowledge of his major subjects."²⁴ Another committee, consisting of Alice

21. BYU Board Minutes, April 1925.

22. *Banyan* (BYU student yearbook), 1926, p. 19.

23. Twelve students earned degrees from the College of Fine Arts during its first year of operation.

24. University Council Minutes, 23 May 1922. See also Lee Reynolds, "History of the Graduate School," BYU Archives, pp. 3-5.

L. Reynolds, E. H. Eastmond, Ida S. Dusenberry, and Christen Jensen, was appointed to design the master's and doctoral hoods for BYU.²⁵ Their design was accepted, and in the spring of 1923 a total of seven people graduated from BYU with master's degrees in the first commencement to include the wearing of the new ceremonial hoods.²⁶ The Graduate Division slowly developed in the 1920s until it became the Graduate School in 1929. Christen Jensen was made first dean of the Graduate School,²⁷ a position which he held for twenty years.

The Research Division

The Board of Trustees approved the establishment of a Research Division on 28 April 1921.²⁸ However, at the end of that year Harris admitted to Harvey Fletcher that "The small amount of research work that has been done, I have been looking after myself, as we are not prepared to go into [it] very extensively, but I think that we should as soon as possible make our Research Division a very important division, so that ultimately every department will carry on a certain amount of research." Harris knew that "this type of thing is new to this institution," and he was proceeding cautiously with his plans for the Research Division.²⁹ He invited Dr. Fletcher to return to Brigham Young University as director of the Research Division. Fletcher replied, "I am extremely interested in my work here, and it would be hard to leave it, but I am willing to come back to the BYU if you and the school board think I can

25. BYU Faculty Meeting Minutes, 10 and 17 April 1922.

26. *See* 29 November 1927, box 85, Harris Presidential Papers. During the next few years there was a steady increase in the number of degrees awarded by BYU, as follows:

Year	Bachelors	Masters
1924	112	3
1925	108	4
1926	114	6
1927	143	8

27. BYU Executive Committee Minutes, 20 April 1929.

28. BYU Executive Committee Minutes, 28 April 1921.

29. Harris to Fletcher, 27 December 1921, Harris Presidential Papers.

aid in building up a school that our people will be proud of. However, I feel that I should not be asked to sacrifice more than \$2,000 in salary. . . . Whatever you may decide, I appreciate your offer." Fletcher remained at Bell Laboratories, and no other man was approached at that time to head the Research Division.³⁰ Harris continued to direct research, contributing much of the total work himself.³¹ As he explained to Professor B. R. Buckingham of Ohio State University in 1926, "This research division is administered through the President's Office but does not have a separate director. Any department wishing to do research work sends in an outline of the proposed project."³²

Though most BYU faculty members were so loaded down with teaching responsibilities that they had little opportunity for research work, some did take advantage of the Research Division.³³ Professor Thomas Martin communicated a special enthusiasm for research to his agronomy students. He often requested small amounts of money from the Research Division for soil experiments.³⁴ Lowry Nelson was also a valuable contributor to the Research Division with such publications as his "Escalante Study," which was publicized by an editorial in the *New York Times*. The editorial and Nelson's study "attracted a good many people to us. It shows what a little

30. Fletcher to Harris, 7 January 1922. Fletcher did not return to BYU until 1953 when he became the first chairman of the BYU Engineering Department.

31. Harris wrote Bishop John Wells on 10 August 1922, "In our Research Department at the University we are working up some materials on the fruits of Mormonism with the idea of publishing some articles which will show a comparison of social conditions of the LDS with those of the outside. . . . Brother [Newburn I.] Butt, who is working on this material, is an expert on statistical material." Butt and Harris later published a book entitled *Fruits of Mormonism*.

32. Harris to Buckingham, 8 January 1926, box 13, folder B, Harris Presidential Papers.

33. Franklin S. Harris to E.J. Ashbaugh, 1 December 1923, box 7, folder A, Harris Presidential Papers.

34. Thomas L. Martin to Franklin S. Harris, 1 November 1922, box 5, folder M, Harris Presidential Papers; and Harris to Martin, 2 November 1922, box 5, folder M, Harris Presidential Papers.

research work means.”³⁵ With the encouragement and constant supervision of President Harris, the Research Division made steady progress during the 1920s.

Religious Education

Though not officially organized as a division of the University, theological courses continued to be a fundamental part of Brigham Young University. Harris conscientiously pursued his goal of making BYU a great “center of religious thought.”³⁶ When George H. Brimhall retired as president of BYU, he was made professor of theology.³⁷ Brimhall’s theological work at BYU complemented his work in the growing seminary program of the LDS Church.³⁸ Because of his great spirit of loyalty and “absolute willingness to work, to support, and to sustain” President Harris, George Brimhall continued to render valuable service to BYU.³⁹ As in the past, he frequently delivered four-minute sermons at devotional exercises. President Harris honored Brimhall by having him speak first at such functions as the semicentennial of BYU, celebrated in October 1925. Brimhall was content in his new position. He wrote President Harris in 1924, “My cup of BYU joy has simply been overflowing ever since you took charge. I am working at what I like, with those I love, and under a leadership in which I have perfect confidence. What more is there to wish for than just a continuance?”⁴⁰

George Brimhall, having been at the school since its organization, epitomized the spiritual orientation of Brigham Young University. The school awarded him an honorary doc-

35. Franklin S. Harris to Fred Buss, 25 February 1926, box 16, folder B, Harris Presidential Papers.

36. “President Delivers Inaugural Address,” *Y News*, 17 October 1921.

37. BYU Board Minutes, 26 April 1921.

38. See BYU Board Minutes, 20 July 1920. William E. Berrett said that Brimhall’s seminary position was mostly honorary, but there are several boxes of correspondence in BYU Archives dealing with Brimhall’s seminary work.

39. BYU Board Minutes, 26 April 1921.

40. George H. Brimhall to Franklin S. Harris, 4 January 1924, box 7, folder 29, Harris Presidential Papers.

tor of laws degree upon his retirement in 1921.⁴¹ Alice Louise Reynolds characterized George Brimhall's work as director of theology:

For eleven years he served the institution as President Emeritus and Director of Theology. Now he had time for private consultation and many students sought him. This man, so full of energy in his prime, had a very gentle side; his office as President Emeritus gave him an opportunity to display this gentleness. When his release came he wrote to President Heber J. Grant, President of the Board of Directors, saying, "I feel like a man who has driven his automobile to the brow of the hill and is now permitted to turn the wheel over to his son." The relief from the great responsibility of President gave opportunity for many pleasant personal contacts and gave the young an opportunity to drink at the fountain of his experience.⁴²

With the academic prowess of Franklin S. Harris and the spiritual steadiness of George H. Brimhall, Brigham Young University had a solid foundation for institutional development in the 1920s.

Alpine Summer School

In 1922 Brigham Young University inaugurated the Alpine Summer School. Andrew M. Anderson said this "open air summer school held 7,500 feet above sea level on the side of a twelve-thousand-foot peak" was "the unique and distinctive achievement of the educational department of the Brigham Young University."⁴³ In August 1921 the North Fork Investment Company had offered the University a tract of land in the North Fork of Provo Canyon, adjacent to Aspen Grove. J.

41. BYU Board Minutes, 27 May 1921.

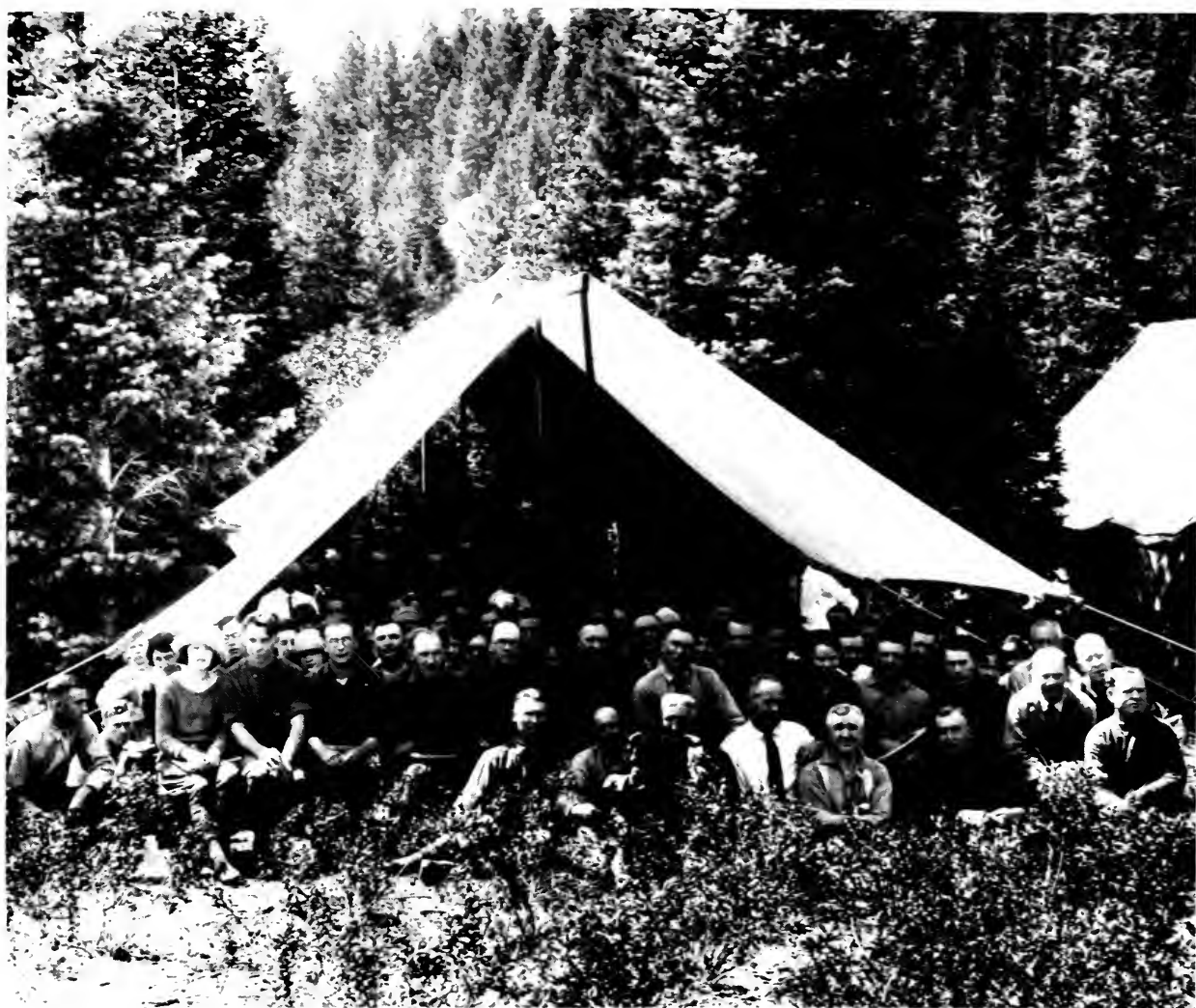
42. J. Marinus Jensen, N.I. Butt, Elsie C. Carroll, and Bertha Roberts, "History of Brigham Young University," unpublished typescript in UA 104, box 18, folder 18, BYU Archives, p. 64. Completed 1 June 1942, this history contained little documentation and has thus proven less valuable than anticipated in preparation of the BYU Centennial History.

43. Andrew M. Anderson, "The Brigham Young University Alpine School," *Improvement Era* 25 (October 1922):1067.



Art class at the 1923 Alpine Summer
School observing their teacher, B. F.
Larsen.

Courtesy Church Archives, The Church of Jesus
Christ of Latter-day Saints.



Faculty and students at an early Alpine Summer School.

William Knight represented the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees in the transaction, and the North Fork Investment Company deeded the ten acres of land that Knight selected to Brigham Young University.⁴⁴

The first Alpine Summer School consisted of six weeks of coursework, with classes meeting six days a week between 14 July and 19 August 1922. Since there were no buildings, students and faculty members stayed in army tents. Dr. Martin P. Henderson, dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, and Fred Buss, professor of geology, were the directors of the first summer school at Aspen Grove. Professor Clawson Y. Cannon was camp director. Various BYU professors spent a number of days at the grove as special instructors. The curriculum consisted of natural science classes in zoology, botany, biology, entomology, and geology, along with art and other subjects that could be advantageously pursued in the mountains. Students “turned their attention to . . . the abundant flora of the mountain forests and the natural formations of the cliffs furnishing endless material for study, [and] every hour of the day was spent either in the classroom, in the laboratory or on field trips.”⁴⁵ After choosing officers, students held devotionals each morning and longer religious programs on Wednesdays.⁴⁶ Even final examinations proved interesting. Botany students were instructed to collect and bring to camp a sample of every available species of plants. The specimens were preserved and added to the University’s collection in Provo.

After the success of the first two summer school sessions, BYU requested permission from the United States government to purchase another eighty acres of land near Aspen Grove. However, Reed Smoot and other Utahns in Congress deemed it wiser, “due to particular conditions surrounding

44. Stockholders in the investment company included John R. Stewart and family, Scott P. Stewart and family, Joseph Nelson and family, Rose Young Stewart and family, and Melissa R. Stewart, all of Provo (UA 104, box 12, folder 16, BYU Archives).

45. Anderson, “BYU Alpine School,” p. 1067.

46. BYU Faculty Meeting Minutes, 12 July 1926.

the question, to lease this land than to purchase it.”⁴⁷ In accordance with this suggestion, President Harris, with the approval of the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees, negotiated with Forest Service officials a lease, containing a provision for annual renewal, to use approximately eighty acres of land south of Aspen Grove for educational purposes.

The popularity of the Alpine Summer School in the shadow of Mount Timpanogos grew steadily, and within ten years facilities included many frame buildings which served as dormitories, kitchen and dining areas, classrooms, a library, and assembly halls. The program remained an integral part of the University until it was abandoned in 1942 because of World War II gasoline shortages.

Upgrading the Curriculum

President Harris could not change the college curriculum at BYU much in the early 1920s because the school had difficulty offering even the most basic courses. He wrote F. S. Davis, “We have been able to handle all the college students and the graduate students who have come to us, although we have not always been able to give them the subjects they wanted since existing sections were filled and we did not have the room or teaching force to organize additional sections. While we have been able to take care of these college students, we have not been able to do them full justice as to courses.”⁴⁸

Unable to initiate drastic curriculum reform, Harris nevertheless worked to refine class requirements and academic regulations. He reorganized the University catalog soon after he took office. To strengthen the image of BYU as a university, Harris prepared regulations to clarify the relation-

47. Jensen, et al., “History of BYU,” p. 121. *See* Franklin S. Harris to John A. Widtsoe, 11 February 1924, Harris Presidential Papers.

48. Harris to Davis, 21 December 1922, box 4, folder D, Harris Presidential Papers. *See also* Franklin S. Harris to H.E. Thomson, 13 December 1924, box 12, folder T, Harris Presidential Papers; and Franklin S. Harris to A.E. Jenks, 17 April 1924, box 8, folder J, Harris Presidential Papers.

ship between the college and the high school. Changing the practice of the Brimhall Administration, Harris and the faculty decided to prohibit high school students from enrolling in college courses unless they obtained a special permit by virtue of their plans to enter college.⁴⁹

With the high school completely separated from the University, Harris looked to the important task of upgrading the curriculum of the college work. In November 1921 he suggested to the University Council that upper division classes should be separated from lower division classes in each academic department.⁵⁰ Within a month a committee was formed to group courses into junior and senior college work. After three months of investigation the committee, which included college deans and a few faculty members, reported its findings to Harris and the Deans' Council on 3 April 1922.⁵¹ The committee not only separated the junior and senior classes, but also recommended a stricter method of passing candidates for graduation. The prospective graduate had to get approval from a major faculty member, the dean of his college, the Committee on Graduation, and the University Council. President Harris wrote Barry Harris early in 1922, "We are . . . stiffening up a good deal this year by way of not allowing substitutions, nor are we allowing special examination except in very rare cases. We are going on the theory that our standards must be considerably strengthened from what they have been in past years."⁵²

By May 1922 regulations were established to define the types of academic credit Brigham Young University would accept to fulfill entrance and graduation requirements. These regulations provided that the University would accept credit

1. For work done in the regular courses of the University.

49. BYU Faculty Meeting Minutes, 13 September 1921. *See also* BYU Deans' Council Minutes, 18 September 1925 and 7 September 1926.

50. BYU University Council Minutes, 21 November 1921.

51. BYU Deans' Council Minutes, 3 April 1922; and BYU University Council Minutes, 24 April 1922.

52. Franklin S. Harris to Barry Harris, 10 January 1922, box 2, folder H, Harris Presidential Papers.

2. For work done in an accredited college . . . the amount determined by the Committee on Credits.
3. By passing a satisfactory examination in any course offered by the University.
4. Credit in Theology given for missionary work by complying with prescribed requirements.⁵³

In 1923 President Harris specified that no more than two years of junior college work could apply toward graduation from BYU.⁵⁴ As of June 1922 the practice of “giving college credit for excess high school work” had been “discontinued in all of Utah’s higher institutions,” and President Harris specified that “no excess credits for high school work” would be accepted at BYU.⁵⁵ The one exception to this policy was that students were allowed to use high school work in foreign languages “in lieu of college language requirements” for the bachelor of arts degree.⁵⁶

Feeling that BYU collegiate courses were difficult for even the best students, the University Council decided in December 1922 to maintain its policy that no college student could register for more than sixteen hours of credit per term.⁵⁷ President Harris did not want students to rush through college with the help of “hasty credit.” He thought that students should remain at the University for four full years “in order to become more mature. Of course, in individual exceptional cases we should be glad to give consideration for extra work, but it seems to me that this should be discouraged wherever possible.”⁵⁸ Supporting course load restrictions, the administration decided that college students

53. BYU Faculty Meeting Minutes, 8 May 1922.

54. Franklin S. Harris to BYU Committee on Credits, 27 February 1923, box 4, folder C, Harris Presidential Papers.

55. Franklin S. Harris to LaPriel Stock, 3 June 1922, box 3, folder S, Harris Presidential Papers.

56. BYU Deans’ Council Minutes, 7 December 1922. *See also* BYU Deans’ Council Minutes, 7 January 1924; and BYU University Council Minutes, 3 March 1924.

57. BYU University Council Minutes, 11 December 1922.

58. Franklin S. Harris to George S. Romney, 1 October 1928, box 24, folder R, Harris Presidential Papers.

could not enter school late and be permitted to take a full load. A student enrolling five weeks late was allowed a maximum of thirteen credit hours. After five weeks, students were allowed to enroll for one hour less of credit for each additional week they enrolled late.⁵⁹

BYU maintained the following entrance requirements for college students enrolling at the University during the 1921-22 school year:

1. Complete 15 units of an approved high school course of study or pass examination in a sufficient number of subjects to make 15 units.
2. Complete 13 units of high school units, but make up the deficiency of two units during the freshman year.
3. Show that they are [of] mature age and able to do special work, certified by heads of the departments concerned.
4. Pass intelligence tests provided by the University.⁶⁰

By 1924 students were required to have fourteen high school credits to qualify for conditional enrollment, and in 1925 the requirement was extended to fifteen units of credit.

Increasingly demanding curriculum requirements and academic standards pleased President Harris because they brought Brigham Young University closer to the goal of becoming the great university he envisioned. By November 1925 Harris could report to Adam S. Bennion that "considerable attention has been given during the last four or five years to the question of organization," and the school would "need very little change in the next half-dozen years."⁶¹ Nevertheless, the school continued to tighten academic requirements in conformity with national standards. In 1926 the University Council raised the amount of work in residence required for the master's degree.⁶²

59. BYU Faculty Meeting Minutes, 15 October 1923.

60. *BYU Catalog*, 1921-22.

61. Franklin S. Harris to Adam S. Bennion, 12 November 1925, "A Program for Brigham Young University," box 85, Harris Presidential Papers.

62. BYU University Council Minutes, 13 May 1926.

Two important changes were instituted for the 1927-28 school year. Incoming freshmen were required to be high school graduates with sixteen full high school credits, and the requirements for the bachelor's degree were increased from 183 to 186 quarter hours of credit.⁶³ In addition to these changes, the Committee on Admissions was authorized in 1928 to make some needed changes in the wording of the University catalog of courses.⁶⁴ That same year a committee was appointed to investigate the University's grading system. As a result of the committee's investigations, administrators standardized the grading system, requiring that the letters A, B, C, D, and E be used in all college grading. The committee also stressed the necessity of limiting the number of A's and B's awarded in college courses.⁶⁵

Refining the Administrative Structure of BYU

When Franklin S. Harris came to BYU the school had a very simple administrative structure. President Brimhall had experimented with many types of councils and committees, but none had lasted long. Although there were seventy-four people employed at the school in 1921, only President Harris and the school's registrar, John E. Hayes,⁶⁶ could be classified as administrative personnel. By 1930 there were 109 people working for the University, but Harris and Hayes remained the only administrators. One faculty member who served under Harris recalled that "President Harris as a leader assumed most of the decision-making responsibility. He did not delegate strategic decisions involving the people and policy to his department chairmen or deans. He did the employing, for the most part, and had the final say on salaries."⁶⁷ Another commented that "President Harris ran the school; there was one channel. The dean wasn't consulted, as I recall, when I

63. BYU University Council Minutes, 10 May 1926.

64. BYU University Council Minutes, 10 May 1928.

65. BYU Faculty Meeting Minutes, 13 March 1928.

66. Hayes served faithfully as registrar from 1904 until 1954.

67. Reply to questionnaire sent to faculty members who taught under Harris, January 1974, Centennial History files, BYU Archives.

was hired by President Harris. If we had problems, the chairman [of the department] would say, 'Go talk to President Harris about it.' " Another faculty member noted that President Harris "was extraordinarily accessible; his door was always open. . . . It was possible to poke your head through the doorway and ask if he was busy!"⁶⁸

With the school as small as it was, no problems went unnoticed by President Harris. His son Franklin S. Harris, Jr., wrote,

No department head had to call attention to a serious problem developing over several years which had been unnoticed. The common case would be that father would drop in on the department head and raise the problem about the dirty, scarred chemistry desks which would need refinishing first. This direct dealing with the personnel saved enormous amounts of time in writing memos, justifications, getting approvals, and signatures.⁶⁹

The University Council

As the University grew, President Harris established administrative units and developed new administrative bodies to handle the problems of the school. During his administration the University Council, which was organized by George Brimhall, consisted of deans of colleges, department heads, and all assistant professors, associate professors, and professors.⁷⁰ The University Council advised President Har-

68. Ibid.

69. Franklin S. Harris, Jr., to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 4 March 1973, Wilkinson Papers, BYU Archives.

70. The University Council started during the 1906-7 school year with the twelve principals of the various schools as members. By 1915 the body had been increased to twenty-four people. In 1919 the Council consisted of the school presidency, secretary, registrar, librarian, matron, custodian, purchasing agent, department heads, and high school principal. There was no University Council in 1920, the year before Harris came to BYU, probably because school matters were handled by the Administrative Council that year. The University Council remained as Harris reorganized it throughout his administration.

ris on his program to upgrade the curriculum and served as a committee which screened prospective graduates. The council met infrequently except at graduation time, when it was forced to meet almost weekly.

Faculty Meetings and Committees

All employees of Brigham Young University participated in weekly faculty meetings during the Harris Administration. President Harris, an acting president, or President-Emeritus Brimhall conducted these meetings, which were held on Mondays at noon. After the presiding officer made his announcements, faculty committees reported on their areas of responsibility. Faculty meetings served to unify the teachers, to inform faculty members of University events and administrative policy from the Board, and to provide a means of making administrative assignments to faculty members.

Harris and his faculty used the following standing committees to administer University affairs with a meager budget and limited work force:

- Admission and Credits
- Aiding Graduates to Obtain Employment
- Alumni Directory
- Athletics
- Attendance and Scholarship
- Awards and Prizes
- Care of Girls' and Women's Activities
- Catalog and Other Quarterlies
- Debating
- Divisions Classification
- Eligibility
- Graduate Work
- Graduation
- Health and Habits of Students
- Lecturers and Musicals
- Library
- Petitions
- Publicity
- Schedule of Classes
- Schedule of Events



President Franklin S. Harris with members of the BYU College of Fine Arts, including (left to right) John W. McCallister, Ione Huish Heaton, Lucile Tuttle, Elbert H. Eastmond, Dean Gerrit de Jong, William F. Hansen, Bessie E. Gourley, President Harris, Hannah Condie Packard, Franklin Madsen, T. Earl Pardoe, George Fitzroy, Florence J. Madsen, B. F. Cummings, Edgar M. Jenson, B. F. Larsen, Elmer Nelson, Leroy J. Robertson, Ralph Booth, Robert Sauer, and Gustave Buggert.

Social Affairs
 Student Accommodations
 Student Aid and Employment
 Supervision of Student Publications⁷¹

Generally composed of about three faculty members, the standing committees made regular reports of their activities in faculty meetings.

Along with standing committees, special faculty committees were often formed to take care of short-term needs. For example, special committees were created for commencement exercises each year, to coordinate faculty Y-Day activities, and to plan faculty socials. Although President Harris made most of the important decisions for the University, standing and special faculty committees assisted him in conducting the affairs of a small school with a limited number of administrative personnel.

Deans

BYU college deans served many functions during the Harris years. Since they taught an average of eight or nine hours per term, they carried out their administrative duties on a part-time basis. The deans advised and registered all students in their colleges; students waited in long lines at registration to obtain their dean's signature. Deans also approved each candidate for graduation.

In October 1921 President Harris called together the deans of the College of Arts and Sciences, the College of Education, and the College of Commerce and Business Administration, along with the director of Theology, the director of the Extension Division, and the principal of the vocational and secondary training course to form the "Council of Deans." Council meetings were to be held as "conditions require," and college deans were authorized to "take the place of the president in case of his absence in the order of seniority."⁷² The Deans'

71. *BYU Catalog*, 1922-23, p. 14. The first six standing committees were organized in 1904; by 1920 there were eighteen.

72. Deans' Council Minutes, 25 October 1921.

Council handled a variety of matters during the 1920s. The council reviewed applications for school loans, picked the students to receive special awards, advised President Harris on the school calendar, planned commencement exercises, made new rules for registration procedures, and gave suggestions for upgrading the curriculum. Deans' Council suggestions were often passed on to the University Council for review before President Harris made final decisions.

For the most part, the deans were gregarious, well-trained scholars who did much to unify the faculty and students of Brigham Young University. The first dean at BYU was appointed in 1913 to head the Church Teachers College. No more deans were appointed until 1920 when Martin P. Henderson was made dean of the School of Arts and Sciences. The five colleges created during the first four years of the Harris Administration remained intact until the beginning of the Wilkinson Administration, thus solidifying the status of the original colleges at BYU.

Not only were the colleges stable during the Harris Administration, but the deans within the various colleges remained practically unchanged. Gerrit de Jong served as dean of the College of Fine Arts from its creation in 1925 throughout the remainder of the Harris period and until 1959. Christen Jensen served as dean of the Graduate School from its foundation in 1929 to 1949. Harrison Val Hoyt was dean of the College of Commerce from 1921 to 1931. Herald R. Clark took over the position from Dean Hoyt in 1932 and remained there through the rest of the Harris and McDonald years. In the College of Arts and Sciences, Martin P. Henderson served as dean from 1920 until his death in 1923. Carl F. Eyring took the reins from Dr. Henderson and served in that position during the remaining Harris years and until his death in 1950. The College of Applied Science had three deans during the Harris Administration: Melvin C. Merrill from 1922 to 1924; Christen Jensen, acting dean from 1924 to 1929; Lowry Nelson from 1929 to 1934; and Thomas Martin from 1937 on. The deanship of the College of Education changed hands more often during the Harris period than any of the other

colleges: John C. Swensen served as acting dean from 1921 to 1923; L. John Nuttall, Jr., 1923 to 1926; John C. Swensen, acting dean from 1926 to 1928; L. John Nuttall, Jr., 1928 to 1930; Amos Merrill, acting dean from 1930 to 1939 and dean from 1939 to the end of the Harris Administration.⁷³

Battling for Accreditation

As an important and objective symbol for the academic progress of Brigham Young University, Franklin S. Harris desired to see the school recognized as a fully accredited university. Accreditation, by nature, is a voluntary action since in the United States there has never been centralized governmental control of the character of individual university academic programs. However, accreditation signifies acceptance by other institutions of higher learning, and President Harris was determined that BYU should have that recognition.

As the American Council on Education has explained, there are six major reasons why a university should be accredited:

1. Accreditation enables a school to achieve maximum educational efficiency by providing standards established by competent agencies.
2. Accreditation facilitates transfer of credits from one school to another. It also assists a student in having his academic record accepted as he seeks to do graduate work at other universities.
3. Accreditation informs those who employ a graduate of an accredited university that the student in question has received good training. Many professions approve applicants for license on the basis of whether the

73. Editor's Note: Many of these early deans have had BYU buildings or rooms named after them, including the Thomas Martin Building, the de Jong Concert Hall in the Harris Fine Arts Center, the Carl F. Eyring Science Center, the Herald R. Clark Building, the Christen Jensen Conference Hall in the Abraham O. Smoot Administration Building, and the John C. Swenson Lecture Hall in the Joseph F. Smith Family Living Center.

applicant's studies have been done at an accredited school.

4. Accreditation assists schools in raising the standards of training for individual professions.
5. Accreditation standards often support administrative officers who face opposition from governing boards that are resisting improvements of the university on financial or other grounds.
6. Accreditation serves the general public by supplying the prospective student with a guide for selecting a school to attend.⁷⁴

Reaching Out to National Accrediting Agencies

There were various types of accrediting agencies in the United States at the time Harris began his struggle for acceptance. Then, as now, the basic agencies were regional associations, including the New England Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, founded in 1885, which did not begin accrediting institutions of higher learning until 1952; the Middle States Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, founded in 1885, which did not begin accrediting colleges until 1921; the North Central Association, founded in 1895, which began accrediting colleges in 1910; the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, founded in 1895, which began accrediting colleges in 1917; the Northwest Association of Secondary and Higher Schools, founded in 1917, which began accrediting colleges in 1921; and the Western College Association, organized as the Southern California Association of Colleges and Universities in 1924.⁷⁵

74. See American Council on Education, *Accrediting Institutions of Higher Education*, 1969-70, p. 224; and Lloyd Blauch, *Accreditation in Higher Education* (Washington, D.C., 1959), p. 4. See also John S. Millis, "Major Purposes of Accrediting," *Report of Workshop Conference on Accrediting* (Washington, D.C.: National Commission on Accrediting, 1957), pp. 5-10.

75. Edgar Fuller and Jim B. Pearson, eds., *Education in the States: Nationwide Developments Since 1900* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1969), p. 407; and Blauch, *Accreditation in Higher Education*, pp. 10-11, 59.

The one prominent agency that functioned on a national scale was the Association of American Universities, founded in 1900 to advance graduate work and make sure that students entering member graduate schools had proper undergraduate training. In 1913 this association appointed a committee to classify colleges on a three-group scheme, including complex universities with graduate school standing, approved institutions whose qualified graduates were admitted to graduate schools that were members of the Association of American Universities, and approved specialty or technological schools. Harris sought recognition for BYU as a university whose qualified graduates could gain admission to accredited graduate schools.⁷⁶ Other national groups attempted to organize as accrediting agencies in the early years of the twentieth century, but none achieved the prominence of the Association of American Universities.⁷⁷

Standard accreditation procedures include the establishment of standards, the inspection of schools by competent authorities to determine whether the standards are being adhered to, the publication of a list of the institutions that meet the criteria, and periodic review of accredited schools by the agency to determine whether standards are still being met.⁷⁸

Aware of accreditation procedures and determined to see BYU meet accreditation standards, President Harris and his faculty spent the 1921-22 school year preparing the school to

76. Acceptance by the Association of American Universities was considered the highest form of recognition for undergraduate universities until 1948 when the association stopped accrediting undergraduate schools in order to focus on graduate institutions. See Blauch, *Accreditation in Higher Education*, p. 12; and Association of American Universities, *Journal of Proceedings*, 1948, pp. 132 ff.

77. Besides regional and national agencies for accreditation, there are accrediting agencies for professional schools, state accrediting agencies, voluntary state accrediting agencies, and accrediting agencies for educational credit earned in the military service. Though all of these agencies were organized in the first half of this century, none of them had bearing on BYU's struggle for accreditation.

78. Blauch, *Accreditation in Higher Education*, p. 3.

apply for accreditation. On 8 August 1922 President Harris sent applications for accreditation to the following four agencies: the American Council on Education, the Northwest Association of Secondary and Higher Schools, the University of California, and the Association of American Universities. The American Council on Education immediately rejected Brigham Young University's application, saying that the school could not "become an institutional member until it is accredited by the University of California or by some regional association functioning in the area in which the University is situated."⁷⁹ The application to the Association of American Universities soon bogged down. After introductory communication in October 1922 with Kendrick C. Babcock, chairman of the association's executive committee, Harris did not hear from the association for more than six months.⁸⁰

Working with the Northwest Association of Secondary and Higher Schools

Rejected by the American Council on Education and delayed in his application to the Association of American Universities, President Harris turned his attention to the application with the Northwest Association of Secondary and Higher Schools. This association, established in 1917, was the regional accrediting agency for institutions of secondary and higher education in Idaho, Montana, Oregon, and Utah. Founded during a time of rapid expansion of secondary and higher education in its region, the association dedicated itself to "instituting and emphasizing such educational standards and programs as will serve to directly benefit pupils and teachers in all secondary and higher institutions of the great Northwest."⁸¹ The Northwest Association adopted the standards set by the North Central Association, which had been

79. S.P. Capen to Franklin S. Harris, 26 August 1922, Harris Presidential Papers.

80. Franklin S. Harris to Kendrick C. Babcock, 30 October 1922 and 16 April 1923, Harris Presidential Papers.

81. Blauch, *Accreditation in Higher Education*, p. 59.

accrediting colleges since 1910.⁸²

One month after his letter of inquiry to the Northwest Association, Harris wrote for an official application for membership in the organization.⁸³ On 28 September 1922 he reported to the Deans' Council that the school was working "to become accredited with the Northwest Association of Schools of Secondary and Higher Education."⁸⁴ Dean Frederick Bolton, professor of education at the University of Washington, visited BYU in October 1922 as a representative of the Northwest Association. President Harris wrote Adam S. Bennion of Dr. Bolton's visit: "He was very highly pleased with the institution and said he would unqualifiedly recommend us for entrance into the Northwest Association."⁸⁵ Bolton wrote Harris in December of that year, "There is no doubt but that your institution deserves to be in the list."⁸⁶

The application Harris submitted to the Northwest Association was for recognition as a college, not a university. The association defined a college as a school "with a four-year curriculum with a tendency to differentiate its parts in such a way that the first two years are a continuation of, and a supplement to, the work of secondary instruction as given in the high school, while the last two years are shaped more or less distinctly in the direction of special, professional, or university instruction."⁸⁷ To meet the requirements for recognition by the Northwest Association, BYU needed to demon-

82. See Frederick E. Bolton to Franklin S. Harris, 14 November 1922, box 85, Harris Presidential Papers.

83. Franklin S. Harris to Philip Soulen, 8 September 1922, Harris Presidential Papers; and Franklin S. Harris to Frederick Bolton, 15 September 1922, box 85, Harris Presidential Papers.

84. BYU Deans' Council Minutes, 28 September 1922.

85. Harris to Bennion, 30 October 1922, box 4, folder B, Harris Presidential Papers.

86. Frederick E. Bolton to Franklin S. Harris, 7 December 1922, box 85, Harris Presidential Papers. *See also* Bolton to Harris, 14 November 1922, box 85, Harris Presidential Papers.

87. See application form to the Commission on Institutions of Higher Education of the Northwest Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, box 85, Harris Presidential Papers.

strate, among other things, that it had acceptable admission and graduation requirements, at least eight distinct departments in liberal arts, and a professional faculty with an average teaching load of less than fifteen credit hours per term.⁸⁸ BYU met Northwest Association standards of admission and graduation requirements. Though conditional enrollment was sometimes granted, BYU required incoming freshmen to have fifteen units of high school credit. The school required 183 quarter hours of credit for graduation, which represented slightly more than the 120 semester hours recommended by the Northwest Association. With thirty-four departments listed in the 1922-23 school catalog, BYU easily met the requirement of eight liberal arts departments.⁸⁹

Meeting the required level of faculty scholarship was a more difficult matter. When he was appointed president in 1921, President Harris wrote Heber C. Snell that he wished

to raise the scholarship of the faculty of the BYU. You understand, of course, that they have always had very fine people there on the faculty, but their scholarship is not quite what we should all like to see in a great university. I am hoping, therefore, that the new men who are brought in will have Ph.D.'s to help "leaven the lump." Of course, it will not be possible to live absolutely up to this requirement, but I hope we can do it as soon as possible so that we shall have all top-notch men.⁹⁰

88. The association said that member universities should have "library and laboratory equipment sufficient to develop fully and illustrate each course announced." Since BYU was applying as a college rather than a university, accreditation standards placed no emphasis on research.

89. BYU departments listed in the 1922-23 school catalog were Accounting and Business Administration, Agricultural Engineering, Agronomy, Animal Husbandry, Art, Biology, Chemistry, Drafting, Economics, Educational Administration, Elementary Teaching, English, Finance and Banking, Foods and Nutrition, Geology and Geography, History, Horticulture, Household Administration, Mathematics, Mechanic Arts, Modern Languages and Latin, Music, Office Practice, Philosophy of Education, Physical Education, Physics, Political Science, Psychology, Public Speaking, Secondary Teaching, Sociology, Textiles and Clothing, Theology, and Vocational Education.

90. Harris to Snell, 5 July 1921, box 3, folder S, Harris Presidential Papers.

Harris immediately set out to upgrade faculty qualifications. When he arrived at BYU, Martin P. Henderson was the only faculty member with a doctorate. Within one year Harris recruited Thomas Martin, Hugh Woodward, Melvin Merrill, and Murray Hayes, all of whom had doctor's degrees. In addition, Christen Jensen returned that year to BYU with a doctorate. Counting President Harris, the 1922-23 general catalog listed seven faculty members with doctor's degrees. Faculty members with master's degrees increased from eleven to fourteen during that year, including Harrison Val Hoyt with an MBA degree from Harvard University. By the second year of Harris's administration over eleven percent of BYU faculty members had doctor's degrees, compared with less than two percent during the 1920-21 school year. Dean Bolton and other representatives of the Northwest Association were undoubtedly more impressed with the trend of the BYU faculty toward scholastic qualification than the actual level of average faculty education, for the association's standards specified that "the minimum scholastic requirement of all college teachers" was "equivalent to graduation from a college belonging to this Association and graduate work equal at least to that required for a master's degree."⁹¹ At the time, thirty faculty members at BYU possessed only bachelor's degrees. Nevertheless, Dr. Bolton wrote President Harris in November 1922, "You are already accomplishing excellent things and the vision that you have of the future augurs well for the development of still better things."⁹²

After Dean Bolton's letter of encouragement, President Harris waited five months to hear the results of BYU's application with the Northwest Association. On 7 April 1923 Frederick Bolton wrote Dr. Harris, "It is with especial pleasure that I write you that the Northwest Association of Secondary and Higher Schools approved my recommendation that Brigham Young University be placed on our accredited list."⁹³ Harris

91. Application to Commission on Institutions of Higher Education of the Northwest Association, box 85, Harris Presidential Papers.

92. Bolton to Harris, 14 November 1922, box 85, Harris Presidential Papers.

93. Bolton to Harris, 7 April 1923, box 85, Harris Presidential Papers.

announced the good news to his faculty a few days later; BYU had taken the first important step toward complete accreditation.⁹⁴

Recognition from the American Council on Education

Having been accredited by a regional agency, Brigham Young University was in a position to reapply for recognition from the American Council on Education. Organized in 1918 to promote educational assistance of the American cause in World War I, the American Council on Education became the unifying council for all regional accrediting associations. While not an accrediting agency itself, the guidelines established by its committee on standards were adopted and applied by all regional accrediting agencies. The American Council's list of member schools was taken from the lists of the Association of American Universities and the various regional associations. However, recognition by one of the regional associations was no guarantee that a college could become a member of the American Council on Education. Each institution had to make application and be approved by the council's board of directors. Director C. R. Mann took BYU's case directly to the organization's executive committee in September 1923, and on 1 October 1923, six months after being admitted into the Northwest Association, Harris reported in faculty meeting "the receipt of a communication from the American Council on Education stating that the Brigham Young University had been admitted to membership in that organization."⁹⁵

Struggling for Acceptance by the University of California

President Harris wrote the accreditation committee of the University of California in April 1923.⁹⁶ He did not receive a

94. BYU Faculty Meeting Minutes, 16 April 1923.

95. BYU Faculty Meeting Minutes, 1 October 1923. *See also* an article from the *Deseret News*, 3 October 1923; and C.R. Mann to Franklin S. Harris, 25 September and 10 October 1923, box 8, folder M, Harris Presidential Papers.

96. Franklin S. Harris to A.O. Leuschner, 16 April 1923, box 85, Harris Presidential Papers.



Participants in an early Alpine
Summer School.

reply to his inquiry for four months because of a change in the deans of the Graduate Division at the University of California. When he did write President Harris, Dr. Charles B. Lipman said that there were “so few students who come here from your institution as graduate students, we do not feel that we are in a position to go to the considerable cost, financial and otherwise, of a full review of the conditions for study and the curricula at the Brigham Young University. We deem it best to consider every case on its own merits.”⁹⁷

President Harris replied to Dr. Lipman that “The institution here would be willing to bear any expense involved in making the investigation and would be very glad to have you or anyone you might designate go thoroughly over the ground.”⁹⁸ Dr. Lipman wrote President Harris, “There are other difficulties than the one of expense . . . in the way of making an examination.”⁹⁹ Lipman summarized the conditions at BYU that made it difficult for the University of California to consider the Utah school for accreditation:

1. Thirty or more of approximately ninety persons on the BYU faculty had no academic degree at all.¹⁰⁰
2. Admission requirements at BYU were fifteen high school units rather than the sixteen units that the University of California specified, and BYU permitted conditional entrance with thirteen units.
3. The BYU library contained only 30,000 volumes.
4. BYU awarded credit for special examinations and theology credit for missionary work.
5. There was some overlapping of upper division courses and graduate courses in the master’s degree program.

97. Lipman to Harris, 9 August 1923, box 7, folder 29, Harris Presidential Papers.

98. Harris to Lipman, 8 September 1923, box 8, folder L, Harris Presidential Papers.

99. Lipman to Harris, 20 September 1923, box 8, folder L, Harris Presidential Papers.

100. These thirty “faculty” members included the librarians, registrar, grounds crew, music instructors, training school examiners, and departmental assistants. Only four of the thirty taught classes (typing and shorthand, public speaking, auto mechanics, and elementary education).

6. Five-eighths of the BYU enrollment was made up of freshmen and unclassified students. Lipman felt that "the influence of these students is the large influence at your institution. That would hardly seem to be a proper atmosphere in which to prepare students for graduate work."

Concluding his letter, Dr. Lipman assured Harris that he would "continue to treat each student who comes from your institution as an individual case. . . . I assure you that I will do everything I can to give a full measure of recognition to all the work which is done at your institution provided that your undergraduate standards in substance attempt to come up to our undergraduate standards."¹⁰¹

Toward Affiliation with the Association of American Universities

Since the Association of American Universities was the most prestigious accrediting agency of the time, President Harris was especially anxious to have BYU's application for accreditation considered by that organization. His inquiry to the association in October 1922 elicited no response. Harris wrote again in April 1923, to which Kendrick C. Babcock of the University of Illinois replied that the application of Brigham Young University was "still pending. No final decision was reached at the meeting in Baltimore in November. The Committee is to have an extra or special meeting, presumably next month, when it hopes to reach a decision on the twenty or more applications still pending."¹⁰²

Harris did not hear from the association again until November when Dr. Adam Leroy Jones of Columbia University, representing the Committee on Classification of Colleges of the Association of American Universities, wrote that the association had "approved a plan by which the Committee hopes to be able to carry out its work in a more satisfactory way

101. Lipman to Harris, 20 September 1923, box 8, folder L, Harris Presidential Papers.

102. Babcock to Harris, 20 April 1923, box 85, Harris Presidential Papers.

than would otherwise have been possible. One of the important features of the plan is the principle that before being finally approved a college shall be visited by an agent or agents of the Committee on the Classification of Colleges.”¹⁰³ Harris immediately prepared the University for inspection by Dr. David A. Robertson of the University of Chicago, but Dr. Robertson did not come to BYU until the spring of 1924. After Dr. Robertson’s accreditation visit, President Harris confidently wrote J. D. Bradley, “We shall probably within the very near future be a member of the Association of American Universities since their inspector was here recently and reported favorably on the Institution.”¹⁰⁴

The long-awaited report of the Committee on Classification of Colleges and Universities, under the direction of Dr. David A. Robertson, arrived at BYU dated 1 May 1924. The investigation had been thorough. Major considerations were admission requirements, faculty scholastic standing, finances, buildings, library facilities, laboratories, curriculum, general tone, and BYU graduates and their accomplishments. Concerning admission, Dr. Robertson reported that “of 477 students entering the first year class in the autumn, 1923, 61 were admitted as ‘conditional students.’”¹⁰⁵ The faculty standing was carefully broken down by degrees, and Dr. Robertson’s analysis showed that eighteen BYU faculty members had doctorates (five of the eighteen were General Authorities who served as special lecturers). Ten faculty members held master’s degrees. The report noted that of the forty-one members of the faculty who were not teaching in the Training School and who held the rank of instructor, twenty had degrees from BYU; three from the University of Utah; and seven from Utah State Agricultural College. Robertson

103. Jones to Harris, 27 November 1923, box 8, Harris Presidential Papers.

104. Harris to Bradley, 18 March 1924, box 7, folder 29, Harris Presidential Papers.

105. Report prepared by David Allen Robertson of the University of Chicago for the Committee on Classification of Colleges and Universities of the Association of American Universities, 1 May 1924, Harris Presidential Papers, p. 2.

included a special report to guide the faculty's graduate study "for purpose of widening [the] outlook of [the] staff."¹⁰⁶

Robertson made a thorough study of the appropriations made by the General Church Board of Education. He interviewed Dr. John A. Widtsoe in Washington, D. C., and Dr. Adam S. Bennion in Salt Lake City and was reassured by them that, especially with the closing of Church junior colleges, the General Board was planning "to develop as the crown of the church scheme of education, the Brigham Young University." Though the school's library contained only 30,000 bound volumes, the library budget for the 1923-24 school year was higher than the budget for any other department on campus.¹⁰⁷ Noting that the University owned around \$30,000 worth of laboratory equipment, Robertson stated that the "housing of the laboratories is not so modern. . . . Nevertheless the equipment is adequate."¹⁰⁸

According to the report, the BYU curriculum was unrealistically inflated with numerous courses in such areas as music, art, and public speaking:

Of 175 pages devoted to announcement of courses 38 pages are given to music. . . . Public Speaking and Dramatic Art offers 20 courses by one instructor. . . . Thirty-one courses in art are announced by one instructor: Eastmond. . . . Theory of Music 64 . . . is given by Mr. Madsen in [room] 270 on the same days and at the same hour as Theory of Music 67. On the other hand, the Department of Physics, including a Professor, an assistant professor and three assistants, announces only 22 courses for this year.¹⁰⁹

Robertson had visited schools in Texas where he observed "the effects of the fundamentalist attitude toward the teaching of science." Knowing that BYU was sponsored by the LDS

106. Ibid., p. 4.

107. Ibid., p. 5. The library budget was \$5,242. The next closest was \$3,902 for the Home Economics Department; and \$1,790 for the Chemistry Department. The Psychology Department, lowest on the budget list, received only \$62.

108. Ibid., p. 8.

109. Ibid.

Church, he expected to find the same fundamentalism in Provo. However, after discussion with the Church superintendent of education, science teachers at BYU, a member of the First Presidency, and several students, Robertson commented that, because of the Mormon belief in continuous revelation, "There cannot be similar difficulty among the Mormons."¹¹⁰

Dr. Robertson seemed impressed with the quality of BYU graduates. He noted that, "Of 194 students graduated 1916-1922, 49 pursued graduate work: California, 15; Chicago, 11; Wisconsin, 3; Stanford, 3; Columbia, 3; Utah, 11; Cornell; Washington; Iowa."¹¹¹ Twenty graduates of BYU were on the faculty of the University of Utah; fourteen at Utah State Agricultural College. Five other graduates were faculty members at Chicago, Clark, Columbia, Northwestern, and Minnesota universities. Thirteen of these men were department heads. Both United States senators from Utah (Reed Smoot and William H. King) were graduates of BYU, as was one Utah congressman (Don B. Colton) and an associate justice of the Supreme Court of the United States (George Sutherland). State superintendents of public instruction in Utah had been graduates of BYU in all but six years since statehood, and "The present City Superintendent of Schools of Salt Lake, Ogden, Provo and Logan, the four largest cities of Utah, are BYU alumni. In addition, 19 out of 40 other superintendents of districts in the state of Utah are BYU alumni."¹¹²

With Dr. Robertson's favorable report, President Harris and other members of the University community hoped to soon hear that BYU had been accepted as a member of the Association of American Universities. However, on 27 May 1924 Adam Leroy Jones wrote President Harris, "The Committee considered very carefully all the information available regarding Brigham Young University. I regret to be obliged

110. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

111. *Ibid.*, p. 10.

112. *Ibid.*, p. 12.

to advise you that the Committee decided to postpone action for the present." Jones listed four reasons for the decision. First was "the apparent inclusion in the announcement of the College of a good many courses which were not actually given, and of what seemed to be an unnecessary subdivision of subject matter in a number of Departments." Second, "the number of conditional students was too great." Third, the BYU faculty "did not quite meet the standards" of advanced training set by the association. Finally, expenditures for research and laboratory work were "hardly adequate to the number of students receiving laboratory instruction."¹¹³

Believing that the accreditation report was "absolutely fair in every respect,"¹¹⁴ President Harris immediately set out to correct the deficiencies in the school's collegiate program. He wrote Adam L. Jones in June 1924 that the school had begun to tighten the course offering, that "we have already taken steps by which conditional students are practically eliminated from the institution," and that "our faculty whose training does not seem adequate are being given leaves of absence." President Harris was determined to see the University achieve a standard of excellence that even the most skeptical juror could not question.¹¹⁵ He wrote David A. Robertson that he recognized "the limitations of the institution here in giving graduate work, where great libraries are required."¹¹⁶ About the same time he wrote Adam S. Bennion that, to become accredited, the school needed to "put more money into our scientific equipment."¹¹⁷ Almost a year later Harris told Bennion that "Our work has not been completely accredited by the Association of American Universities for two reasons: (1)

113. Adam Leroy Jones to Franklin S. Harris, 27 May 1924, box 85, Harris Presidential Papers.

114. Franklin S. Harris to David A. Robertson, 17 July 1924, box 12, folder R, Harris Presidential Papers.

115. Harris to Jones, 12 June 1924, box 85, Harris Presidential Papers.

116. Harris to Robertson, 17 July 1924, box 12, folder R, Harris Presidential Papers.

117. Harris to Bennion, 26 July 1924, box 10, folder B, Harris Presidential Papers.

Our department equipment is too low and (2) our faculty teaching load is too high.”¹¹⁸ In November 1925 he again stressed that “There are three great needs of the Brigham Young University which stand out above all others: (1) An improved faculty, (2) More adequate scientific equipment, and (3) More books in the library.”¹¹⁹

National Association of Colleges and Universities

While he was pursuing BYU’s application for admission to the Association of American Universities, Franklin S. Harris received correspondence from Dr. J.F.B. Walker, president of the National Association of Colleges and Universities. Begun in 1922, the National Association of Colleges and Universities addressed itself “primarily to those institutions which do not belong to existing associations of colleges and universities.”¹²⁰ Harris wrote J.D. Bradley, secretary of the association, that BYU would like to join the National Association of Colleges and Universities as long as BYU’s attempts to join the Association of American Universities did not “disqualify us for membership in your organization.”¹²¹

118. Harris to Bennion, 2 May 1925, box 10, folder B, Harris Presidential Papers.

119. Franklin S. Harris to Adam S. Bennion, “A Program for Brigham Young University,” 12 November 1925, box 13, folder B, Harris Presidential Papers.

120. J.F.B. Walker to Franklin S. Harris, undated, Harris Presidential Papers. Brubacher and Rudy explain that “Accreditation was in the air during this period. Standardizing agencies not only multiplied but abounded. . . . Other efforts at coordination and simplification of existing accrediting associations followed, but, these efforts to the contrary notwithstanding, there was a growing criticism of the whole movement by the opening of the 1930s. In one direction there was a feeling that standards had become too inflexible. The rigid quantitative enforcement of each category in a set of standards could easily miss an overall qualitative appraisal. Thus there was a temptation to assume that if an institution had adequate buildings, laboratories, libraries, high school graduates for students, and a faculty with Ph.D. degrees, it was a good institution whereas, in reality, these factors were only indicators, not guarantors of quality” (*Higher Education in Transition* [New York: Harper and Row, 1958], pp. 358-59).

121. Harris to Bradley, 18 March 1924, box 7, folder 29, Harris Presidential Papers.

On March 29 President Harris sent an application blank with a nominal five-dollar fee to Bradley,¹²² and on 31 March 1924 he reported in faculty meeting “that on invitation the University has joined [the] National Association of Colleges and Universities.”¹²³ Harris supported the new organization, speaking at one of its conventions held during the summer of 1924.¹²⁴ The National Association of Colleges and Universities, like many similar organizations at the time, lasted only a few years.

Pressures to Raise Standards

Besides the necessity of raising standards to gain recognition from prominent accrediting associations, other factors argued for improved academic programs at BYU. Some of the University’s graduates continued to have difficulty gaining admission to recognized graduate schools. In January 1925 President Harris wrote John R. Lewis of the University of Wisconsin,

I wish to thank you for your letter in which you call attention to the difficulty that some students have had in getting full graduate standing at the University of Wisconsin. We have not taken up the matter with individual institutions as yet because we felt that it was better to get a general standing in organizations. . . . We are getting a little stronger each year, not only in the training of our faculty members, but also in equipment and other things so that we thought before pushing the matter of standing [with] individual institutions too far, we would wait a year or two until we can make such a good showing that there will be no doubt whatever in their minds.¹²⁵

122. Harris to Bradley, 29 March 1924, box 7, folder 29, Harris Presidential Papers.

123. BYU Faculty Meeting Minutes, 31 March 1924.

124. Franklin S. Harris to J.D. Bradley, 16 June 1924, box 7, folder 29, Harris Presidential Papers.

125. Harris to Lewis, 19 January 1925, box 14, folder L, Harris Presidential Papers. *See also* Franklin S. Harris to A.S. Downing of the Albany Library School, 20 January 1925, box 10, folder D, Harris Presidential Papers.

Pressures to improve standards were also exerted on the school from other directions. The State of Arizona would not accept BYU graduates to teach in its public school districts.¹²⁶ George Thomas, president of the University of Utah, complained to President Harris that one of the graduates of his school who had also attended BYU could not get recognition for BYU religion class credits when he applied to a California graduate school.¹²⁷ J.A. Churchhill, superintendent of public instruction in Salem, Oregon, wrote that his department could not accept BYU as both a standard university and a standard normal school. Unable to recognize work done at BYU “as being the equivalent of that done in a standard normal school,” Churchhill said he could not “issue a certificate based upon the completion of such work.”¹²⁸ President Harris argued that the College of Education at BYU, like the Teachers College of Columbia University and the College of Education at the University of Chicago, was “the teacher training agency of the University.”¹²⁹ Despite Harris’s protestations, Churchhill would not recognize BYU graduates until the school gained acceptance by the Association of American Universities.

Improving the Library

Even before he began the struggle for accreditation, Harris worked to improve the library. Believing that “the library is the heart of a University,”¹³⁰ he began the drive for more

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126. C.O. Case (superintendent of public instruction in Phoenix, Arizona) to Ruth D. Sessions, 20 April 1925, box 10, folder C, Harris Presidential Papers; Franklin S. Harris to C.O. Case, 7 May 1925, box 10, folder C, Harris Presidential Papers; and Franklin S. Harris to D.R. Eager (principal of Pima, Arizona, schools), 29 April 1926, box 16, folder E, Harris Presidential Papers.
 127. Thomas to Harris, 3 October 1925, box 15, folder T-V, Harris Presidential Papers; and Harris to Thomas, 9 October 1925.
 128. Churchhill to Harris, 29 July 1924, box 10, folder C, Harris Presidential Papers.
 129. Harris to Churchhill, 4 August 1924, box 10, folder C, Harris Presidential Papers.
 130. Franklin S. Harris to Adam S. Bennion, “A Program for Brigham Young University,” 12 November 1925, Harris Presidential Papers.

books as soon as he arrived on campus.¹³¹ In November 1921 the faculty Library Committee “reported that the committee had decided to make special effort to increase the number of volumes to 20,000 during the year.”¹³²

Members of the University family devised numerous ways to gain books for the library. In April 1922 the school gave Professor Alice Louise Reynolds a “book shower” for her birthday.¹³³ The shower brought some valuable additions to the library collection, including several rare books.¹³⁴ Many individuals donated large private collections to the library. In 1922 the George H. Brimhall Theological Library, including 422 books and 125 pamphlets, became a part of the BYU library. The John A. Widtsoe Library of Agriculture, the Charles W. Penrose Poetry Collection, the James E. Talmage Collection, and the Heber J. Grant Collection all began in 1922. Dr. Lawrence Coffin of New York donated a collection of works on general literature, and Walter Adams of Provo contributed 2,000 books in 1922. In addition, T. Earl Pardoe began the Mask Club Collection in 1922.¹³⁵ Clubs like the BYU Faculty Women’s Club, the Sorosis Club, and the Miriam Nelke Club made substantial contributions to the library.

In 1923 the Utah Stake Genealogical Society began its collection of genealogical works at the BYU Library with the presentation of the first twenty-four volumes of the *Mayflower Descendants* in memory of Professor E. D. Partridge. The library also acquired that year the archeological library of Dr. Paul Henning, who participated in the Cluff Expedition to South America. Many more important collections were ob-

131. In 1923 Harris wrote William J. Snow, who was on leave from BYU, that he appreciated Snow’s interest in the library. Harris said, “I am sometimes thought to be sort of a crank on this subject. Wherever I go I am dabbling in libraries, and the library here has had very rapid growth during the last two years” (Harris to Snow, 3 March 1923, box 6, folder 8, Harris Presidential Papers.)

132. BYU Faculty Meeting Minutes, 14 November 1921.

133. BYU Faculty Meeting Minutes, 3 April 1922.

134. “Rare Books Found among Contributions to Reynolds Library,” *Y News*, 12 April 1922.

135. Jensen et al., “History of BYU,” pp. 147-48.

tained by BYU during the 1920s. In 1922 the Brigham Young University Library became an official depository for the Carnegie Institution of Washington, D.C.¹³⁶ By 1924 BYU was a depository for government publications in addition to publications of the Carnegie Peace Foundation and the Carnegie Institution.¹³⁷

President Harris's book drive paid off. By February 1924 the library contained around 35,000 volumes and about the same number of pamphlets.¹³⁸ Before the Heber J. Grant Library was ready for occupation in October 1925, Room D and another room in the Education Building were full of books, and other books were in storage.

Completion of the new library improved the academic atmosphere at BYU. President Harris wrote Fred Buss, "The new library building adds wonderfully to the spirit of study in the Institution."¹³⁹ Nonetheless, rather than rest content with the new library facility, Harris continued to stress the need for more books. In November 1925 he wrote Adam S. Bennion, "In order to be at all adequate our library collection should be at least three times its present size. This should be the aim of the next dozen years."¹⁴⁰ Envisioning this continual influx of books, Harris spoke of the new Heber J. Grant Library as only "the first unit" of the complete library facility.¹⁴¹ He wrote Heber J. Grant, "It seemed to us desirable to plan a building that could serve for some time, but to build the first unit only at present."¹⁴²

By 1928 the library contained 50,000 bound volumes and

136. Franklin S. Harris to Carnegie Institution of Washington, D.C., 21 July 1922, box 4, folder C, Harris Presidential Papers.

137. Information sheet, March 1924, box 7, folder 29, Harris Presidential Papers.

138. Franklin S. Harris to Heber J. Grant, 6 February 1924, box 7, folder G, Harris Presidential Papers.

139. Harris to Buss, 4 February 1926, box 16, folder B, Harris Presidential Papers.

140. Harris to Bennion, "A Program for BYU."

141. Franklin S. Harris to Herbert T. Wade, 23 November 1925, box 15, folder V-Z, Harris Presidential Papers.

142. Harris to Grant, 6 February 1924, box 7, folder G, Harris Presidential Papers.



Students in the large study hall of
the Heber J. Grant Library.

45,000 pamphlets. In 1929 the faculty adopted the slogan, "One hundred thousand volumes in five years."¹⁴³ The Great Depression made it impossible for the library to reach this goal, but in July 1934 President Harris reported that the library contained 83,526 books.¹⁴⁴ Improved library facilities greatly strengthened BYU's drive to become a fully accredited university.

Faculty Academic Advancement

The book drive successfully upgraded BYU library facilities, and President Harris encouraged faculty members to bring their academic training up to national standards. Between 1924 and 1928 five faculty members returned to graduate school and earned doctorates; eleven earned master's degrees. Faculty members hired during this period included five people with doctor's degrees and eleven with master's degrees. Faculty members and Trustees alike vigorously supported Harris's efforts to improve the academic standing of Brigham Young University.

Affiliation with the Association of American Colleges

While Franklin S. Harris made his educational tour of the world in 1926 and 1927, Acting President L. John Nuttall, Jr., carried on the battle for national academic recognition of BYU. In October 1926 the school received a letter from R.L. Kelly, secretary of the Association of American Colleges. Concerned that BYU had not joined the Association of American Colleges with most other members of the Northwest Association of Secondary and Higher Schools, Kelly asked permission to nominate BYU as a member of the association.¹⁴⁵ Founded in 1915 as a federation of undergraduate colleges seeking to promote the improvement of

143. BYU Faculty Meeting Minutes, 11 February 1929.

144. Franklin S. Harris to E.B. Stouffer, 16 July 1934, box 85, Harris Presidential Papers.

145. Robert L. Kelly to Franklin S. Harris, 20 October 1926, box 1, folder 12, L. John Nuttall, Jr., Papers, BYU Archives.

college education, the Association of American Colleges sought to strengthen its organization by recruiting new members.¹⁴⁶

Acting President Nuttall, thinking that “Dr. Harris would recommend joining” the association because he was “anxious to establish as many connections as possible of this kind,”¹⁴⁷ wrote Robert Kelly that BYU “would be glad to have you recommend it for membership in the Association of American Colleges.”¹⁴⁸ Kelly made the nomination in November 1926 and in January 1927 Nuttall received word that “by unanimous action of the Association, January 14, 1927, you are now a member in good and regular standing of the Association of American Colleges.”¹⁴⁹

“We Have Arrived”

Even though Brigham Young University was now accredited by the Northwest Association of Secondary and Higher Schools, the National Association of Colleges and Universities, and the Association of American Colleges and was a member of the American Council on Education, “yet the energetic gaze of President Harris has ever been on one goal, that of affiliation with the Association of American Universities.”¹⁵⁰ After Harris returned from his world tour he wrote L. John Nuttall, Jr., who had taken sabbatical leave to go to Columbia University,

I believe the time has now come for us to make another attempt to become accredited by the Association of American Universities. I am enclosing some correspondence which I received from Adam Leroy Jones, the chairman of their committee. . . . It occurs to me that while you are there at Columbia it might be the best

146. Warren W. Willingham et al., *The Source Book for Higher Education* (New York: College Entrance Exam Board, 1973), p. 331.

147. Kiefer Sauls to L. John Nuttall, Jr., 20 October 1926, box 1, folder 12, Nuttall Papers.

148. Nuttall to Kelly, 27 October 1926, box 1, folder 12, Nuttall Papers.

149. Kelly to Nuttall, 28 January 1927, box 1, folder 12, Nuttall Papers.

150. “We Have Arrived,” *Y News*, 4 December 1928.

possible opportunity for us to take up this matter and to see if they would not now let us in.¹⁵¹

Harris was confident that the new Heber J. Grant Library, improved faculty academic training, and new University facilities would qualify BYU for admission to the association. In faculty meeting on 21 November 1927 Harris “announced that application for the accrediting of the Brigham Young University would be made to the Association of American Universities at an early date and asked members of the faculty to submit any suggestions they might have as to material which might assist in preparing the application.”¹⁵²

The application included a sketch of the school’s history, a summary of requirements for the master’s degree (which had been noticeably upgraded), a copy of the scholastic standing of the faculty members from the University’s catalog, a list of receipts and expenditures for 1926-27, enrollment summaries for past years, lists of BYU graduates who were doing graduate work or teaching on faculties of other institutions, and descriptions of campus buildings and laboratories. The application procedure was slow, and it was not until October 1928 that Dr. E.B. Stouffer, dean of the Graduate School at the University of Kansas, made an inspection tour of Brigham Young University.¹⁵³ After Dr. Stouffer visited campus in October, Adam Leroy Jones wrote President Harris, “I know of nothing more that should be done at the present time to insure a proper presentation of the institution before our Committee.”¹⁵⁴

Dr. Stouffer spent the month of November preparing his evaluation of Brigham Young University and updating the application that President Harris had submitted the previous

151. Harris to Nuttall, 26 October 1927, box 20, folder N, Harris Presidential Papers.

152. BYU Faculty Meeting Minutes, 21 November 1927.

153. E.B. Stouffer to Franklin S. Harris, 5 October 1928, box 85, Harris Presidential Papers; and “Dean Stouffer Visits Campus,” *Y News*, 23 October 1928.

154. Jones to Harris, 29 October 1928, box 85, Harris Presidential Papers.



Members of the BYU Board of Trustees in 1930, including (left to right) Joseph R. Murdock, Lafayette Holbrook, Franklin S. Harris, Joseph A. Reece, Susa Young Gates, George H. Brimhall, Zina Young Williams Card, Joseph Fielding Smith, Heber J. Grant, James E. Talmage, John A. Widtsoe, and Stephen L Richards.

year.¹⁵⁵ An account of money spent to improve facilities and equipment at BYU was an important part of the updated application. By department, the report showed that BYU made the following expenditures for improved facilities during the 1927-28 school year:

Agronomy	\$ 300
Art	512
Botany	492
Chemistry	2,288
Geology	493
Home Economics	1,903
Mechanic Arts	600
Music	2,300
Office Practice	500
Physical Education	636
Physics	590
Psychology	59
Zoology	1,182
Library	4,079
TOTAL	<u>\$15,934</u> ¹⁵⁶

Finally, on 20 November 1928 Dr. Jones wrote President Harris, "It gives me great pleasure to inform you that at its annual meeting on November 17, the Association of American Universities voted on the recommendation of the Committee on the Classification of Colleges and Universities to place Brigham Young University on its approved list of colleges."¹⁵⁷ Brigham Young University had finally achieved recognition from the "highest accrediting agency in existence."¹⁵⁸ After seven years of strenuous effort, a jubilant

155. See Stouffer to Harris, 6 November 1928, Harris Presidential Papers; Harris to Stouffer, 9 November 1928, Harris Presidential Papers; and "Supplementary Materials Regarding Brigham Young University," box 85, Harris Presidential Papers.

156. "Supplementary Materials Regarding Brigham Young University," box 85, Harris Presidential Papers.

157. Jones to Harris, 20 November 1928, box 23, folder J, Harris Presidential Papers.

158. "'Y' Accepted by Association of American Universities," *Y News*, 27 November 1928.

President Harris could write, "We now have as complete a rating as far as accrediting is concerned as any university in the country."¹⁵⁹

Accreditation by the Association of American Universities meant that Brigham Young University graduates would have their degrees honored by graduate schools throughout the country. The states of Arizona and Oregon, along with the University of Utah and the University of California, no longer had grounds to refuse to accept credits earned at BYU. An editorial in the 4 December 1928 issue of *Y News*, entitled "We Have Arrived," praised Franklin S. Harris "for his untiring efforts consistently and vigorously to raise the standards of BYU" in preparation for accreditation. The editorial said that "Continued cooperation from all angles augurs well for a roseate future" for BYU.¹⁶⁰

Standardizing Sabbatical Leaves

President Harris felt it his duty to provide faculty members with opportunities for advanced training. In 1925 he wrote Adam S. Bennion,

Brigham Young University has always had a most excellent lot of men and women on its faculty, but in all cases they have not been thoroughly prepared in their subjects. They have rendered long and faithful service and it is the plain duty of the Institution to assist them in finishing their training and keeping up to date.¹⁶¹

159. Franklin S. Harris to Karl Harris, 27 November 1928, box 23, folder H, Harris Presidential Papers.

160. "We Have Arrived," *Y News*, 4 December 1928. Editor's Note: The student newspaper was understandably proud because after fifty-three years of struggle for survival, accompanied by heroic efforts on the part of the Trustees and poverty, privation, sacrifice, and dedication on the part of the faculty to keep the institution going, the school had, in a sense, "arrived." But accreditation was only the beginning of the accomplishments of BYU as a University. While the student editor predicted a "roseate future" for the school, he could have entertained no idea of the incredible growth that would occur during the remaining forty-seven years of the University's first century.

161. Harris to Bennion, "A Program for Brigham Young University," 12 November 1925, Harris Presidential Papers.

During the early years of the Harris Administration the University established a consistent system of sabbatical leaves, enabling all members of the faculty with professional rank (assistant, associate, and full professors) to take periodic one-year leaves for study and travel at half their regular salary. There was no set schedule for academic leaves; President Harris worked out the details with individual faculty members. In 1924 he wrote Willard Gardner that he could count on about four people being on academic leave from BYU each year.¹⁶² Harris often permitted faculty members to extend their leaves of absence beyond a year, though teachers on leave received no compensation after their first year away from BYU. When faculty members returned from sabbatical leave, they reported their activities in faculty meeting, and some returning professors were invited to speak to students at devotional assemblies.¹⁶³

Paying Salaries Twelve Months a Year

Prior to the Harris years BYU faculty members received pay only during the nine-month school year. Consequently, faculty members were forced to fend for themselves during the summer months. Many worked on their private farms when school was not in session. Others sought employment in the community. When Harris arrived at BYU, he formulated a new program of having faculty members receive pay during all twelve months of the year, even though their summers were still left free. He urged faculty members to spend their summers working for advanced degrees or teaching summer school at BYU.¹⁶⁴ Faculty members energetically adopted President Harris's suggestion to use vacation time for improvement of academic skills. The 18 September 1928 issue of *Y News* reported that twenty-five faculty members had spent

162. Harris to Gardner, 4 January 1924, box 7, folder G, Harris Presidential Papers.

163. Franklin S. Harris to Charles Maw, 27 September 1924, box 11, folder M, Harris Presidential Papers.

164. Interview with Kiefer B. Sauls, 29 August 1973; and Faculty Meeting Minutes, 5 September 1921.

the summer studying, conducting research, or traveling.

Initiation of the Retirement Fund

After a trip to the East in December 1922 where he contacted the Carnegie Institution for the Advancement of Teaching, President Harris suggested to the Board of Trustees that BYU should initiate a retirement program for faculty members. On 7 May 1923 the Board of Trustees adopted the following resolution:

In order more fully to stabilize the profession of teaching in this Institution and to bring about conditions that will induce the teachers therein to devote their full time and energies to their professional advancement and to the interests of the University, it is hereby resolved by the Board of Trustees of the Brigham Young University that application be made to the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching for permission to participate in the privileges of the Teachers Insurance and Annuity Association of America, operated under its auspices.¹⁶⁵

Participation in the retirement program was voluntary.

Salary Problems

As in the past, low faculty salaries were a problem during the Harris Administration. In 1923 President Harris wrote William Snow, "I wish we could get means to pay salaries that I think we ought to pay, but as a matter of fact we are not able to do this, at least by no means that I have been able to devise."¹⁶⁶ As the school grew, the salary problem became even more acute. BYU's faculty increased from seventy-four members in the 1921-22 school year to over a hundred members during the 1929-30 school year. At the same time, college enrollment increased from 438 in 1921-22 to 1,494 in 1929-30. Nevertheless, appropriations from the Board of Trustees increased only from \$167,000 in 1921-22 to \$200,000 in 1925. Appro-

165. BYU Board Minutes, 7 May 1923.

166. Harris to Snow, 23 May 1923, box 6, folder S, Harris Presidential Papers.

priations remained at that level until the 1929-30 school year.

Even though Harris consistently devoted between seventy-five and eighty percent of his yearly budget to faculty salaries, there was some “grumbling among faculty members” because of Harris’s “attitude toward salaries.” One faculty member commented that Harris “assuredly made the meager amounts of dollars appropriated by the Presidency and the Board of Trustees go a very long way, and one reason was that he made the faculty pay for many things the Board should have been paying for.” Another member of the Harris faculty said, “President Harris’s major problem was budget. His ability to see the importance of land acquisition made it hard for him to be as generous with his faculty as he would have liked to have been.”¹⁶⁷

In the 1920s the highest-paid dean never received more than \$3,800 per year, which was \$700 a year less than was paid deans at the University of Utah.¹⁶⁸ Harris explained that “We have no fixed amount to be paid for any rank, and you will

167. These statements are representative of the feelings of faculty members that served under Harris who were contacted by the Centennial History research staff in December 1973. Seventeen of the twenty faculty members responding to the written survey remembered low salaries as the most acute anxiety they experienced during the Harris years.

168. According to BYU Board Minutes, 22 May 1922, the pay scale for BYU faculty members for the 1922-23 school year was deans to \$3,500; professors to \$3,100; associate and assistant professors to \$2,500; and instructors to \$2,300. For the 1928-29 school year the pay scale was deans to \$3,800; professors from \$2,850 to \$3,800; associate professors from \$1,900 to \$2,900; assistant professors from \$1,800 to \$2,700; and instructors under \$1,800 (Questionnaire attached to letter from Joseph F. Merrill to all LDS school presidents, 4 February 1929, box 23, folder M, Harris Presidential Papers). During the same decade faculty members at the University of Utah were complaining about their low salary scale: “That the latter rise [in salaries] was moderate is shown by the fact that at the end of the decade [1929] this schedule was still among the lowest of the western state-supported universities and colleges. It was third from lowest, with only 5 percent of its faculty receiving more than \$4,000 per year as compared with an average of 18.6 percent for the twenty-five western schools studied. In 1922 the full pay for professors acting as heads of departments was made \$3,600, deans \$4,300. . . . In 1927 the maximum for professors

note that there is some overlapping.”¹⁶⁹ As President Harris bargained with faculty members to determine salaries, he expected them to sacrifice as he had done when he returned to Utah from the East to teach: “I know in my own case, when I returned to Utah after my studies in the East, I did so with sacrifice of \$1,200. That is, I came and took the full responsibility of a department at \$1,800 while I was offered \$3,000 to stay in the department at Cornell, and I have never regretted one moment the decision I made.”¹⁷⁰

Some faculty members refused to return to BYU from sabbatical leave because, even though they had sacrificed to earn a higher degree, President Harris could not offer them a salary increase of more than one hundred dollars per year. In 1926 Fred Buss wrote President Harris,

We have struggled along so many years already, in debt, and trying to complete my scholastic preparation, that the task has grown very wearisome. . . . To tell the truth we have done very nearly if not quite as well here [on sabbatical] the past three years as we could have done at home while I have been able to devote nearly one half of that time to bettering my preparation. . . . I would like to return to the University next year but can hardly decide since, at the salary you named, it seems that it would be a loss of nearly a thousand dollars. I realize that life cannot be expressed in dollars and cents, but a man with a large family has an economic responsibility.¹⁷¹

A few teachers left BYU because of salary considerations, but many more sacrificed like President Harris to remain at the school. William Snow, at the time on sabbatical leave at the University of California, wrote Harris in 1923,

was put at \$3,800, and that for deans, \$700 additional” (Ralph V. Chamberlin, *The University of Utah* [Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1960], p. 403).

169. Franklin S. Harris to William Peterson, 15 October 1924, box 12, folder P, Harris Presidential Papers.

170. Franklin S. Harris to William J. Snow, 23 May 1923, box 6, folder S, Harris Presidential Papers.

171. Buss to Harris, 26 January 1926, box 16, folder B, Harris Presidential Papers.

Even a teacher has a stomach, feels it necessary to wear clothes, assumes it his privilege and joy to have a family, [and] has in consequence to . . . pay bills, or suffer humiliation. . . . I left a business, cattle and farm and range privileges to come to study, and teach at the BYU. That business, I'm sure, would have made me worth \$50,000 by now. I ate up all this capital for the luxury of studying and teaching. And here is my confession. There were times when my salary was not paying more than 50-75% of our actual living expenses. . . . Well, I simply write you this that you may know I have peculiar attachment to the BYU and that I mention salary only because of compelling necessity.¹⁷²

Dedicated faculty members cast their lot with the school, low salary and all, but they were constantly aware of the financial strain and social stigma of working for pay much below that of other members of their profession. Lowry Nelson, on leave from his position as dean of the College of Applied Science, told Harris that his "self-respect as a dean" suffered when he "thought of the relative status of deans in the A.C. and the U." He asked, "Is there any plan at present to bring our salary schedule on the comparable basis with the other institutions there?"¹⁷³

On the Right Track

During the 1920s, when low salaries were a constant problem and the survival of Brigham Young University was uncertain, faculty members remained loyal to the school. Lowry Nelson wrote President Harris from the East in 1929,

My problem all along has been analogous to that of an eligible young man attempting to choose between marrying for love or money. I mustered all of the arguments I could think of which might prove the virtue of the latter

172. Snow to Harris, 30 May 1923, box 6, folder S, Harris Presidential Papers.

173. Nelson to Harris, 2 April 1929, box 23, folder N, Harris Presidential Papers.

course, and most of them I expressed to you — for better or for worse. But all the blustering availed nothing against the more profound feeling I have for you, the institution and our people. Of course, I wavered when there was uncertainty as to the future of the school, but I do not think I can judge on that point nearly as well as you. . . .

Still I have never lost sight of the deep obligation which I owe you and the school for what you have done for me. This has been more binding on me than any legal contract could ever be. . . . I am happy to tell you I am coming back.¹⁷⁴

President Harris had an astonishing ability to make faculty members feel that the University was a school of destiny, “that great things were bound to happen, and that it would be a distinct pleasure to have a hand in all the growth and development that was to be.”¹⁷⁵ Charles Maw believed that if the Church was to fulfill its mission in the world “it must have a place of higher learning somewhere that will attract the attention of those that think. I feel sure of our mission; we are on the right track.”¹⁷⁶

Harris’s unwavering confidence in the ability of BYU to become a great University inspired many faculty members to stay at the school. As one member of the Harris faculty said, “Most of us loved the community and Brigham Young University and stayed on and worked hard to help build up our departments.”¹⁷⁷ A friendly administrator, President Harris “was very much aware of the individual faculty member as a person. He knew the faculty members by their first name and recognized them on the campus in deliberations and always

174. Nelson to Harris, 12 April 1929, box 23, folder N, Harris Presidential Papers.

175. Gerrit de Jong, “24 Years at BYU,” unpublished typescript in Gerrit de Jong faculty file, BYU Archives.

176. Maw to Harris, 17 May 1924, box 8, folder M, Harris Presidential Papers.

177. Survey made of BYU faculty members who served under Franklin S. Harris, conducted in December 1973 and January 1974, Centennial History file, BYU Archives.

treated them with great respect.”¹⁷⁸ He was able to rally his faculty “toward a real university, on a paternalistic rather than a business basis.”¹⁷⁹ His “considerable personal magnetism inspired the faculty and created a fine atmosphere.”¹⁸⁰

President Harris was a great believer in the value of a liberal education. One faculty member commented, “I am not convinced that he thought of college primarily as training for a job. He viewed it rather as training of the mind so that one might face the predicaments of existence better fortified than he would have been without college exposure.”¹⁸¹ With this attitude, President Harris “tried to bring about the whole development of all his associates and helped them try to live lives as full as their capabilities would permit.”¹⁸²

President Harris demanded much from his faculty, but no more than he expected of himself. Because of increasing enrollment without concomitant increases in the size of the faculty, Harris expected BYU teachers to spend most of their time in the classroom. He wrote Joseph Fielding Smith in 1922, “Our present teaching force is small in comparison with the number of students we have, and each instructor has to teach to his full capacity.”¹⁸³ In 1924 most full-time faculty members had teaching loads of between thirteen and nineteen hours. Only a few teachers carried loads of less than twelve hours per term.¹⁸⁴

Besides classroom duties, most teachers served on two or three of the seventeen to twenty-five standing faculty committees and on special committees formed to meet temporary needs. In addition to this, President Harris encouraged faculty members to be active in civic affairs and professional

178. *Ibid.*

179. *Ibid.*

180. *Ibid.*

181. *Ibid.*

182. De Jong, “24 Years at BYU,” p. 24.

183. Harris to Smith, 7 September 1922, box 6, Joseph Fielding Smith, Jr., Papers, BYU Archives.

184. “Hours of Instruction and Size of Class of Each Full-Time Teacher,” box 85, Harris Presidential Papers.

organizations.¹⁸⁵ BYU faculty members also continued to contribute their talents to the Church. As Harris said, "We are anxious to render the highest possible service to the Church . . . with our fine scholars."¹⁸⁶ And faculty members willingly contributed their time through extension work, speaking assignments, and public relations work for the University.

The 1920s were busy years at Brigham Young University. Dedicated to the goal of becoming a great university recognized throughout the country, faculty members and administrators worked together to overcome economic adversity, achieve accreditation, and upgrade academic programs while continuing to fulfill the educational needs of ever-increasing numbers of LDS students.

185. BYU Faculty Meeting Minutes, 9 January, 6 February, and 22 June 1922.

186. Franklin S. Harris to T. N. Taylor, 17 September 1921, box 3, folder T, Harris Presidential Papers.

18

Service to Jews of Russia: 1929-1944

Brigham Young University's drive to gain widespread recognition took on an international dimension in 1929. On January 24 of that year Benjamin Brown, a member of the National Executive Committee of the American Association for Jewish Colonization in the Soviet Union (ICOR), approached President Franklin S. Harris about serving "as Chairman of a Commission of American experts sponsored by ICOR to investigate the problem in Siberia." Harris explained the "problem in Siberia":

The condition of the Jewish people in Russia has been very unsatisfactory for a number of generations. Under the old regime political liberty was not realized and with the initiation of the Soviet Government the whole economic balance has been so upset that it has become necessary to make many readjustments in the activities and social life of the people.

The Soviet Government, being desirous of promoting the welfare of all of the peoples residing in its borders, has been sympathetic with some reorganizations of the Jewish relationships so that they would be able to find happiness and financial independence.

The Jewish people residing in America have been anx-

ious to assist their brethren in Russia, and enormous philanthropies to render this aid have been organized in this country. One of these organizations is the "ICOR."

This organization has had under consideration helping with colonization in the Amur District in Siberia, but before deciding definitely on the measure of assistance which will be granted, the organization desired to have a report on the tract which was being considered for colonization.¹

LDS Church Interest in Russian Jews

As early as 1903 the First Presidency of the LDS Church (Joseph F. Smith, John R. Winder, and Anthon H. Lund) wrote Francis M. Lyman, president of the European Missions of the Church,

We trust also that you have found conditions in Russia for the introduction of the Gospel into that vast empire more favorable than is generally supposed. The last persecutions of the Jews and the labor agitations now so prevalent in that land have not impressed us with the idea that the present was the most favorable time for the introduction of the truth. Such conditions always make the inferior officials suspicious and over-exacting. We shall, however, await your report with much interest, being fully assured that having been over the ground you will better understand the true conditions than we possibly can at this distance, and with so little beyond what appears in the public prints to guide our opinions.²

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1. Diary of Franklin S. Harris as dictated to Kiefer B. Sauls, BYU Archives, p. I. President Harris kept two diaries during 1929. He personally wrote his regular diary in longhand before it was retyped. He dictated the second diary to his secretary, Kiefer B. Sauls. Harris then edited this diary before it was typed. The handwritten copy of Harris's personal diary and typescripts of both diaries are on file in BYU Archives. In this chapter Harris's personal diary will be referred to as *Diary of Franklin S. Harris*, while the diary Harris dictated to his secretary will be called the *Harris-Sauls Diary*.
 2. James R. Clark, comp., *Messages of the First Presidency of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 5 vols. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1965-70), 4:62.

In their Christmas message of 1906 the First Presidency expressed concern for the plight of the Jews of Russia: "The bitter struggle between the Reactionary Party and the Liberals in Russia presents a spectacle that enlists our sympathy for the down-trodden masses of that vast empire. The Jews have suffered persecution in its most dreadful form in many of the Russian provinces. Without any given cause great numbers have been massacred by their neighbors under the influence of religious hatred and bigotry."³

In 1912 a small group of Jewish Russian immigrants established a colony called Clarion in Sanpete County, Utah. Most of the colonists had been in the United States only two years. They settled first in New York and then in Philadelphia. Benjamin Brown, who asked Harris to head the ICOR Commission, was the leader of this colony.⁴ The First Presidency made a token subscription of \$500 to the colony, explaining that the Church could not contribute more because it felt responsible to care for the 4,000 Mormon colonists that had recently been driven from Mexico. Speaking of the colony in Sanpete County, the First Presidency wrote Rabbi Charles J. Freund in Salt Lake City,

This attempt on the part of those of your people who have come to dwell amongst us, and thus take up the work of your ancestors, is indeed both interesting and pleasing. With all our hearts we wish them the success which the industry and thrift manifested so far by them so richly deserve. It is very gratifying to us to learn that the relations existing between your Utah colony and our people residing in the immediate vicinity thereto are of the most cordial and neighborly character, and we have very great pleasure indeed in believing that the spirit of good fellowship and neighborly helpfulness will always exist between you and us.⁵

3. Ibid., 4:128.

4. See Everett L. Cooley, "Clarion, Utah: Jewish Colony in 'Zion,'" *Utah Historical Quarterly* 36 (Spring 1968): 113-31.

5. First Presidency to Freund, 10 October 1912, Joseph F. Smith Letter Books, Church Historical Department.

The reply of Rabbi Freund to the First Presidency was published in the *Improvement Era*, the official magazine of the LDS Church:

In the letter of the First Presidency, these words occur: "and to thus take up the work of your ancestors." These words invite amplification. Why, during all the centuries since the dawn of the Christian Era, has the Jew given up the occupation of his ancestors? For it is beyond dispute, as evidenced by the legislation, literature, and the land of the Jewish people, before the Christian Era, that the Jewish nation was one of farmers. Their land was taken away from them, the right of self-government denied them; the Jewish people for the past two thousand years have been a *landless* people.⁶

Heber J. Grant, President of the LDS Church at the time of the ICOR Expedition, wrote, "The Church for which we speak and its members individually reverently acknowledge an overruling power in the rich and marvelous history of the Jewish race We rejoice in every development whereby the Jewish people are brought nearer the full attainment of their promised blessings; nearer the rehabilitation of the race as a united nation . . . with enduring autonomy and assured solidarity even surpassing their ancient status."⁷

Harris's Qualifications to Head the Commission

President Harris took a personal interest in the welfare of the Jewish people in Russia from the time he was a student and instructor at Cornell University between 1908 and 1911. He told J.G. Lipman, "Ever since I was at Cornell twenty years ago and came in contact with and became intimately acquainted with quite a number of men who had come out of Russia, I have been very much interested in the problem there."⁸ After returning to Utah as professor of agronomy at Utah State Agricultural College, Harris became acquainted

6. Charles J. Freund, "Significance of the Jewish Farm Colony at Clarion, Utah," *Improvement Era* 16 (January 1913): 107-09.

7. 23 July 1931, Heber J. Grant Letter Book.

8. Harris to Lipman, 13 April 1929, Harris Presidential Papers.

with Benjamin Brown when, as agronomist of the Utah Agricultural Experiment Station, he studied "the lands in Sanpete County, Utah, which were being settled by the Jewish colony. I had also known Mr. Brown in connection with his work with the Utah Poultry Producers Association." ⁹ Harris wrote W.C. Clos in 1929, "I was rather familiar with the colony at Clarion. I made a number of trips there and examined the soil and stayed with these Jewish people. The difficulty of colonizing them is certainly tremendous, but something must be done or there will be literally thousands of them starve to death and millions who will remain in poverty."¹⁰

His training in agronomy and his direct experience with Jewish people made Franklin S. Harris an excellent choice to head the ICOR Commission. In a telegram to the National Executive Committee of ICOR, Benjamin Brown exultantly related that he had

succeeded in obtaining promise of most reputable American agronomist, University President, author of five scientific agricultural books, and two hundred scientific bulletins; also had practical experience in operating a large ranch of similar soil to Biro-Bidjan. He is now affiliated with twenty agricultural institutions, chairman of some, such as Association of American Experiment Stations, etc. Was employed by Canadian Pacific Railway and by Mexican Government. Was chairman of Pan Pacific Congress in Japan nineteen twenty-six and he investigated in person agricultural possibilities in Japan, Korea, Manchuria, Malaya, Burma, India, and all over Asia Minor and Europe. Stop. This man's name is Doctor F.S. Harris, now President Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah. He is willing to act as chairman of expedition to Biro-Bidjan.¹¹

Accepting the Invitation

While Benjamin Brown and the leaders of ICOR in New

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9. Harris-Sauls Diary, p.1.
 10. Harris to Clos, 22 May 1929, Harris Presidential Papers.
 11. Telegram from Benjamin Brown to Executive Committee of ICOR, 29 January 1929, Harris Presidential Papers.

York were busy during the first week in February 1929 arranging with KOMZET (the official Soviet colonization agency) in Moscow for permission for the American commission to visit Russia, President Harris carefully considered his invitation to head the expedition. He wrote John A. Widtsoe in Europe, "There is a bare possibility of my dropping in . . . to see you, since they are doing a little negotiation with me about heading a commission to Russia to look into Jewish colonization there."¹² On 7 February 1929 Benjamin Brown received the following telegram from L. Talmy, secretary of ICOR in New York:

KOMZET welcomes commission of experts; leaves selection of members of commission entirely to our discretion. Had no chance to take the matter up finally with administration committee. My opinion you may complete arrangements with Dr. Harris.¹³

President Harris met with Brown in Salt Lake City on February 9 to accept the invitation to head the commission. He requested that his secretary, Kiefer B. Sauls, "be made Secretary of the Commission."¹⁴ He had discussed the matter with "the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees of the Brigham Young University and the First Presidency of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and they were all favorable to granting me a leave of absence and assisting in the work of the Commission in any way they could."¹⁵

On 30 March 1929 Harris wrote President Heber J. Grant "about the service I had been asked to render the Jewish people of Russia. Today I have received a letter from them, a copy of which I am enclosing, which shows something of the friendship which the Jewish people of the country have for our people. You will note that they ask me to express appreciation to our Board of Trustees for granting me a leave."¹⁶

12. Harris to Widtsoe, 31 January 1929, Harris Presidential Papers.

13. Telegram from Talmy to Brown, 7 February 1929, Harris Presidential Papers.

14. Harris-Sauls Diary, p. 2.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

16. Harris to Grant, 30 March 1929, Harris Presidential Papers.

President Grant replied, "My counselors and I have read with interest the copy of Benjamin Brown's letter of March 26th. . . . We are grateful for the friendly spirit manifest in Mr. Brown's letter, and congratulate you."¹⁷

Along with the encouragement of the First Presidency, Harris's conviction that proper soil and water management were the most important factors in developing a sound civilization for any people in any country of the world and that the proper use of scientific agriculture could move the world and its peoples, including the Jews in Russia, toward a higher standard of living, influenced his decision to accept the appointment to head the ICOR Commission.¹⁸ Dr. John A. Widtsoe, Harris's friend and teacher, wrote from Liverpool, England, headquarters of the European Mission, that he was "thrilled at the thought that there is a possibility of your coming over here while I am here. With your equipment of knowledge and experience you would certainly be of great help to the people on this side of the Atlantic."¹⁹ Moreover, Elder Widtsoe felt that Harris's appointment was "a magnificent recognition of our people as well as of your own outstanding abilities. I know of no man who is equal for such a task — in training, personality, judgement, leadership, spirituality and the other things necessary for doing big and lasting work."²⁰

President Harris had the enthusiastic support of fellow agricultural scientists throughout the United States. Melvin C. Merrill, chief of publications of the United States Department of Agriculture and former dean of the College of Applied Science at BYU, jokingly wrote President Harris,

Now Frank, I am *frankly* disappointed in you. When you went around the world two years ago I thought you had made such a good job of it that you would surely not need to retrace your steps and try to undo the job. But here you are just setting out to reverse what you formerly did, and

17. Grant to Harris, 1 April 1929, Harris Presidential Papers.

18. Interview by Janet Hansen with Dr. Louis L. Madsen, 4 April 1974. Madsen succeeded Harris as president of Utah State Agricultural College in 1950.

19. Widtsoe to Harris, 18 February 1929, Harris Presidential Papers.

20. Widtsoe to Harris, 13 March 1929, Harris Presidential Papers.

go around the world from West to East. I presume the purpose of the trip is really to enable you to recapture that day which you lost in crossing the International Date Line.

Nevertheless, Dr. Merrill and his wife were

really very thrilled over this opportunity that has come to you and Kiefer and we hope that you will most thoroughly enjoy the trip, and we are sure you will. It is certainly a splendid recognition of your scientific and professional standing to be chosen as Chairman of such a Commission, but if the United States should be scrutinized with a microscope I am satisfied that a better man for the place could not be found than yourself.²¹

Merrill and many other prominent scientists, heads of scientific organizations, and governmental leaders wrote letters of introduction for President Harris.²² Senator William H. King of Utah wrote,

This will introduce Dr. Franklin S. Harris. . . . Dr. Harris is the president of an important University in the State of Utah, and is an outstanding figure in the educational and intellectual world in the United States. He has been trained in the leading institutions of the United States and has had many contacts with educational institutions in other parts of the world. He is not only acquainted with Europe but has visited substantially all countries of the world, and quite recently spent a year in completing a tour around the world. Dr. Harris' executive work in connection with educational institutions in the West has given him a comprehensive knowledge of the problems of irrigation, the reclamation of lands, the building of homes and the organization of communities. . . . Dr.

21. Merrill to Harris, 8 May 1929, Harris Presidential Papers.

22. They included P.E. Brown, secretary-treasurer of the American Society of Agronomy, of which organization Harris was former president; W.I. Myers, secretary-treasurer of the American Farm Home Economics Association; J.W. Crabtree, secretary of the National Education Association; Dr. Elmer G. Peterson, president of Utah State Agricultural College; Henry L. Stimpson, United States Secretary of State; Reed Smoot, chairman of the U.S. Senate Committee on Finance; and George H. Dern, governor of Utah.

Harris is a man of integrity and ability. He has the confidence and esteem of all who know him.²³

In a more personal letter Senator King, based on his own firsthand observation, briefed Harris on some of the problems that the commission might have in Russia. According to King, "The Jewish situation in Russia is quite unsatisfactory. There is developing, I fear, an anti-Semitic feeling which may grow stronger as the days go by. I need not say that the economic conditions in Russia are bad. . . . I believe the Jews of Russia will experience many difficulties and hardships during the next few years. Their lot has been a hard one in the past and I fear that the future will see but little amelioration."²⁴

Official announcement of the ICOR project appeared in the 17 May 1929 issue of *Science*. Because of Harris's position as president of BYU, the University received national attention as the commission prepared for its expedition to Russia.

Formation of the Commission

After months of intensive efforts to find men qualified to accompany the expedition, Benjamin Brown wrote President Harris on 2 April 1929,

This commission will consist of: yourself as chief agronomist and Chairman; Mr. Sauls as secretary; Professor [J.B.] Davidson [of Iowa State College], as agricultural engineer; Mr. Kahn, of Amtorg [a Russian trading company operating in the United States], as road engineer; Dr. [Charles] Kuntz [of Columbia University], who is at present in Biro-Bidjan, as general advisor; Mr. Talmy, who is the general secretary of the ICOR, as official interpreter; and myself, as marketing specialist and general farmer. As far as a lumbering specialist is concerned, it was decided that we should wait with this question until after our first reconnaissance on the ground.²⁵

23. Letter of introduction written for Franklin S. Harris by William H. King, 16 May 1929, Harris Presidential Papers.

24. King to Harris, 15 May 1929, Harris Presidential Papers.

25. Brown to Harris, 9 April 1929, Harris Presidential Papers.

Brown made reservations on the *Majestic*, which was to sail from New York on June 22.²⁶

Winding Up Affairs at the University

The final two weeks before Harris and Sauls boarded the train in Salt Lake City for New York and Russia were as hectic as any in the life of a university president. Harris was determined to accomplish three goals before leaving the school in the hands of E.H. Holt, veteran treasurer of the University: He wanted to supervise commencement, launch the 1929 summer school, and initiate a drive for endowments for the University. Since he was also a member of the General Board of the Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association of the LDS Church, he could not leave without meeting his obligations at the annual June Conference of that organization. A thorough and disciplined man, Harris conscientiously put his affairs in order before leaving with the commission.

Even though the First Presidency and the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees had given their support to President Harris in his acceptance of the post as chairman of the ICOR Commission to Russia in February 1929, the Board of Trustees of the University took no official action until June 5, when "The Board approved the action of the Executive Committee in assigning President Harris and Kiefer B. Sauls to represent the University during the summer months on a commission going to Russia in the interests of the Jews of that country; and in appointing E.H. Holt to take care of the official work of the school during his absence."²⁷ Harris and Sauls were thus officially appointed to represent Brigham Young University and the LDS Church on the ICOR Commission. Harris was asked to head the commission because of his training as an agronomist, and he accepted the assignment with a deep sense of religious mission stemming from the strong commitment of the LDS Church to the Jewish people.

In contrast to President Cluff's expedition to South

26. See Harris-Sauls Diary, p. 6.

27. BYU Board Minutes, 5 June 1929.

America, President Harris's ICOR expedition made careful preparations. The expedition was properly financed. All members of the staff were experts in their respective fields. Diplomatic and other arrangements were carefully made. During his five months of preparation for the expedition, President Harris read over fifty books on Russia and on the Jews. He was prepared to make the assignment a complete success.

Cross-Country to New York

Harris and Sauls boarded the Union Pacific train at Salt Lake City on 12 June 1929. In Chicago they toured the Jewish ghetto on Maxwell Street:

We went leisurely throughout the district noticing the type of shop methods engaged in and also talked with a number of the merchants. In every case we found that they were Russian Jews who had been in this country for varying lengths of time. They all expressed themselves as being glad to live in America. Their ideas were rather hazy regarding the exact situation in Russia at the present time. They hope that out of the present political situation something favorable for the Jewish people in Russia will result. All these people seemed to be industrious and anxious to make sales.²⁸

After visiting Franklin Madsen, a BYU faculty member who was studying at Chicago Musical College, President Harris and his traveling companion continued their journey. They spent June 16 and 17 in Washington, D.C., conferring with officials of the United States Department of Agriculture. They also visited the Library of Congress to study soil maps of the Amur section of Siberia which the commission was to explore. They spent the next four days in New York City where they had many conferences with Jewish leaders in preparation for their trip. In addition to their many Jewish friends, Harris and Sauls were also visited by Ernest Wilkinson, Harvey Fletcher, and Carl F. Eyring, graduates of BYU

28. Harris-Sauls Diary, 14 June 1929.

who were engaged in professional work in New York City. Stephen L Richards, who had been instrumental in the appointment of Harris as president of Brigham Young University, wrote his encouragement: "I wish you well on your journey. I am sure it will prove to be most educational to you and helpful to those to whom you go. It is a distinct honor and a merited recognition of your abilities. I pray that you will be blessed, and return in safety."²⁹

Preparations in New York

On June 19 Harris wrote Stephen L Richards of his reception in New York: "The Jewish people are taking us completely into their confidence. . . . This is really an unusual opportunity for us although I am afraid we shall not be able to do as much for them as they hope we shall do, but we shall at least do our best."³⁰ On Thursday, June 20, Harris and Sauls "attended a banquet at the Hotel Lincoln which was given in honor of the departing Commission. This function was participated in by over two hundred people representing a cross-section of the Jews of New York."³¹ Businessmen, professional men, newspapermen, and representatives of the Russian government also attended the banquet, where Dr. Harris announced the motto of the expedition to be

Take plenty of time to be sure you are right,
And then go forward with all your might.³²

Before sailing on June 21, Harris reported his activities in New York to the First Presidency:

Brother Sauls and I arrived here three days ago and since our arrival have been kept constantly going by the Jewish people here who are responsible for the Commission of American experts who are studying colonization of the

29. Stephen L Richards to Franklin S. Harris, 13 June 1929, Stephen L Richards Papers, Church Historical Department.

30. Harris to Richards, 19 June 1929, Harris Presidential Papers.

31. Harris-Sauls Diary, 20 June 1929.

32. Franklin S. Harris to Estella S. Harris, 19 June 1929, Harris Presidential Papers.

Jewish people in Russia. As you will remember I am chairman of the commission and, therefore, have been the center of most of the activity, which has consisted of newspaper interviews, lunches, visits to headquarters of various Jewish organizations, and conversations with Jewish leaders.

They have taken us completely into their confidence and I marvel at the wonderful efficiency of the Jewish people in caring for their own. Long centuries of persecution have given them a unity and they have developed a wonderful technique to help each other out.

The culmination of our activities was reached last night when a formal banquet for the commission was held at the Lincoln Hotel. There were present about two hundred prominent people representing various interests. I was introduced to a great many of those present and it seemed nothing to be told that the interests of this particular man represent fifty or seventy-five million dollars, and then there were many professional men present, such as lawyers and physicians.

Mr. Benjamin Brown, who is also on the commission, as you probably know, developed the Utah Poultry Producers Association which brings to Utah annually about ten million dollars for sales of eggs in New York City. With him, Brother Sauls, and I all from Utah, Utah seemed to be the center of discussion. The one who introduced us spoke of a number of visits to Utah with various Russian delegations and he made the statement that they had received better treatment in Utah than any other state. Of course the colonization and pioneering work of our people came in for mention and when I was introduced they told of the pioneers going to Utah on July 24, 1847, and when they entered Salt Lake Valley and looked over the country of Brigham Young having said, "This is the place." They said they hoped our commission would be able to follow this example and after looking over Biro-Bidjan, the place that has been selected for colonization, that we might say, "This is the place for the gathering of the Jewish people of Russia."

When I arose to speak the entire group rose and they also did when I had completed what I had to say. In my

remarks I told of the traditional friendship of our people for the Jewish people and of our desire to see them reach their hope of gathering. Never in my life have I been given a greater ovation and I believe that our people have never been placed in a more favorable light than at this banquet. It makes me feel very humble in this great responsibility.³³

Before sailing on June 21 Harris issued a press release:

The condition of the Jewish people in Russia has been very unsatisfactory for a number of generations. Under the old regime political liberty was not realized and with the initiation of the Soviet Government the whole economic balance was so altered that it has become necessary to make many readjustments in the activities and social life of the people.

The Soviet Government, being desirous of solving the economic problem of its Jewish citizens, has set aside a large tract of land on the Amur River in southeastern Siberia, known as Biro-Bidjan, for colonization purposes. This may lead to the formation of a Jewish autonomous state.

There is at present in the United States an organization called "ICOR" which is devoted to the welfare of the Jewish people in Russia. This is the only organization in the United States which is very much interested in the proposition offered by the Soviet Government.

"ICOR" began correspondence with KOMZET (department of the Soviet Government which has to do with Jewish colonization) for the purpose of obtaining permission to send an American Commission of experts who would proceed to Siberia to investigate the merits of this tract of land. KOMZET authorized "ICOR" to engage such a commission. . . .

The commission sails on the *Majestic* Friday, June 21, and expects to spend about four months studying this problem. The plan will be to go direct to Moscow for consultation with the Soviet Government. After a study of the needs of the Jewish people in Russia the tract of

33. Harris to First Presidency, 21 June 1929, Harris Presidential Papers.

land under consideration will be given careful investigation. This investigation will include an examination of the natural resources of the tract, weather conditions, rainfall, nature of the soil, mineral products, timber, fisheries, manufacturing opportunities, transportation facilities, and all other features which might determine the feasibility of the project for colonization.

After this investigation has been completed and the matter considered thoroughly with the Soviet Government a report will be issued which will serve as a guide to the Jewish people in making their plans for settlement. If the project is found by the Commission to be practical, plans will be made for the use of the most recent American methods and machinery in aiding the work of colonization and industrialization.³⁴

Sailing to Europe

The *New York Times* announced the departure of the ICOR Commission on the ocean liner *Majestic* on 21 June 1929. On the seas between New York and Cherbourg, President Harris and his companions solidified plans for the expedition. They decided to study Soviet governmental organization and procedure in Moscow before asking the Kremlin for permission to see a good part of Russia, including areas with a concentration of Jewish population, areas of Jewish colonization, and areas that featured large Soviet farm projects. On June 23 the commission drew up the following tentative itinerary:

July 20: Begin trip from Moscow

July 25: Finish trips in Russia

July 27: Start for Biro-Bidjan

August 6: Arrive in Biro-Bidjan

September 20: Leave Biro-Bidjan

October 1: Leave Moscow on trip home

October 16: Sail for home³⁵

In Paris on June 29 the commission met with Rabbi John

34. Press Release, June 1929, Harris Presidential Papers.

35. Minutes of meetings of the ICOR Commission, 22 through 25 June 1929, ms. 340, BYU Archives.

Tepfer of New York; I. Jeffroykin, director of American Lloyd-Palestine Lloyd; and M. Jarblum, Paris correspondent for a number of Jewish publications in various parts of the world, to be briefed on conditions they could expect to find in Russia. They learned that Jews

were very enthusiastic when the plan was first proposed to put the Jews on the land in certain parts of Russia proper. Since that time, however, the work has met with so many discouraging factors that the enthusiasm has waned considerably, though it is by no means extinct.

Asked to explain the loss of enthusiasm, Rabbi Tepfer and the others noted that

Only a comparatively few Jews are communistic in their political beliefs. They expected freedom to follow their own wishes after they had been placed on the land but they soon found that those not of the communistic point of view were discriminated against in the various phases of the land colonization program. They began to feel that it was really a plan for communists rather than Jews. It was felt, however, that this discrimination was not confined to the Jews but was practiced with people of all nationalities when it happened that they were not of the communistic faith. Another reason for discouragement on the part of the Jews was the fact that they had expected to be able to develop certain social institutions of their own and use their own language. In this they were disappointed. When the Biro-Bidjan project was announced it did not meet with enthusiasm on the part of the Jews in Russia or other countries because it was felt by them that the Biro-Bidjan project was a Jewish communistic project and it was felt further that there were Jews in the Communist party fostering this program of land settlement who were even more communistic in their beliefs than the Soviet Government itself.³⁶

As a solution to the problem, Tepfer, Jeffroykin, and Jarblum

36. Harris-Sauls Diary, 29 June 1929.

suggested that Harris and his companions should “ask the Soviet government to form a committee for handling the Biro-Bidjan project which shall include people who are not communists.”³⁷ Harris also noted in his diary that the experts he interviewed felt that the new Jewish colony should be about seventy-five percent industrial and twenty-five percent agricultural.

On to Moscow

The commission stopped in Berlin to secure Russian visas. A telegram from the Russian government in Moscow suggested that commission members purchase equipment in Berlin for camping in Siberia, including sleeping cots, mosquito bars, and blankets. President Harris met with Elder John A. Widtsoe, who traveled from Scandinavia to meet the commission in Berlin. On July 2 “Dr. Widtsoe joined us at a conference of Jewish leaders regarding the project on which we are working. There were present at this conference Dr. Oskar Cohn, Counsellor at Law, Berlin; Jacob Lestschinsky, Schriftsteller,³⁸ Berlin; Nahum Gergel, Schriftsteller, Berlin; Prof. Boris Brutzkus, Berlin; David Tscharmy, Schriftsteller, Berlin; Wilhelm Latsky Bartholdy, Schriftsteller, Riga.”

Professor Brutzkus explained the condition of the Russian Jews:

Before the revolution the Jews in Russia were confined to certain sections known as *pales*. Here only could they live and even in these places they were confined to certain occupations and were not permitted to own land. They were engaged mostly in commercial work, many becoming small shop keepers and traders. A considerable number were also engaged in such occupations as carpentry, tailoring, etc. With the coming of the new Government all the business was taken over by the State with the result that the majority of the Jews have been left

37. Ibid.

38. A Schriftsteller is a writer.

without work; only about 36% in the trades. Colonization work has been accompanied with many difficulties and hardships in Russia proper and these, together with the great distance to Biro-Bidjan, made the project a very questionable one in the opinion of Prof. Brutzkus.³⁹

Mr. Lestschinsky warned the commission that a human factor that would continue to work against the success of the Biro-Bidjan colonization project was the reluctance of the Jew to separate himself from family ties and traditions. He urged the commission to make a very careful study of the economic, spiritual, and psychological aspects of Jewish life in the old pales before making a report on Biro-Bidjan.

The experts in Berlin warned Harris and the others that previous attempts to promote Jewish colonization had not been successful. Twenty percent of the Jewish settlers placed on land near their former homes returned to the old settlement; thirty-seven percent of those who went to Siberia to settle returned, while only ten percent of those who went to the Volga District returned. Fifty-five percent of the settlers had returned from Biro-Bidjan. Professor Brutzkus maintained that the Far Eastern Province near the Pacific Ocean had many advantages over Biro-Bidjan, in the Amur District, which was noted for its cold, snowless winters and its rainy, hot summers. The rains had plagued most colonization efforts, including those of the Cossacks who had unsuccessfully attempted to settle Biro-Bidjan.

The group also discussed the attitude of the Soviet Government toward the work of the commission. Bartholdy was pleased that the commission was not pro-Soviet, as ICOR had been thought to be. Cohn thought the Russian Government's attitude toward the Commission would determine whether the government really desired to promote Jewish colonization or whether the encouragement was purely political. Tscharmy commended the ICOR for organizing such a fact-finding commission.⁴⁰

39. Harris-Sauls Diary, 2 July 1929.

40. Ibid.

Local Color in Moscow

The commission crossed the Russian border on 4 July 1929 and arrived in Moscow the next morning. Summarizing his impressions of the Russian capital, Harris wrote his wife,

Everything here is as quiet and peaceful as you can imagine. People are going about their business in a serious way. The chief difference between this and any other large city is that there is no style here and everyone seems to be just about like everyone else. We saw scarcely a half-dozen pair of silk stockings all day. The great clubs and other places of luxury are converted into places for workers to meet. Yesterday afternoon we attended a meeting of factory representatives who are going to take a trip out to study Jewish colonization. About one-fourth were women. The meeting was just a discussion meeting to go over what they would see. I am very much impressed with the earnestness of everyone and also the serious happiness.⁴¹

On July 9 he wrote his family,

Last night in a fine palace they gave a reception. Scientific men were present largely. We are meeting a lot of fine scientists as well as government officials. . . . In reality things are more quiet and peaceful than almost any place I have ever been. No roughness nor drunkenness is seen anywhere. . . . This morning we visited the famous Kremlin — the home of the Czars for generations. . . . There are fewer travelers here than any place I have ever been.⁴²

Briefing Sessions on Jewish Colonization

Harris and Sauls were impressed that Soviet officials enthusiastically cooperated with the ICOR Commission. On July 6 the commission members met with Soviet government officials and members of the scientific community. In the morn-

41. Franklin S. Harris to Estella S. Harris, 6 July 1929, Harris Presidential Papers.

42. Harris to family, 9 July 1929, Harris Presidential Papers.

ing they visited a government movie agency which expressed interest in making a film about the colonization of Biro-Bidjan. In the afternoon Harris visited P.S. Smidovich, vice-president of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet government and president of KOMZET, an official government agency. Harris described Smidovich as "a man of probably sixty years of age with a gray Vandyke beard and scant hair on his head. He has a very kindly face and received us with a decided warmth. He was dressed in a gray linen smock and carried an air of simplicity and his manner showed great earnestness." Smidovich told the ICOR Commission that the colonization work in Biro-Bidjan was very new, having begun only the year before. The Soviet government had

not been financially able to do the things necessary to speed up the work as they would like to. It is a large territory and they are planning things there on a large scale and he [Smidovich] thinks Americans can better appreciate and help in the work than Europeans because they are more accustomed to large projects of this kind. The heavy growth of native vegetation makes the country appear uninviting as a colonization possibility. One at first gets the impression that the land is swampy and marshy. After the land has been plowed one gets quite a different impression. Machinery should make it possible to reclaim the land more easily. The work there in colonization is not considered by them to be an experiment as so many people seem to think it to be. While it is true there are not many people there now, the experimental work has been done previously and the results have been favorable. Rice and soy beans have been successfully raised. With such facts the Government is going ahead with a colonization program and does not consider it merely an experiment. . . . The human part of the problem is a big one but from experience in establishing Jews on the land in Crimea it is believed they will adapt themselves to the situation in Biro-Bidjan.⁴³

Smidovich promised that his government would cooperate fully with Jewish colonization efforts. Since Jews were in a

43. Harris-Sauls Diary, 6 July 1929.

worse condition than most Russian settlers, they would be exempt from taxation for their first five years in Biro-Bidjan and would be given timber to build their homes. The Commission was also informed that AGROJOINT, another American-based agency, had never been favorable to a project in the Biro-Bidjan area. The Soviets hoped that the findings of the ICOR Commission would cause AGROJOINT to become more favorable to such a project.

After this warm and informative session with officials of the Soviet government, President Harris and fellow commission members turned to Russian scientists and experts on agriculture for professional counsel. A Mr. Muraloff, vice-president of the Department of Agriculture, explained that the plan was

to have 60,000 people in Biro-Bidjan by 1933. . . . Mr. Muraloff stated that in various places they had stations developing strains of seed, livestock, poultry, fruit trees, etc., adaptable to the various sections and that they would furnish such seeds to the settlers as needed. They also have many publications on various phases of agriculture and the colonization problem which they would furnish the settlers. There was some literature available on house and barn construction. . . . They also have a system of farm advisers.

Professor Tchelentzoff, instructor of farm economics at the Timorasoff Agricultural Academy, "explained that there were many possibilities of manufacturing in Biro-Bidjan, to occupy the time of the farmers when not able to work in the land and that there was now actually a labor shortage in these industries."

The ICOR Commission also visited the Timorasoff Agricultural Academy, which had about 4,500 students. While there they

met Professor V.R. Williams, a Russian whose father was born in America. He had soil samples from Biro-Bidjan which we went over with him as well as the rocks from which these soils are derived. Professor Williams is a very unusual character and an authority on the organic matter of the soil. He showed us through his laboratory and we got a good insight into the work he is doing. He is very

optimistic about Biro-Bidjan and its possibilities. We also visited the Farm Implement Department where Professor V.P. Goretchkin of the Department of Agricultural Engineering and Machinery was in charge. Professor Davidson got some ideas as to what is being done in farm machinery in the country.⁴⁴

Reception at the Scientists Club

On the evening of 8 July 1929 the Scientists Club of Moscow held a reception and banquet for the ICOR Commission. Convened at the club headquarters, "an elegant building which was formerly a private palace," the banquet was conducted by Mr. Micoliofski, an official of OZET (Society for the Settlement of Working Jews of the USSR). Speakers included about fifteen scientists and prominent representatives of the Soviet government. Harris later recorded the following impressions of the evening:

In contrast with the custom of such banquets in America, where the food is served and all the talking comes afterward, at this particular reception a good deal of the speaking was done first and there was an intermission when the food was served, followed by more talking. In Russia, if we may judge from our experience, these meetings are considerably longer than similar ones in America. . . . During the evening ten Russians, representing the various branches of the government scientific groups, particularly the Department of Colonization and the Agricultural Academies, spoke and explained some of the problems connected with the background of colonization in Russia, particularly in the Far East. The members of our party were then invited to have their say. After the reception was over, we felt as much worn as we do at home after those long, fatiguing hand-shaking functions which are part of the routine of every public official.⁴⁵

44. Harris-Sauls Diary, 8 July 1929.

45. Franklin S. Harris, "Surging Russia," unpublished manuscript in BYU Archives, pp. 26-28.

התאחדות העובדים
העובדים העבריים
העובדים העבריים

"ג.ע.ז.ע."
התאחדות העובדים
העובדים העבריים

ОБЩЕСТВО
по земельному устройству
трудящихся евреев в СССР

"ОЗЕТ"
ЦЕНТРАЛЬНОЕ ПРАВЛЕНИЕ

МОСКВА, Никольская, 10/2
Телефон № 4-93-02

Телеграфный адрес: МОСКВА ОЗЕТ.



УДОСТОВЕРЕНИЕ

предается американскому гражданину профессору Ф.Гаррису в том, что он является председателем комиссии, командированной Американским Советом Содействия еврейской колонизации в СССР "Никорон" в пределы Союза для ознакомления с состоянием еврейских сельскохозяйственных хозяйств, и, в особенности, с делом колонизации Гиробиджана.

Центральное Правление Озета обращается с просьбой ко всем соответственным советским и общественным организациям об оказании всемерного содействия проф.Гаррису при исполнении возложенного на него задания.

Н.ПРЕС.ОЗЕТ: (Левин).
Сек.ОЗЕТ.Секр.ОЗЕТ.ОЗЕТ: (Брегман).

Certificate presented to Franklin S. Harris
by OZET, the Society for the Settlement
of Working Jews of the USSR (see
footnote 48 for translation).

Harris noted that the scientists present at the reception and banquet were all “optimistic about the Biro-Bidjan colonization program. Some called attention to the problems, but they believed that the problems could all be solved. They were further of the opinion that the Jew would make good on the land and that it offered a real opportunity for these people to establish their own institutions and develop their own culture. It was thought to be the only land available in Russia where this would be at all possible.”⁴⁶

In his response to the speakers President Harris, as chairman of the ICOR Commission, “expressed the opinion that the task of the Commission was a difficult one and that in spite of all the fine things which had been said there were many hardships in connection with the settlement of the area. He hoped the Commission could give its very best effort toward the solution of the problem in the same fine spirit in which the people were undertaking it.”⁴⁷ At the conclusion of the banquet Harris was given a certificate which explained his work and requested Soviet officials to cooperate with him.⁴⁸

Side Trip to Crimea

To get a better idea of the living conditions of Jewish citizens of Russia, the ICOR Commission traveled south from Moscow. In Odessa they “visited the poor Jewish districts and found whole families living in basements in one room without proper light or air and with the floor broken through in many places. We also visited knitting works where all the machines are run by hand. One shoe factory we visited used 1,200 Jews

46. Harris-Sauls Diary, 8 July 1929.

47. Ibid.

48. The certificate (*see* accompanying page) read, “Given to American citizen Professor Fr. Harris, chairman of the commission sent by the American Society for Cooperation in Jewish Colonization in the USSR, ‘ICOR,’ to the Soviet Union to become familiar with the condition of Jews in agriculture, and, especially, with the matter of colonization of Biro-Bidjan. The Executive Committee of OZET requests all responsible government and social organizations to cooperate in all ways with Professor Harris in the completion of the task with which he has been charged” (translated by Edwin Morrell).

and is very successful.”⁴⁹ The commission members were well received wherever they went. Officials of OZET served as guides, and newspapers along the way carried featured stories about the commission. Harris wrote his wife, “Two of the Jewish brethren kissed me on the cheek last night when we got on the train, so they seemed to like us. They are really very fine people and it almost makes the heart bleed to see them in such distress.”⁵⁰

Benjamin Brown escorted President Harris to Krijopol, where Brown was born. Naturally, Brown was familiar with the place and its inhabitants, making it possible for them

to get right into the hearts of the people in a way that a foreigner would not ordinarily be able to do. We made our headquarters at the home of one of his brothers. . . . Mr. Brown’s brothers’ names are Leevsheets. . . . Some of those with whom we talked seemed to think the spirit of anti-Semitism was growing, although others said it was dying down. Some thought that the Government was very hard on them for taking such large taxes. . . . It was thought by some that the young Jews who are trying to court the favor of Government officials were a source of a good deal of the trouble of the Jews. Someone during the day made the remark that there were about eleven million in the trade unions and they had to be loyal to the Government no matter what the real situation might be. While we were out taking pictures in the street the local officers came along and had us go into a place where they questioned us very minutely.⁵¹

In Crimea the expeditioners

first visited the colony of Pervi-mask (First of May) and later Kalinius, which is just to the north. Each of these colonies has forty or fifty members in it. . . . In neither of these colonies is there a sign of a Rabbi, but many of the settlers express themselves as being very desirous of a

49. Franklin S. Harris to Estella S. Harris, 12 July 1929, Harris Presidential Papers.

50. Ibid.

51. Harris-Sauls Diary, 9 July 1929.

place of worship. Some of them, however, said they cared nothing about it. It seemed to me that this latter statement was probably an effort to be loyal to the Government attitude, which is not favorable to religion. In these colonies they have very satisfactory gardens and some chickens so that all in all they seem to be getting on in a very good way. The people seem to have adapted themselves to farm work, and they are getting along fairly well.⁵²

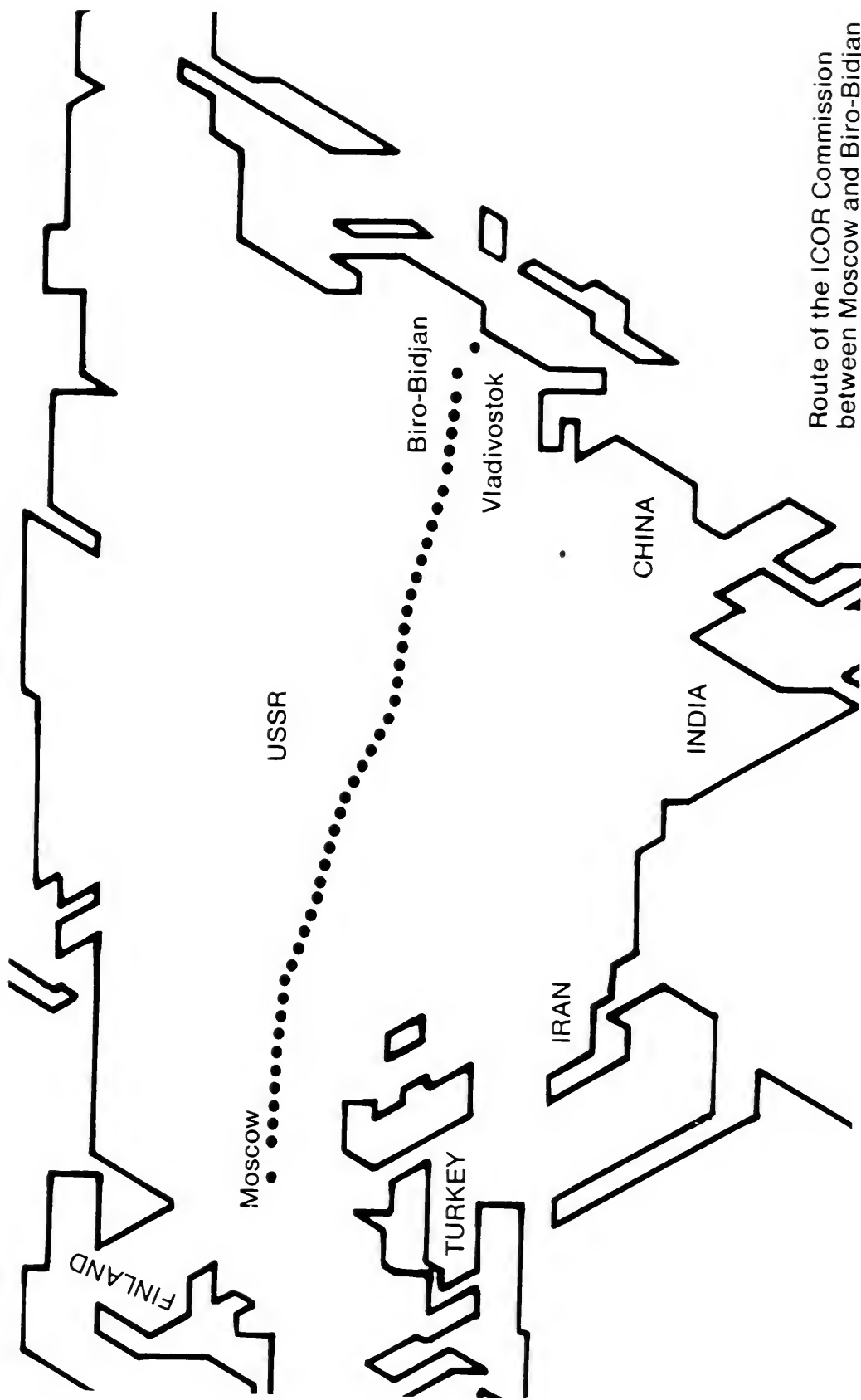
From Moscow to Khabarovsk

The ICOR Commission returned to Moscow on July 19. After reporting their activities to Soviet officials, they boarded a train bound for Biro-Bidjan (*see* accompanying map). By this time the commission had been joined by Dr. E. Wattenberg, vice-president of ICOR, and by Noah London, an engineer in charge of the Road Department of the Ukraine. They were to survey possibilities for road construction in Biro-Bidjan. Commission members spent the nine-day, 5,460-mile trip solidifying plans for their inspection tour of Biro-Bidjan. Talmy and Wattenberg were assigned to synthesize the commission data on the history of the Biro-Bidjan region. Benjamin Brown was appointed to draft a questionnaire that the commission could use to conduct interviews with settlers. Kiefer Sauls was instructed to compile a list of things that the commission should observe in Biro-Bidjan.

On July 20 the train passed over the Ural Mountains. Harris commented, "Everywhere the mountains seemed to be rolling hills rather than crags like the Rocky Mountains."⁵³ On the evening of July 22 the train reached Novosibirsk, the capital of Siberia, a thriving city with 150,000 inhabitants. Harris commented, "It is the ambition of many to make it the Chicago of Russia." On July 24 the party passed through Irkutsk, the agricultural center of Eastern Siberia. Harris described nearby Lake Baikal as

52. Harris-Sauls Diary, 13 July 1929.

53. Harris-Sauls Diary, 20 July 1929.



Route of the ICOR Commission
between Moscow and Biro-Bidjan

one of the most beautiful sights of the entire trip. We came to Baikal just at twilight. The railroad now goes around the south end of the lake through more than seventy tunnels and around a shelf which was constructed at great cost. Until recently the trains were ferried across the lake in the summer while during the winter a special track was laid over the ice. As we went around the lake the full moon rose and made a very spectacular appearance.⁵⁴

On Sunday, July 28, the commission entered the Biro-Bidjan district: "We went through a tunnel at 825 feet elevation and gradually worked our way through the foothills of the Khingan Mountains and over several ridges and through tunnels and finally over the summit at the border of Biro-Bidjan."⁵⁵ As the train neared Khabrovsk on July 29, Harris wrote his family,

We have now been on this train more than eight days and it has been traveling rapidly eastward all the time. It is not easy to realize that there is so much "east" in the world. It is now about 6½ weeks since we left home and it seems like we have been traveling eastward most of that time. . . . We have already traveled more than half way round the world. I just figured out the distance traveled since leaving home, and it is as follows:

Provo to Chicago	1,576 miles
Chicago to N.Y.	1,010 miles
New York to Cherbourg	3,240 miles
Cherbourg to Paris	232 miles
Paris to Berlin	670 miles
Berlin to Moscow	2,300 miles
Southern trip, Russia	2,560 miles
Moscow to Khabrovsk	<u>5,460 miles</u>
TOTAL	17,148 miles
Several inches in all! ⁵⁶	

54. Harris-Sauls Diary, 24 July 1929.

55. Harris-Sauls Diary, 28 July 1929.

56. Franklin S. Harris to Estella S. Harris and children, 29 July 1929, Harris Presidential Papers.

Arrival in Khabarovsk

Khabarovsk, Siberia, was to be the headquarters of the ICOR Commission for the next two months while they thoroughly explored the Biro-Bidjan region, an area approximately two hundred miles long and one hundred miles wide. The government of the province had appropriated 5,000 roubles (\$2,500) for the expenses of the commission while they were in the district. Arrangements had also been made for the commission to occupy a special railroad car. The car was moved along the railroad at the convenience of the commission as their survey progressed. The railroad car was a large steel structure "with a kitchen at one end, three double sleeping rooms, a combined office and sleeping room, a large room at the other end used for a dining room, and a general sitting room for conferences and during the evening for four people to sleep in." Harris was "assigned the office room and the others drew lots for places."⁵⁷ Side trips from this mobile headquarters were made by car, wagon, cart, horseback, and even on foot as needs of the survey demanded.

Meeting with local dignitaries at Khabarovsk included an interview with Mr. Mamonov, vice-president and acting president of the Far Eastern Republic of the USSR. Mamonov stated that "the Government wished to do all in its power to make the work of the Commission as productive as possible and he wanted the Commission to know that every door was open to it; that there was not any information on any subject in connection with the affairs of the Far East which would not be made available" to members of the ICOR Commission. Mamonov stated that the USSR was assisting with the colonization of Biro-Bidjan, but he conceded that the government could use "much more financial help." He was optimistic about the Biro-Bidjan project, believing that "racial problems will not arise in the Far East. All nationalities are being given the same treatment and equal opportunities."⁵⁸

57. Harris-Sauls Diary, 31 July 1929.

58. Harris-Sauls Diary, 29 July 1929.

Firsthand Inspection of Biro-Bidjan

The train carrying the special car of the ICOR Commission left the station in Khabarovsk at 9:45 P.M. on 31 July 1929. The car was switched onto a siding at Volochaivka. On the afternoon of August 1 the commission rode on horseback to the ICOR colony thirteen kilometers east of Volochaivka. Organized as a commune, the colony included twenty-two young men and three young women living

as one organization. Their place is on the site of an old experiment station. They have thirty-two dairy cows which give them their chief source of income. The crops observed were oats, wheat, buckwheat, cabbage and barley. While these young people seem to be struggling [valiantly], it is evident that they are working a good deal in the dark and the necessity for management is very evident. Their sanitary conditions are very poor and they have not learned to protect themselves against flies. On the way to the ICOR [colony] we found a number of wells which contained ice at a depth of ten to twelve feet. This ice was three to six feet thick. It was frozen during the winter at the place where the ground water seeped into the well and has not yet thawed out.⁵⁹

During the night of August 1-2 the mobile office moved to Een where the commission found many different kinds of crops being successfully cultivated by Korean farmers. Harris noted, "The Koreans are the best farmers we have ever seen." They were raising soybeans, millet, corn, wheat, oats, barley, cucumbers, watermelons, squash, tomatoes, peas, beans, peppers, sunflowers, beets, carrots, hemp, potatoes, buckwheat, and tobacco. All the "crops looked fine except the small grain which was only fair."⁶⁰

Again during the night, the railroad moved the special car to a siding at Teehonkaya, a town on the Bira River that served as the far eastern headquarters of OZET. In the afternoon of August 3 the commission went by horseback and in

59. Harris-Sauls Diary, 1 August 1929.

60. Harris-Sauls Diary, 2 August 1929.

wagons to the new Jewish colony of Hoodsinovka, twelve kilometers southeast of Teehonkaya and east of the Bira River, where the explorers found about forty Jewish families with houses in all stages of construction. Some groups had formed cooperatives with five or six families farming together. Other families were farming as individuals. One of the groups of families had seventeen dairy cows. On the land that had been prepared for cultivation in the spring, Harris and his companions found “beets, cucumbers, turnips, [and] buckwheat . . . all growing fairly well.”⁶¹

Down the Bira River

The OZET office next suggested to the ICOR Commission that they should take a four-day trip down the Bira River in shallow-draft boats. Each of three boats carried a boatman and two or three members of the commission. Their Cossak guide rode in the third boat. The Bira “was high and swift so we traveled down it at a good rate.” At sunset on August 4 they landed at the new village of Volochawka, where “a young Jew who Dr. Kuntz [of the commission] had previously known and who had married a Russian girl invited us to make headquarters at his house. He was a fine vigorous young man and was getting a good start. In his garden we saw squash, sunflowers, wheat, hemp, rutabaga, cucumbers, and onions.”⁶² The mosquitoes were so bad during the night that none of the party could sleep. They were happy when dawn came and they could make a fire to drive the pests away. Their reward for a bad night’s sleep was a sauna bath: “Here we took particular interest in the bath house, which is similar to those in this section. It consists of a log house about ten by twelve feet with a low ceiling. . . . [It is] so arranged that rocks can be heated and water thrown on these hot rocks to make steam. There are boards on which the bathers can stand or lie while enjoying the steam bath.”⁶³

61. Harris-Sauls Diary, 3 August 1929.

62. Harris-Sauls Diary, 4 August 1929.

63. Harris-Sauls Diary, 5 August 1929.

On August 6 the expedition left Aleksandrovsk on the Bira River

for Birafeld going by truck which was pulled by a tractor. The method of handling it was to have a Cletrac [tractor] go ahead. Behind the tractor was a wagon on which a number of boys rode with our baggage and other supplies and then came the Dodge truck in which we rode. It was not able to go by its own power on account of the mud but the tractor had no trouble in pulling us all along.⁶⁴

While at Birafeld the commission visited the agricultural experiment station, an operation that held special interest for President Harris from his days as director of the Utah State Agricultural Experiment Station. Mr. Josefovitch, director of the station, showed the commission his work. Harris recorded in his diary that Josefovitch

had one of my papers on alkali and Dr. Widtsoe's book on Dry-Farming. I promised to send him some of my publications. He gave me some of his. He seems to be a fine earnest young man. He showed us over his experimental fields where we found practically all of the crops growing which we had seen in Biro-Bidjan. He had 9 varieties of Soy Beans. All of the crops looked well but the stand of sugar beets was not good. Those that were growing seemed to be in good condition. I was particularly interested in his soil thermometers which went to a depth of about twelve feet. . . . We retired early. Mr. Josefovitch brought in a large Persian rug which was spread on the floor of the office. All of us spread a blanket on the rug and slept without taking off our clothes.⁶⁵

During the four-day trip down the Bira Harris never removed his clothes except to change them when they became soaked. On the night of August 7 a Russian took the expeditioners into his home where "sixteen of us, including the family, slept on the floor of one room. Most of us took our one

64. Harris-Sauls Diary, 6 August 1929.

65. Ibid.



Franklin S. Harris reporting the activities of the ICOR Commission to a group of Russian officials.

blanket and lay on the floor. In spite of the hard bed I had an unusually good sleep.”⁶⁶

Report to KOMZET

From 8 August to 18 September 1929 the ICOR Commission continued its explorations of Biro-Bidjan and the Far Eastern Republic, including a foray to Vladivostok.⁶⁷ During the long train trip back to Moscow, the commission members had time to formulate, discuss, write, and proofread their eighty-five page typewritten “finished report” of the expedition.⁶⁸ After their arrival in Moscow on September 30, the commission members gave a copy of their report to KOMZET. On the afternoon of October 1 they met with the presidium of KOMZET to make a verbal report of their expedition. KOMZET adopted a resolution which noted

with satisfaction the following basic conclusions of the ICOR Expedition:

a. Biro-Bidjan is fully adapted to large scale colonization work. The soil of the district is fertile. There are large areas of land which, after certain difficulties have been overcome, offer possibilities for the successful cultivation of valuable crops. Similarly the possibilities for intensive stock raising are assured.

b. The large quantities of valuable timber in the district have been little used before and they offer the possibility for the development of new industries. The colonization capacity of the district is greatly enhanced by the presence of iron ore, minerals, building materials, etc.

c. A number of difficulties are a result of the fact that Biro-Bidjan is virgin country. Here it is necessary to create all that the settlers had found in their former

66. Harris-Sauls Diary, 7 August 1929.

67. See chapters 12 through 20 of Harris, “Surging Russia.” The following chapter titles give an idea of the expedition’s itinerary: “On the Bira River and Beyond,” “Westward along the Railroad,” “Over the Hingan Mountains,” “Down to the Amur,” “Along the Amur,” “Overland and to Vladivostok,” “Back to Khabarovsk,” “Westward to Leningrad,” and “With Officialdom in Moscow.”

68. Diary of Franklin S. Harris, 25 September 1929.

homes: roads, bridges, houses, necessary products, etc. While pointing out the difficulties, the Expedition noted a certain success attained in the work of settling due to the efforts both of the administration and the settlers who are encouraged by the possibilities of the country. At the same time it is also necessary to note the insufficient preparedness and lack of experience on the part of the administration as well as the insufficient care in selecting the settlers, some of whom have admittedly proven unequal to the tasks accompanying the settling of a new primitive land.

After providing for the establishment of two committees to further study the problem of Jewish colonization, the KOM-ZET resolution said that the organization agreed

in principle with the view of the Expedition concerning the establishment of a unified centralized management and strict division of labor in directing the operative work. The plan of the work must be well studied and elaborately prepared. The scale of the work should be considerably increased and its rate accelerated. The situation demands the mechanization of the work processes and the organization of the labor of the settlers in collective units from the beginning.⁶⁹

Recruiting a Russian Jewish Opera Star for BYU

On the same day that the ICOR Commission reported its activities to KOMZET, President Harris accompanied Benjamin Brown and his nephew Israel M. Leevsheetz, whose stage name was Isador Belarsky, to the office of the Artists Union

to assist Mr. Belarsky, a prominent Russian baritone, to secure a leave to visit America for a concert tour. Russia does not wish her artists to leave the country and considerable difficulty is experienced in getting permission for even a temporary absence. I went with Mr. Belarsky to

69. Franklin S. Harris et al., *Report of the American ICOR Commission for the Study of Biro-Bidjan and Its Colonization* (New York: ICOR, [1930]), pp. 93-94.

the Artists Union where no end of red tape had to be gone through in connection with his proposed trip. The Union is very careful to safeguard the interests of the artists. Those who arrange to employ them have to agree to provide for every kind of emergency.⁷⁰

With President Harris as the guarantor, Belarsky was allowed to travel to America and to BYU, where he became a special instructor in vocal music. He later joined the Metropolitan Opera Company, the Chicago Civic Opera, and the Los Angeles Opera.⁷¹

Visit to the Kremlin

President Harris and the ICOR Commission made a report of their findings directly to A.I. Rykov, chief of the People's Commisariat, prime minister of the USSR, and successor to Lenin, before leaving Russia to return to the United States.⁷² The interview took place on Wednesday, 2 October 1929, at the Kremlin. President Harris and his party were met at the Kremlin by a special escort

who conducted us to the main building housing the Government. Here we took an elevator to the fourth floor where we left our hats in the front hall and walked down a long corridor to the entrance of the outer office. Our escort pressed a button and immediately a light flashed indicating that we might come in.

In this outer office we were met by a young woman, probably thirty-seven years old. She was large, handsome, intelligent, and had a charming personality. She asked us to be seated until Mr. Rykov was at liberty.

70. Harris, "Surging Russia," p. 203.

71. Belarsky performed throughout the United States and Canada. Among other BYU alumni, G. Eugene Jorgensen of Tremonton, Utah, who established a national reputation with his Bear River High School choral groups, was a vocal student of Belarsky at Brigham Young University.

72. Aleksei Ivanovich Rykov (1881-1938), a close associate of Stalin, was premier of the Soviet Union from 1924 to 1930. He was executed during the purge of 1938 (Aleksandr I. Solzhenitsyn, *The Gulag Archipelago* [New York: Harper & Row, 1974], p. 632).

During the time we were waiting she chatted continually with us.

Finally we were called into the private office where we were received very cordially by Rykov. We found him to be a man of medium stature, light complexion, with a light chin beard. He had a pleasant smile which did not leave his face during the entire interview which lasted more than an hour. . . .

After a brief word of explanation regarding the Commission by Mr. Tenumin, I outlined the work that we had done and gave a summary of our findings and recommendations. This was translated by Mr. Talmy. Rykov then led out in a discussion of the work. He seemed pleased at our findings and in his discussion showed a great friendship for the Jewish people and other minorities in the country. He also showed that he was well informed on colonization matters generally. This whole question was discussed in a statesmanlike manner and he showed a wide grasp of international affairs. We were all impressed by the leadership and leisurely way in which he considered our problem and the geniality of his personality. We all left impressed by his skill in managing the affairs of Russia.⁷³

In later correspondence Premier Rykov officially informed Harris that "the settlement of Biro-Bidjan is included in the Five-Year Plan, which provides for the settling of 12,000 Jewish families, i.e., 60,000 people, in Biro-Bidjan." He also informed Harris that, in addition to Biro-Bidjan, the Soviet government had "assigned other regions [in Crimea] for the toiling Jewish nationality, for which purpose the necessary agricultural lands and funds have been allotted by the state. The aspiration of the Soviet Government to help the poverty-stricken Jews to improve their economic condition by furnishing them the opportunity to engage in labor, and particularly in agriculture, induced the Government to make substantial appropriations for such aid." However, he could not guarantee Harris that the Soviet Union would continue to spend

73. Harris-Sauls Diary, 2 October 1929.

large sums of money to assist the Jewish colonization effort or to develop industry in Biro-Bidjan, because there might be more urgent needs of the state.

Nevertheless, Rykov assured Harris that “the fundamental principle of the Soviet regime — liberty of national development for all nationalities of the USSR — will be fully applied also to Biro-Bidjan. The safeguarding of the national interests of the Jewish population of Biro-Bidjan has already beforehand been assured by the respective act of the Government.” The premier went on to explain that

the national policy of the Soviet Government is such that there are no obstacles whatsoever in the way of creating national autonomous regions, inasmuch as there exists sufficiently realistic reason for that. Thus we already have tens of Jewish village Soviets; there has already been formed the first Jewish national Raion (County) (Kalinindorf in the Province of Kherson); it has been decided to form two additional Jewish Raions in the Provinces of Rivoy Rog and Zaporozhye Mariupol. The question of the formation of an autonomous territory in Biro-Bidjan, therefore, depends entirely on the success of the settlement of this territory by Jews.⁷⁴

News Releases from Moscow

Before leaving Moscow for the United States, the ICOR Commission held a press conference at the Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries. Present were representatives of the Associated Press, United Press International News Service, *Chicago Daily News*, *New York World*, *Christian Science Monitor*, Jewish Telegraphic Agency, Russian Press, and Kolinger Zeitung. A subsequent cable dispatch by correspondent Carroll Binder to *The New York Sun* was carried by the *New York Post* with a Moscow dateline of 5 October 1929. The Binder dispatch noted that the ICOR Commission would submit a report encouraging American Jews to support plans for settling “60,000 of Soviet Russia’s 1,000,000 unem-

74. Harris et al., *Report of ICOR Commission*, pp. 91-92.

ployed Jews in a Siberian region,” even though AGROJOINT, another American agency for Russian Jewish colonization that was supported by Paul Saulsburg, Julius Rosenwald, and other prominent American Jews, favored development of older Jewish colonization projects in the Ukraine and the Crimea. Binder further reported that commission members would

report their findings to the “ICOR” membership in Jewish communities of 150 American cities and endeavor to raise \$1,000,000 to finance a program for settling upon land the urban Jews who have lost their employment through the suppression of private trading and other vocations in Russia. . . . “ICOR” already has contributed \$150,000 worth of machinery toward the settlement in a region of 30,000 square kilometers between the Bira and Bidjan Rivers.⁷⁵

In the *Information Service* newsletter for 12 October 1929, the Department of Research and Education of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America reported the work of President Harris and the ICOR Commission:

Following a preliminary program, which has included the shipment of machinery and the establishment of a few colonies, the ICOR has sent to Siberia a Commission to study the project and make a report. The man chosen to head the Commission is F.S. Harris, President of Brigham Young University, Utah. It is evident that the sponsors of the project wish to rely principally upon persons familiar with the Mormon experience in land settlement. Dr. Harris was born in an agricultural colony in Mexico and has lived in colonies in Canada and Utah.⁷⁶

Starting Home

On October 4 President Harris boarded a train bound for Kharkov in the Ukraine. The next afternoon Harris, Brown,

75. Newsclipping from *The New York Post*, 5 October 1929, ms. 340, box 51, BYU Archives.

76. *Information Service* 8 (12 October 1929): 4.

London, and Sauls spent about an hour and a half with Mr. Petrolski, president of the Ukraine Republic. Harris noted that Petrolski had "a practical turn of mind and was a former worker in the industrial section. He commented at length on the conditions of the Jews and what was being done for them. He told us there were 92 Jewish towns in the Ukraine and 70,000 Jewish children being educated in schools." In the evening the group was taken to a Jewish theater "to see a play telling of an event under the old Regime." Between the acts of the play President Harris, Mr. Brown (Leevsheets), Mr. London, and Kiefer Sauls were taken out onto the stage "as an exhibit while our expedition was explained. Mr. London and Mr. Brown gave a few words of greeting."⁷⁷

From Kharkov, Harris, Brown, London, and Sauls traveled to Minsk, White Russia, to meet Davidson, Kurtz, and Talmy, who had been in Kiev. On October 7 they met with Mr. Hatzkevich, acting president of the Soviet Republic of White Russia:

He was very cordial and spent a long time going over our work and telling of the work the government of White Russia is doing . . . and of the Jewish people. He said that White Russia was one of the important places of the Pale of the old regime and that now there were about 400,000 Jews in White Russia, 250,000 of whom were in the industries and 25,000 in the Government. He said about 100,000 were now engaged in agriculture and more than half of these as collective groups. He explained that now Yiddish was one of the four official languages of White Russia, the others being Russian, White Russian, and Polish.⁷⁸

The ICOR Commission reached the Polish border on October 8, where President Harris had a humorous experience which caused him to reflect upon his contact with the Russian people:

After our baggage was inspected and while our porter was putting our things on the train, we went into the

77. Diary of Franklin S. Harris, 5 October 1929.

78. Diary of Franklin S. Harris and Harris-Sauls Diary, 7 October 1929.

restaurant to get something to eat. I stepped into a side room, while the others sauntered out to the train which started without warning. The others jumped on, and when I came out of the station the train was down the track about a hundred yards. I started to run toward it, and the conductor, seeing me, stopped the train while I sprinted up to it.

Thus I left Russia on foot and on the run, as many people had done before. My running, however, was not intentional. Of course I was glad enough to be started for home after nearly four months in this great country. The thirty thousand miles covered on the trip made me long to be settled quietly at home once more, but in spite of this there were many regrets in leaving this land where so many fundamental experiments in human affairs are being carried on.

We had made many friends whom we were sorry to leave; we had become so interested in our problem that we disliked to get out of touch with its solution; but most of all we had become attached to a great people who were sacrificing and struggling that better human relations might be worked out. It seemed obvious to us that in many ways they were headed in the wrong direction, but we could not fail to be convinced of the honesty of purpose of the great majority of the people, even though in many cases their methods appeared to be so much in error.

As I boarded the rear platform after the little sprint, we waved a last farewell to those who were standing on the border watching our train speed westward into Poland. As we turned into the car and faced the west we became meditative in the realization that our Russian experience had given us a broader sympathy with all mankind than could have been possible without it.⁷⁹

Home Again

The train sped westward, stopping in Warsaw and Berlin where the commission made a brief report to Jewish leaders on the results of the expedition. After the commission

79. Harris, "Surging Russia," pp. 211-12. *See also* Harris-Sauls Diary, 8 October 1929.

Boston is One of the Few Cities Favored to Hear this Report

A Reception for the
"ICOR" EXPERT COMMISSION

Just Returned From

BIRO-BIDJAN

THE LAND GIVEN BY THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT
FOR JEWISH MASS COLONIZATION

will be held

Thursday, October 24, 1929

7:30 P. M.

FORD HALL · BOSTON

ASHBURTON PLACE



PROF. FRANKLIN R. HARRIS
Chairman of the Committee

The Commission is composed of the following members:



PROF. J. B. DAVIDSON

PROF. FRANKLIN R. HARRIS
President of Brigham Young
University of Utah

PROF. J. B. DAVIDSON
Dean of Agricultural Department
of the Iowa State College

PROF. KIEPER P. SAULS
Secretary Brigham Young
University of Utah

PROF. CHARLES KUNTZ
Sociologist and Agronomist of
Columbia University

BENJAMIN BROWN
Marketing Director of the Utah
State Farmers Cooperative

L. TALMY
National Secretary
of the "Icor"

The Commission which has just returned after a thorough investigation of several months, will render a full report concerning the possibilities of agricultural colonization and general industrialization in Biro-Bidjan.

Everyone Should Come to Hear the Report

THE FREIHEIT SINGING SOCIETY

will participate in the program

Admission 50c

Tickets on Sale at Shapiro's Book Store, 7 Beach Street
and Freiheit Office, 14 Harrison Avenue, Boston, Mass.

Arranged by BOSTON DISTRICT COMMITTEE *of the "ICOR"*

reached Paris, President Harris, Professor Davidson, and Kiefer Sauls continued on to London while the other commission members stayed in France. The three traveling companions crossed the Atlantic on the ship *Majestic*, arriving in New York on 22 October 1929.

They spent the next thirteen days reporting their activities to Jewish groups in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, D.C., Cleveland, Detroit, and Chicago and to Latter-day Saint groups in Washington, D.C., and Provo, Utah (*see* accompanying reception notice). Harris, Davidson, and Sauls were enthusiastically received wherever they spoke. After addressing a Jewish group of 400 people in the reformed Jewish Temple in Detroit, Harris and his companions were escorted to a restaurant “where we discussed Biro-Bidjan until two o’clock [A.M.]. We find this eating after important meetings to be very much the custom of the Jewish people.”⁸⁰ These audiences included very prominent Jews such as Julius Rosenwald, the philanthropist and genius behind Sears, Roebuck and Company.

By the time Franklin Harris and Kiefer Sauls returned to Utah on 3 November 1929, they had “traveled 34,611 miles. During this time 69 nights were spent actually in travel on railroads or in boats and we never remained in one place longer than five days. The trip has given us an opportunity to see all grades of society and get a fairly good cross-section of life as it is lived today in America, Europe, and Asia. Our journey brought the conviction that we are living in an age of great change and all the traditions and precedents of the past are being held up to close scrutiny and the public is willing to adopt any innovation that seems to promise something better.”⁸¹

Press Coverage of the ICOR Expedition

The news media gave wide coverage to all phases of the ICOR Commission expedition. On 7 July 1929 the *Journal of*

80. Harris-Sauls Diary, 31 October 1929.

81. Harris-Sauls Diary, 3 November 1929.

Education reported that “Franklin S. Harris, president, Brigham Young University . . . is in Russia, chairman of a commission of seven specialists of the United States selected by the Russian Government to help settle a large number of Jews on land set apart for them in Siberia. It is one of the most interesting industrial adventures undertaken in modern times, and Dr. Harris is specially adapted to the leadership of such a unique experiment. There is keen interest in the success of this transportation of a racial group. If it succeeds it will lead to other racial ventures.”⁸²

Harris sent weekly articles to the *Deseret News*, describing the progress of the expedition.⁸³ Reporting the activities of the ICOR Commission to the audience of radio station WOL, Washington, D.C., on 29 October 1929, Harris said, “The commission is of the opinion that the settlement, in order to be most effective, requires the aid of American organizational ability and also modern American equipment. The ICOR Society has taken upon itself the task of furnishing these, and it is believed that with this combined service the colonization should progress rapidly and it should aid in the solution of the Jewish problem in Russia.”⁸⁴

The New York Evening Post for 26 October 1929 carried an article entitled “New Jewish State Rising in Siberia: Bidjan Pioneers Reenact Winning of Our West in Colony as Large as France and Rich in Soil and Metals” which said, “Cable dispatches from Moscow indicate the report of the commission is optimistic. The commission was received by Secretary of Agriculture Kubiak and by Alexie Rykov, President of the Russian Soviet Republic, who on behalf of the Government adopted the findings and recommendations of the commission.”⁸⁵

82. “Personal and Professional,” *Journal of Education*, 7 July 1929.

83. See, for example, the articles “A Visit to the Moscow Kremlin,” 31 August 1929; “The World’s Longest Railroad Journey,” 14 September 1929; and “Explorations De Luxe and De Primitive,” 21 September 1929.

84. Typescript of address, ms. 340, box 20, folder 2, BYU Archives.

85. *The New York Evening Post*, 26 October 1929.

Der Tag, a national Jewish newspaper published in New York, carried an article by S. Dingol on the ICOR Commission's work in Biro-Bidjan in its 9 November 1929 issue with a picture of President Harris and the other commission members. Dingol, associate editor of *Der Tag*, sent Harris a translation of his article from Yiddish into English with a request that Harris let him know if the article "fairly represents your views on the colonization of Biro-Bidjan." The article was a careful review of the report of the commission which evidently had already been filed with ICOR in typewritten form. *B'nai B'rith*, another national Jewish publication, carried a picture of President Harris with the comment, "A million-dollar campaign to supply Jewish colonists in Biro-Bidjan with farm implements is now being held by the ICOR organization as the result of a report of an Expert Commission which has just returned to New York after a thorough investigation of agricultural possibilities of the new colony under the auspices of ICOR. Dr. Franklin S. Harris, President of Brigham Young University, headed the Commission."⁸⁶

Van H. Tanner, son of former BYU faculty member J.M. Tanner and president of the Associated Graduate Students of the University of Southern California at Los Angeles, wrote Harris soon after he returned to Provo from Russia, noting that an article on the work of the ICOR Commission had appeared in *The Daily Worker*, a communist newspaper. The *Soviet Union Review*, published by the Soviet Union Information Bureau in Washington, D.C., carried an article in its February 1930 issue on "Jewish Agricultural Colonization." The article noted that "A Soviet scientific expedition and an American commission organized by ICOR have visited the [Biro-Bidjan] region, and pronounced it adapted to colonization, with no more difficulties than usually attendant upon pioneering in a wild and virgin country."⁸⁷

Local newspapers provided full coverage of the return of Franklin Harris and Kiefer Sauls to Utah. An article in the 4

86. *B'nai B'rith* 44 (December 1929):120.

87. *Soviet Union Review* 8 (February 1930):24.

November 1929 issue of the *Salt Lake Tribune* reported Harris as saying, "It is almost paradoxical . . . that Russia should have such great admiration for the United States, generally regarded as the climax of capitalism. Russia looks to this country not only for materials, but for expert advice in building up of a huge Soviet industrial system."⁸⁸ The *Tribune* also reported the address of President Harris before the welcoming assembly of students and faculty members on the BYU campus on Monday morning, 4 November 1929. Harris said that the ICOR Commission was "given to understand that the government would adopt our report as the basis of a scheme of Jewish colonization in eastern Siberia." Harris also asserted that "the return trip had been a continuous ovation and that the Brigham Young University had been spoken of everywhere as one of the great schools of the nation."⁸⁹ *Deseret News*, *The Provo Evening Herald*, and *Y News* also reported the homecoming of Sauls and Harris.⁹⁰

Reporting the Expedition to Church and School Officials

On 9 November 1929 Harris wrote John A. Widtsoe, "Yesterday afternoon I went to Salt Lake and reported to the First Presidency, who seemed very much interested in Russia and what we had done. I told them of your service to the commission, and I had written them previously about it."⁹¹ Harris later wrote to Widtsoe that he was still being asked to speak about Russia several times a week. He also answered President Widtsoe's question

about the feeling against religion in Russia. I think it is a little like Mark Twain said about death: "a great deal exaggerated." The Communist party, which constitutes less than one percent of the population of the country, is

88. "Head of BYU Returns from Russian Visit," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 4 November 1929.

89. *Salt Lake Tribune*, 7 November 1929.

90. See the *Deseret News*, 28 October; 4, 7, 9, and 22 November 1929; *The Provo Evening Herald*, 4, 7 November 1929; and *Y News*, 22 October; 5 November; and 19 December 1929.

91. Harris to Widtsoe, 9 November 1929, Harris Presidential Papers.

rather definitely against religion, although they guarantee religious liberty. The great mass of the Russian people, however, are religious. . . . You see, Russia never had the Reformation, nor Puritanism, nor chivalry, and as a result it has to do in a short time what western Europe required several hundred years to do. Naturally, there are a lot of growing pains coming out of the situation.⁹²

After careful review and corrections, ICOR published the official ninety-four-page report of the commission in three languages: English, Russian, and Yiddish. On 25 February 1930 President Harris presented copies of the report to the Executive Committee of the BYU Board of Trustees. Because of “the favorable mention made of the Brigham Young University in connection with the work of this commission, the committee decided that the report [should] be filed with the official records of the Institution.”⁹³

Positive Effect of the Russian Expedition on BYU

Franklin S. Harris’s experience as head of the ICOR Commission had a very positive effect on the image of Brigham Young University. He became known as an expert on Russia, which led to hundreds of invitations to speak throughout the United States. Early in 1930 Harris wrote Ray Spilsbury of the Cerro de Pasco Copper Corporation, Oreye, Peru, “I am having to do more speaking about the country than I have ever had to do in my life. Almost daily there is a call for me to speak somewhere, usually on Russia. The Russian situation is very much in the public eye just at present.”⁹⁴ Wherever President Harris spoke, he brought attention to BYU. Joseph Fielding Smith, a member of the Board of Trustees, wrote President Harris,

I am sure that you had a most wonderful trip with that commission, and to think that honors were extended to

92. Harris to Widtsoe, 31 March 1930, Harris Presidential Papers.

93. BYU Executive Committee Minutes, 25 February 1929.

94. Harris to Spilsbury, 17 February 1930, Harris Presidential Papers.

members of the Church such as you received and your companion is rather remarkable. No people in the world has as great an interest in the Jewish people as do the Latter-day Saints. Some day we will make a greater effort to convince them that we are their kindred of the House of Israel and that the God of Abraham has called upon us to do a mighty work for them.⁹⁵

In Idaho Falls, Idaho, Harris was advertised in February 1932 as president of BYU and an authority on Russia: "Dr. Franklin S. Harris, president of Brigham Young University at Provo, nationally known lecturer on the Soviet Russian five-year plan, will address members of the Idaho Falls service clubs. . . . Doctor Harris is prepared to give a fair appraisal of the Russian situation, having seen Russia from north to south and from east to west."⁹⁶ These comments are typical of hundreds of articles which appeared in newspapers throughout the United States for a number of years following Harris's return from Russia. His international reputation undoubtedly attracted students and faculty members to Brigham Young University.

Continued Interest in Russian Jewish Matters

After his return from the Soviet Union, President Harris continued to be actively concerned with Russian Jewish affairs. In 1932 the Executive Committee "approved of President Harris's acceptance of an invitation to address a number of Jewish organizations in the middle West on the question of colonization."⁹⁷ In 1936 President Harris was named vice-president of the American Committee for the Settlement of Jews in Biro-Bidjan.

In April 1944 the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees "suggested to President Harris that he accept an invitation he has received from Vilhjalmur Stefannson to

95. Smith to Harris, 6 May 1930, Harris Presidential Papers.

96. *Idaho Falls Register*, 8 February 1932.

97. BYU Executive Committee Minutes, 30 August 1932.

address a meeting of Jewish people in New York City on May 16. Problems connected with the resettlement of Jewish people driven from their homes during the war will be discussed.”⁹⁸ President Harris accepted the invitation to go to New York, where he presented a paper entitled “Resources of Biro-Bidjan.”

Long-Range Effects of Jewish Colonization in Biro-Bidjan

While President Harris and the Board of Trustees continued to maintain an interest in the problems of Russian Jews, the University did not again become as directly involved in Russian Jewish affairs as it was in 1929 during the Russian expedition.⁹⁹ On 7 May 1934 Biro-Bidjan became an Autonomous Jewish Region of the Soviet Union. While the ICOR Commission expedition’s report was only one of a number of factors that contributed to the progress of the region toward an autonomous position, literature on the subject often mentions the work of the group headed by Franklin S. Harris.¹⁰⁰ When the Jewish Autonomous Region was established in 1934, Rabbi Isaac Landman, editor of the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, jubilantly predicted that, “Shoulder to shoulder with their non-Jewish neighbors, our people everywhere — from Prague to Palestine, from Budapest to Biro-Bidjan, from New York to New Mexico — will embark upon a new and universal pioneering.”¹⁰¹ Though governmental policy and conditions in Soviet Russia have made it impossible for Jewish people there to completely fulfill Rabbi Landman’s prediction, Biro-Bidjan has nevertheless remained an autonomous political region. By 1971 this Jewish Autonomous

98. BYU Executive Committee Minutes, 27 April 1944.

99. BYU has continued to maintain a very active interest in the Jews. In 1968 the Division of Continuing Education opened a semester abroad program in Jerusalem.

100. See *Yearbook of the American Commission for the Settlement of Jews in Biro-Bidjan*, 1936; Ambijan Committee, *Report on the Tenth Anniversary of the Jewish Autonomous Region*, 1944; and *Soviet Union Review* 8 (February 1930): 23-25.

101. Ambijan Committee, *Tenth Anniversary Report*, pp. 2, 16.

Oh Well, We Keep
the Championship
In the State

The Y News

Been Doing a
'Rashin' Business
Kiefer?

VOLUME 10 NUMBER 10 UNIVERSITY OF DENVER, DENVER, COLORADO, NOVEMBER 15, 1959

VOL. IX

PRESIDENT HARRIS AND SAULS RETURN

Y TEAM LOSES GREAT GAME TO ROCKY MOUNTAIN CONFERENCE CHAMPS, 13-45

Cougars Violate Utah Goal Line Sacredness By Crossing Stripe Twice For Touchdowns—Thrills Are Many.

In a grueling and thrilling football game, the home players of the University of the B. Y. U. (the Cougars) met the visiting team of the Utah State (the Cougars) in a 13-45 defeat.

The game was played in the evening at the University of the B. Y. U. stadium. The Cougars played a hard-fought game, but the Utah team was too strong for them. The Cougars' defense was unable to stop the Utah offense, which scored 45 points. The Cougars' offense was also unable to score, as the Utah defense was too strong for them.

Utah Scored
Early in the first quarter, Utah scored its first touchdown in a pass from Don Price.

The Cougars scored again when pass from Sumner to Fellers was deflected down the Y 10 yard mark when the referee ruled that Heister interfered with Fellers and the line. The Cougars scored again when Sumner passed to Fellers and he ran for a touchdown.

Scored of Utah Goal Line
Violated by Reverses
Two of these touchdowns came as fortunate breaks to the Referee and the Cougars. The first was when the referee ruled that Heister interfered with Fellers and the line. The second was when the referee ruled that the Cougars' defense violated the goal line.

Reverses of Utah Goal Line
Violated by Reverses
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Utah Scored 4 to 1 in Last Half
Utah returned to lead a second attack that ended their four yard drive in the last half and the Y returned with one pass from Heister to Fellers.

Not fighting and always downed with a few passes, the Cougars were downed by a 13-45 defeat.

B. Y. U. Band Scores
In Letter Formation
The B. Y. U. band scored in a letter formation during the game.

Botany Department
Has New Herbarium
The Botany Department has a new herbarium.

MEL MILLER GETS BANK APPOINTMENT

Will Continue School at New York University—Former Music Manager.

Mel Miller, 27, former music manager and prominent student at B. Y. U., has recently been appointed as a member of the staff of the American Bankers Association at 300 East 42nd Street, New York City.

Balfin And Romney Speakers At Rally

Conference Press 'FORTUNE HUNTER' TO REPRESENTATIVES TO BE PRESENTED THREE MEET IN DENVER TIMES ON B. Y. STAGE

University of Denver Planning
Lively Session For Two Hundred Delegates
DENVER, Colo., Oct. 28 (Representative of the Denver Post) The University of Denver is planning a lively session for two hundred delegates at the annual Rocky Mountain Conference.

Romney Speech
Balfin and Romney were the main speakers at the rally.

Utah Scored 4 to 1 in Last Half
Utah returned to lead a second attack that ended their four yard drive in the last half and the Y returned with one pass from Heister to Fellers.

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In Letter Formation
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President Franklin S. Harris



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Travelers Arrive in Provo Sunday Night; Student Body Welcomes in Mon. Assembly

Presidents Brimhall and Bentley Give Welcome Speeches—Pop Club Forms Letter—Band And Orchestra Give Selections

Brown Made N. Y. B. Y. U. Alumni Club President At Meet

Christensen, Olpin, Merrill, And Partridge Other Officers—Harris Relates Experiences

Dr. Hal Brown, 23, was elected president of the New York B. Y. U. Alumni Club at a dinner at the Lincoln Hotel in New York City.

Next Officers And Policy at 8 P. M.
The first meeting of the club was held at 8 P. M. at the Lincoln Hotel.

TAX SYSTEM IS CLASS DEBATE QUESTION

Medals Offered Winners of Inter-Collegiate Competition—Class Managers in Charge

Class Treasures Not Destroyed Will Be
The class treasures were not destroyed.

Party Learn in June

Heading the Commission was out to the line, an association for the purpose of organizing Russia, with headquarters in New York, President Harris left Provo last June to study the project and make a report of the findings in Russia in planning the establishment of the Russian Jews.

President Harris reports having met with the most powerful officials of the Russian Government, all of whom agreed to the commission report, expressing their every country possible.

Class Managers Will Officers
At students of the inter-collegiate competition will be awarded medals.

Return to Moscow

Returning to Moscow they left at the end of the trip.

A huge flower ship was presented to the club at a dinner at the Lincoln Hotel in New York City.

Next Officers And Policy at 8 P. M.
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Returning to Moscow they left at the end of the trip.

Region had a population of 174,000, about nine percent of whom were Jewish.

The ultimate destiny of the Biro-Bidjan region may be very different from what Franklin S. Harris and other members of the ICOR Commission hoped would result from Jewish colonization in the Far Eastern Republic of the Soviet Union, but the Russian expedition nevertheless demonstrated the willingness of President Harris and BYU to look beyond the mountains for opportunities to serve mankind. President Harris's international outlook remained a hallmark of his administration at BYU.

19

The Lean Years: 1930-1939

Facing the Great Depression

Like other private and public institutions, Brigham Young University struggled through the 1930s, a period of retrenchment in all phases of American life. As S. George Ellsworth explained, “The depression of the thirties was statewide, nationwide, and worldwide. While America had experienced depressions before, none was so severe or lasted so long. This depression affected so many people for so long that it shook the foundations of government and capitalism almost to the crumbling point.”¹ On “Black Thursday” (24 October 1929), just two days after Franklin S. Harris and Kiefer Sauls returned to New York from their expedition to Russia, the Dow Jones Industrial Averages dropped 120 points, from approximately 350 to 230. From a high of 380 in October 1928, the same averages dropped to 60. The rail averages during the same period dropped from 188 to 20. Harris came home to a nation, a state, a Church, and a University that soon felt the full impact of the Great Depression.

1. S. George Ellsworth, *Utah's Heritage* (Santa Barbara, Cal.: Peregrine Smith, 1972), p. 420.

The lean years of the 1930s forced Church educational leaders to intensify efforts to streamline the Church school system, but despite feelings of others, President Harris remained confident that Brigham Young University would not close.

Richard R. Lyman, a member of the Council of Twelve Apostles and president of the BYU Alumni Association, told the students and faculty of Brigham Young University in a devotional assembly on Wednesday, 15 November 1929, "The Brigham Young University will not be closed." He also said that "The problem which is at the bottom of any agitation to close the institution is one of finance." He compared the University to a banyan tree about to be cut down, but with a multitude of students assembled in protest, quoting the familiar verse,

Woodman spare that tree,
Touch not a single bough.
In youth it sheltered me,
And I'll protect it now.²

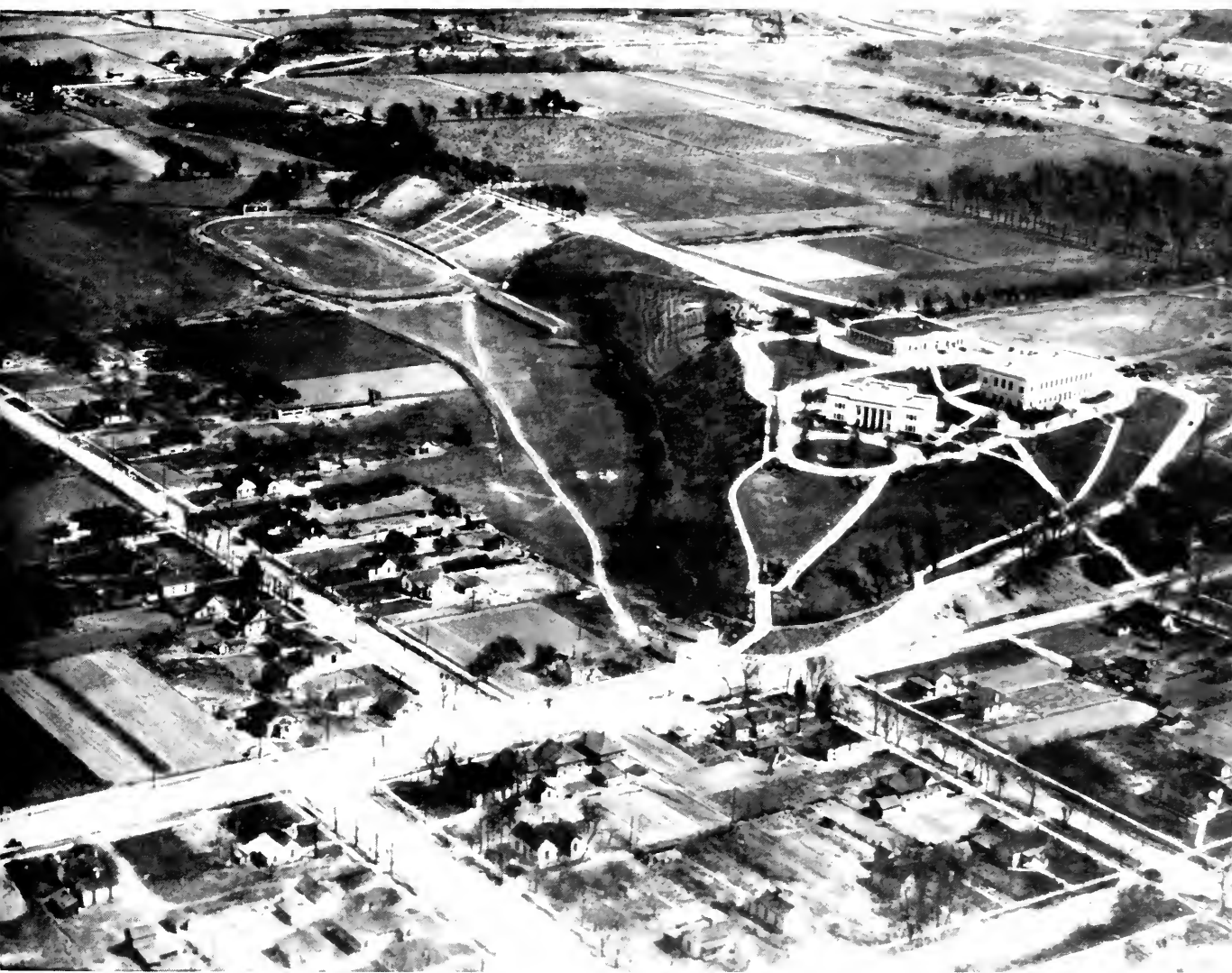
In May 1930 Elder Lyman repeated his opposition to the closing of Brigham Young University: "I have always been as genuinely and thoroughly convinced that the Brigham Young University ought not to close as I have been convinced that some other [Church educational] institutions ought to be turned into public schools."³

Even though school administrators remained optimistic that BYU would be allowed to continue, rumors of possible closing hurt the University. Lowry Nelson, chairman of the BYU Publicity Committee in 1931, cited "uncertainty regarding the permanence of the Institution" as one of nine factors which, in his estimation, could lead to serious enrollment losses at BYU.⁴ When it appeared that the University was about to lose the services of Carl F. Eyring in 1930, President

2. *Y News*, 15 November 1929.

3. Richard R. Lyman to Franklin S. Harris, 23 May 1930, Harris Presidential Papers.

4. Lowry Nelson to Franklin S. Harris, 6 February 1931, Harris Presidential Papers.



Aerial view of upper campus in 1930.

Harris told Anthony W. Ivins, "I believe that the thing he would like from you is your opinion as to whether the Church is going to be seriously interested in the direct education of its young people."⁵

Church leaders were generally confident that BYU would be able to continue its academic programs. After the BYU Board of Trustees voted to expend \$90,687 to remodel the Mechanic Arts Building, Stephen L Richards wrote President Harris,

Since yesterday I have been thinking about the BYU and its future. It seems to me that the action taken in the meeting of the Board of Trustees may be looked upon as a very definite decision, first, for the permanent maintenance of the institution, something perhaps that never should have been doubted; and secondly, for the building of the upper campus. At least I felt this significance attaching to the erection of the new building.⁶

President Heber J. Grant, troubled as he was with the financial problems of the Church, nevertheless supported the work at BYU. He and his wife personally contributed \$1,500 to the endowment fund of the University in 1929. He told President Harris, "It is a source of a great deal of pleasure to me to be able to send you this check. Mrs. Grant is delighted that she is able through the little savings that she has made out of the allowance given her by me to make this donation of \$500.00 to help the school."⁷ In 1938 he wrote Franklin L. West, "I wish I could find a gold mine so that I could endow the Brigham Young University and it could double its capacity."⁸ West in turn wrote President Harris, "I really think that as soon as conditions begin to turn up again we will be able to get much more adequate support for the school there than we have had."⁹

5. Harris to Ivins, 12 February 1930, Harris Presidential Papers.

6. Richards to Harris, 6 June 1935, Harris Presidential Papers.

7. Grant to Harris, 7 June 1929, Harris Presidential Papers.

8. Grant to West, 22 April 1938, Heber J. Grant Letter Books, Church Historical Department.

9. West to Harris, 30 April 1938, Harris Presidential Papers.

General Operating Budget during the 1930s

Because of decreasing Church revenue, LDS Church expenditures for education, stakes and wards, temples, missions, and charities dropped from approximately \$3,900,000 in 1929 to \$2,400,000 in 1933 and 1934. Expenditures began to climb again in 1935, reaching \$5,000,000 in 1938. In 1939 they again dropped to approximately \$4,000,000. Appropriations of the Church through the General Board of Education to Brigham Young University fluctuated far less than the general level of Church expenditures. Nevertheless, although enrollment at BYU rose from 1,009 in 1924 to 2,459 in 1934, appropriations from the General Board remained around \$200,000 per year. Small supplemental allocations were occasionally made, but increased enrollment and fixed appropriations forced BYU administrators to reduce per student expenditures by more than twenty-five percent.

In 1932 the University received an appropriation of just over \$200,000, but the allocation for the 1933-34 school year was only \$177,500. After 1934 the General Board appropriations climbed above \$200,000. The school received \$230,000 in 1935-36; \$280,000 in 1936-37; and \$320,000 in 1937-38.¹⁰

During the years of restricted budgets, the faculty grew in proportion to increased enrollment. From eighty-five teachers in 1929, the faculty grew to 115 "learned men and women" in 1934 who were giving "instruction in more than 1,000 courses in five different colleges."¹¹ In view of the difficulties associated with handling a larger student body and teaching force on a budget that remained fixed, President Harris worked real financial miracles at BYU during the years of the Great Depression.

BYU and the LDS Commissioner of Education

Because of his role as liaison between the General Church Board of Education and administrators at BYU, the Church

10. BYU Board Minutes, 9 May 1933, 17 May 1934, 28 March 1935, 21 April 1936, and 1 April 1937.

11. "Harris Looks for Record Enrollment," *Y News*, September 1934.

commissioner of education played an important part in the history of the school during the 1930s. Dr. Joseph F. Merrill, formerly of the faculty of the University of Utah, was the Church commissioner of education from 1928 to 1933. In 1933 he was appointed to replace Dr. John A. Widtsoe as president of the European Mission of the Church. When he was released from his position as Church commissioner of education in August 1933, Merrill told the General Board,

I would like to express my grateful appreciation for the forbearance you have shown me in my efforts to carry on. I want to say that in my professional career I have never enjoyed my work as well as I have during the past five and one-half years. It has increased my very great respect and admiration for all of you. You are the finest type of men I ever had anything to do with, animated by the highest and finest motive — nothing mean, nothing low, nothing selfish at all.

Speaking for Heber J. Grant and the rest of the General Board, President Anthony W. Ivins assessed the work and accomplishments of Commissioner Merrill from 1928 to 1933:

I think that Brother Merrill is entitled to a great deal of credit for having accomplished the work that he has since he came into his present position. It was about then that we finally decided to dispense with our Church schools, and he was instructed to work to that end. From that time he has endeavored to find means by which that could be done with the least possible disturbance, and I think he has handled it with great wisdom. He has accomplished the purpose which was especially assigned to him.¹²

Susa Young Gates, a member of the Board of Trustees of BYU and daughter of Brigham Young, died in 1933. Leah D. Widtsoe, granddaughter of Brigham Young, was appointed to fill the vacancy on the Board. In a letter of notification of her appointment, President Franklin S. Harris quoted Presi-

12. General Board Minutes, 18 August 1933.

dent Heber J. Grant as saying, "In addition, by having Leah appointed, we shall thereby get the assistance of Dr. Widtsoe, whom I consider to be the greatest educator that Mormonism has ever produced." Harris said that "Dr. Widtsoe has always been my chief educational adviser." He was "anxious to have him home from the European Mission" so Harris could "do some more advising with him."¹³ After his release as president of the European Mission, Dr. Widtsoe was appointed on 29 March 1934 to be Church commissioner of education. Speaking of Widtsoe's appointment as commissioner of education and his own appointment to the General Church Board of Education, Harris wrote BYU faculty member A.C. Lambert, who was on leave at Stanford University, that BYU was now "in direct touch with the source of our income. The organization is exactly as I would have it."¹⁴

Widtsoe was unexpectedly released in 1936 from his position as LDS commissioner of education. Despite his belief in education, the general economic situation during the two years he served made it impossible for him to pioneer much progress in the Church Educational System.¹⁵ In 1936 the First Presidency appointed Dr. Franklin L. West of the faculty of Utah State Agricultural College to succeed Dr. Widtsoe as commissioner of education. West, who had served as Widtsoe's assistant, remained in his new position until 1953. His seventeen years of service was the longest tenure of any LDS commissioner of education.¹⁶

Merrill, Widtsoe, and West were all trained educators, Widtsoe having served as president of Utah State Agricultural College and the University of Utah. He was the most knowledgeable of the three commissioners, but he served as com-

13. Franklin S. Harris to Leah D. Widtsoe, 8 June 1933, Harris Presidential Papers.

14. Harris to Lambert, 2 April 1934, Harris Presidential Papers.

15. William E. Berrett, "Growth of the LDS Department of Education Program under Successive Administrators," BYU Archives, p. 405.

16. Horace Hall Cummings served for fourteen years, and Karl G. Maeser for thirteen.



John A. Widtsoe, LDS Church
commissioner of education from 1934 to
1936, posing for sculptor T. S. Knaphus
at Aspen Grove.



Franklin S. Harris and his wife, Estella,
with Franklin L. West and his wife,
Violet. West was LDS commissioner of
education from 1936 to 1953.

missioner for only two years. Nevertheless, he continued as the chief educational adviser of Franklin S. Harris during his entire term as president of Brigham Young University.

An Honest Tithe

The Great Depression affected all sectors of the American economy, and the LDS Church scrutinized every aspect of its financial operations. Church leaders felt strongly that since employees of Brigham Young University were paid by the Church, they were responsible to pay a full tithing (ten percent of their income) to the Church. Writing about the budget for the 1929-30 school year, Commissioner Merrill reminded presidents of Church schools that

the primary purpose of all our schools and seminaries is to develop and promote faith — to make Latter-day Saints. Of course this means that all who are engaged in this work should breathe the spirit of the Gospel, should live blamelessly, observing the teaching of the Church relative to personal conduct, service, etc. I have always believed that tithe paying and the observance of the Word of Wisdom combined to furnish a pretty reliable indicator of a Latter-day Saint.

As heads of our schools you are, of course, responsible for your faculty and other employees. May we now ask that you encourage all these people to live lives that can be thoroughly approved from a Church point of view? This means, of course, that they should be observers of the Word of Wisdom, as commonly understood, and honest tithepayers. Those who cannot conscientiously do these things should not, we believe, be encouraged to remain in the employ of the Church school system.¹⁷

In 1931 Church leaders reiterated their request that all employees of Church schools be full tithepayers. Joseph Merrill wrote the presidents of Church schools that,

According to reports, there is all too great a number of

17. Joseph F. Merrill to presidents of LDS Church schools, 2 May 1929, Harris Presidential Papers.

teachers who pay only a part, if any, tithing. Since all the schools are maintained out of the tithings of the Church, and primarily as agencies in teaching religion to the students, it is felt that the teachers ought to be sincere Latter-day Saints — and the payment of tithing is one test of sincerity. We believe, therefore, that the matter of tithing payments and settlements is a subject for careful consideration.¹⁸

Commissioner Merrill requested that Church school presidents call a special faculty meeting to discuss loyalty to the Church as demonstrated through the full payment of tithing. Since the letter was addressed to presidents of all Church schools, the problem was obviously not confined to BYU.

On 23 April 1932 Commissioner Merrill implored President Harris to make sure members of the faculty were full tithepayers. Included with the request was a roster of BYU faculty members, summarizing their tithing activity for 1931. The roster classified faculty members as tithepayers, part tithepayers, and people who paid no tithing. Drawn from the records of the office of the Presiding Bishopric, the roster said that, of the 102 members of the faculty and staff of BYU, 49 were full tithepayers, 33 were part tithepayers, and 7 paid no tithing. In addition, there was no record for 13 faculty members, and 1 was not classified.

Early in 1933 the commissioner of education, following the instructions of the General Board of Education, again reviewed the standards expected of BYU faculty members, including the payment of tithing:

Regular employees of the BYU are expected to be tithepayers. So says the General Board, and on behalf of this Board may I advise that you are not expected to retain permanently on your staff non-tithepayers.

Of course, for brief periods of time, specialists may be employed who are not even members of the Church . . .

Now, we do not know to what extent you and the

18. Merrill to presidents of LDS Church schools, 4 December 1931. Harris Presidential Papers.

Executive Committee have gone in the past in relation to this matter, but we do hope that from now on you will see to it that Latter-day Saints only are permanently employed at the BYU . . .

As you know, non-tithepayers are not retained on any of the General Boards of the Church even though their services are contributed. Much less, then, should they be retained in teaching positions of the Church when their services are remunerated.¹⁹

When President Heber J. Grant was advised in May 1934 that twenty-five percent of the teachers at BYU were non-tithepayers, thirty-nine percent were part tithepayers, and only thirty-six percent full tithepayers, he was “dumb-founded.” He said, “As far as I am concerned, the Church is paying these people. If they haven’t enough loyalty to the Church to do their duty and pay their tithing, I want it recorded right here and now that I want other teachers there.”²⁰

Written records do not indicate precisely what President Harris did to handle the tithing problem, but some living faculty members remember that Harris interviewed faculty members who did not pay a full tithe, reporting special problems and extenuating circumstances to the First Presidency. Where there was any doubt, President Harris usually supported the cause of the faculty member.²¹

Administrative Challenges

The tithing situation was only one of many administrative challenges during the 1930s. Because of limited appropriations from the General Board, Harris was forced to increase student fees to \$80 per year. On 2 May 1929 Commissioner Merrill suggested “the names of ‘Religion’ or of ‘Religious Education’ in place of ‘Theology’ as the title of the department in which these courses are given.” He also notified the presi-

19. Joseph F. Merrill to Franklin S. Harris, 1 March 1933, Harris Presidential Papers.

20. General Board Minutes, 15 May 1934.

21. James R. Clark, Vasco M. Tanner, and Wayne B. Hales, all of whom served on the Harris faculty, recall that this was the case.

dents of the Church schools that all Church seminary teachers were being asked to attend the first term of the BYU summer school where courses would be conducted under the direction of the commissioner.²² On 7 May 1929 the commissioner wrote President Harris about religious instruction at BYU:

May I suggest that serious consideration be given to the problem of making a strong department of religion, or of religious education, whichever you care to call it It appears to me that there should be good strong courses in Biblical history, providing a strong background for Biblical study; in comparative religions; in the development of religious concepts; evidences of the divinity of the Book of Mormon, etc.²³

A month later the commissioner suggested that BYU should offer a master's degree in religious education with emphasis on "Biblical history and interpretation; comparative religion; psychology, including the psychology and philosophy of religion; sociology; science; etc. — all with the view of making them well-informed teachers of religion."²⁴ President Harris and the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees carried out Commissioner Merrill's directive. Six months later, Guy C. Wilson, president of LDS College in Salt Lake City and one of two supervisors of religious education for the Church (the other was George H. Brimhall), was appointed professor of religious education at BYU.²⁵

Broadening Educational Objectives

Before President Harris returned from Russia, Commissioner Merrill asked Acting President Edward H. Holt to prepare an article for publication in the *Improvement Era*, the official organ of the Church Educational System, on the educational philosophy of Brigham Young University. Acting

22. Joseph F. Merrill to Franklin S. Harris, 2 May 1929, Harris Presidential Papers.

23. Merrill to Harris, 7 May 1929, Harris Presidential Papers.

24. Merrill to Harris, 8 June 1929, Harris Presidential Papers.

25. BYU Executive Committee Minutes, 25 February 1930.

President Holt assigned the article to L. John Nuttall, Jr., dean of the College of Education. In the article, Nuttall wrote, "The work of institutions of higher learning is largely intellectual. . . . The Brigham Young University is, first of all, an institution of higher learning. It deals, therefore, primarily with the intellectual problems." However, he mentioned seven reasons why BYU was and should remain a Church university:

1. It is supported by the Church. The fees and the other income amount to but a minor portion of that required to carry on the school.
2. The school is controlled by the Church. The Board of Trustees is made up wholly from general and local Church authorities.
3. The school teaches the doctrines of the Church and instills loyalty to its organization.
4. College training is given in a religious atmosphere. . . . The moral ideals of the people of the Church are made the rules of the school.
5. The school serves the Church. At conferences, community gatherings, funerals, sacrament meetings, auxiliary workers conventions, and in other capacities, the members of the school carry out to the members of the Church the truths that university thinking develops.
6. Students trained here become leaders in the communities of the Church.
7. The university work makes it more possible for the Church to seek systematically for that new truth, "that which is lovely, praiseworthy, or of good report," for which it declares itself to be seeking. Only by revelation and research can new truth be had. The University can do for the Church the research work needed to carry on and keep abreast of the world so that the light of the Church may shine brightly in the portals of the learned as well as in the realms of the ever decreasing unlearned people of the earth.²⁶

26. L. John Nuttall, Jr., manuscript article accompanying letter of transmittal from Edward H. Holt to Joseph F. Merrill, 1 October 1929, Harris Presidential Papers.

Nuttall's seventh point was especially significant, for it asserted that research, along with revelation, was a source of truth. Nuttall's idea was compatible with President Harris's vision of BYU as a great university. Commissioner Merrill apparently concurred. In January 1930 he wrote Harris, "As I have told you before, I think it perfectly feasible and logical to make the BYU the most outstanding institution between the Mississippi and the Pacific coast."²⁷

Some people reacted unfavorably to the idea of developing BYU into a great center of secular learning. Susa Young Gates, a member of the Board of Trustees, wrote Harris on 27 February 1930,

I want to tell you that I keep track pretty closely to the LDS University, and I think they have a fine Latter-day Saint spirit there. I have no fault to find with any of their methods and teachers so far as I am able to learn. I wish I could say the same about your own university. Outside of yourself and one or two others, most potent suggestions would be to get a new class of teachers; real Latter-day Saint men instead of philosophers and theorists. But I love you, and always pray for more power to be given you in the splendid work you do.²⁸

In answering Mrs. Gates, Harris agreed that faculty members should be "fundamentally sound" in their support for the Church, but he pointed out that "even among the general authorities of the Church there is not complete unanimity, so I assume there is a slight academic leeway. At least I do not want anyone to tell me how I should think, although I am glad to get such information as I can as to just where the truth lies on all questions."²⁹ Susa replied, "I don't want to tell you nor anyone else what they should think, but I do expect men in your position and those associated with you in the BYU, when they discuss religious matters, to do it from the positive side and not from the negative. You, yourself, are all right; there is no question about that; but you are so loyal and so broad-

27. Merrill to Harris, 8 January 1930, Harris Presidential Papers.

28. Gates to Harris, 27 February 1930, Harris Presidential Papers.

29. Harris to Gates, 1 March 1930, Harris Presidential Papers.

minded that you let some of your teachers go too far, it seems to me. However, I am taking the counsel of Joseph Merrill, and keeping this all to myself.”³⁰

In March 1930 Harris wrote Dr. John A. Widtsoe, who was still in Europe presiding over LDS missions there:

Only Saturday I felt that I would give a hundred dollars if I could have an hour of your wisdom and advice. In an institution of this kind with all of the complex relations above and below, there are situations constantly arising which call for more wisdom than any one man has. Your experience has been so wide, your insight into educational problems is so clear, and your interest in some of us so sympathetic that your absence weighs heavily upon us. . . . This time of year I am always a little blue since it is the budget-making time. There are so many things to be done and the means of carrying on the work so limited that I have to go through a period of struggle to get the whole thing straightened out.³¹

Dr. Widtsoe’s reply undoubtedly buoyed Harris’s spirits:

The dominant note of the B.Y. students whom I meet is an unshakable loyalty to their president. . . . The Lord is blessing you, magnifying you, and will continue to do so. The BYU has a great mission in these latter days. I have little fear about its future. The rumblings may always continue, but sooner or later the institution will be so firmly established that even an earthquake cannot undo it.³²

Harris responded that BYU had had an “unusually fine” year, although there always seemed to be some “flies in the ointment” of a university president, as Widtsoe would already know from experience. Harris pointed out that with “three thousand parents, fifteen hundred [college] students” and “a lot of officials, each one with a different idea as to how an institution should be run, it sometimes keeps a person guess-

30. Gates to Harris, 8 March 1930, Harris Presidential Papers.

31. Harris to Widtsoe, 31 March 1930, Harris Presidential Papers.

32. Widtsoe to Harris, 6 May 1930, Harris Presidential Papers.

ing to avoid being devoured. But I suppose every phase of life has some elements of torment in it.”³³

More Administrative Affairs

On 9 May 1930 Harris reported to the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees that the General Board of Education had appropriated \$215,200 for the 1929-30 school year. He asked approval for a budget of \$305,200 for the year since he expected \$90,000 in revenue from student fees. He also made a report to the Executive Committee on the growth of the University “during the past seven years.” This report specifically mentioned the increase in enrollment from 666 to 1,495 college students, the enlargement of the campus, and the quality of service being rendered by graduates of the University.³⁴

In July the General Board of Education, approving a decision of the First Presidency of the Church, notified President Harris that the faculty annuity (retirement) system would be continued, “but with \$180 or five percent on \$3,600, as the limit that the fund might receive per teacher per year from the University.”³⁵ On recommendation of Commissioner Merrill, the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees agreed in September to employ Dr. William C. Graham of the Divinity School of the University of Chicago as visiting professor of Old Testament during summer school in 1931.³⁶

On 4 November 1930 President Harris reported to the Executive Committee that President Rey L. Pratt of the Mexican Mission of the Church had asked him to visit the branches of the Church in Mexico and offer educational and agricultural advice to branch members. The First Presidency of the Church “requested that he accept the invitation.”³⁷ Harris was

33. Harris to Widtsoe, 21 May 1930, Harris Presidential Papers.

34. BYU Executive Committee Minutes, 4 June 1930.

35. Joseph F. Merrill to Franklin S. Harris, 2 July 1930, Harris Presidential Papers.

36. BYU Executive Committee Minutes, 10 September 1930.

37. BYU Executive Committee Minutes, 4 November 1930.

gone from the campus from 15 November 1930 until 1 January 1931. While in Mexico he called at the United States Embassy where he had conferences with United States Ambassador J. Reuben Clark, Jr.³⁸

Ambassador Clark feared that Church education was becoming too secularized. He wrote President Harris in November 1931 about some radio addresses Harris had given over KSL in Salt Lake City. In one speech, Harris had mentioned a survey of Church officers made by Dr. Lowry Nelson which indicated that Mormon Church leaders were better educated than their predecessors. Clark perceived the need for education, but he did not want the LDS Church to go the way of other religious organizations:

It is my observation that the churches, generally failing to hold their people by religious precept, have turned more and more to material means and measures; they have tried to rival clubs, amusement halls, etc. Furthermore, to make the churches popular they have been willing to abandon their tenets, even the most fundamental, for example, the divinity of Christ. This latter has reacted upon their church membership until the latter have become disgusted with the very concessions the Church has made to please them, and they are now seeking, many of them earnestly, for spiritual food. I hope we can avoid even the very appearance of such an attitude.³⁹

Other Church leaders did not seem to share Ambassador Clark's fear of intellectualism. James E. Talmage informed Harris that he sent out a letter intended to soothe "the troubled mind" of a friend who was disturbed because "another college man [Joseph F. Merrill] has been added to the Council of the Twelve Apostles."⁴⁰

38. Two years later Clark was called by President Heber J. Grant from his ambassadorship to become a counselor in the First Presidency of the LDS Church.

39. J. Reuben Clark, Jr., to Franklin S. Harris, 5 November 1931, Harris Presidential Papers.

40. Talmage to Harris, 20 November 1931, Harris Presidential Papers.

Enduring Salary Cuts

The faculty demonstrated great loyalty to BYU during the Depression. In 1932 the General Church Board of Education announced that, because of drastic reductions in Church income, there would be a cut of “ten percent in the salaries of all officers and teachers in the Department of Education” of the Church for the next year. Harris presented the announcement in faculty meeting on 7 March 1932. Writing Commissioner Merrill of the reaction of the faculty, Harris said,

While everyone, of course, regrets that conditions make any retrenchment necessary, they voted one hundred percent to cooperate with the Church Board in the matter. I was really delighted with the spirit of the faculty in which they recognized the problems that confront the authorities of the Church in these days of financial depression. They expressed without reservation their desire to assist the authorities with their problems by making any personal sacrifices that seem necessary.⁴¹

Commissioner Merrill reassured President Harris that the reduction in salaries came only after careful consideration of several alternative courses of action. The First Presidency had decided that instead of closing “departments and small seminaries” and thus discharging teachers, they would reduce salaries and retain present employees. All Church employees absorbed similar reductions in salary, not just officers and teachers in Church schools. Merrill promised that “a restoration will be made at the earliest feasible time.”⁴² Commissioner Merrill knew that Harris would “accept anything that the General Board does. This has been uniformly your attitude since I have been in office.” The commissioner further assured Harris that every member of the General Board of Education was “sympathetic with you, and no one wants to cut your budget, at all, but the income of the Church is going

41. Franklin S. Harris to Joseph F. Merrill, 7 March 1932, Harris Presidential Papers.

42. Merrill to Harris, 9 March 1932, Harris Presidential Papers.

rapidly from bad to worse, resulting in the First Presidency looking with very grave concern upon every item of expenditure.”⁴³

On 19 May 1932 Harris carefully outlined his fiscal policy in a letter to Commissioner Merrill. He pointed out that “The Board of Trustees of the University has been very scrupulous in seeing that no deficit has been created in the Institution, and during the eleven years that I have been associated with it, at no time has the Church Board been asked to make up a deficit. . . . We welcome the most searching investigation of every transaction of the University.”⁴⁴ In July 1932, with the full cooperation of President Harris, the commissioner had a complete audit made of the University. C.E. Hayes, the auditor, reported that the bookkeeping and accounting system used at the University was antiquated: “Like Topsy, the system just grewed, without any control.” With the approval of President Harris, Hayes installed a new double entry system of bookkeeping adequate to control the accounts of a University which “receives and expends over a quarter of a million dollars per year.” The balance sheet of the auditor’s report showed fixed assets of the University of \$45,000 in land and buildings and an equal amount in furniture, appliances, and equipment, with total University assets amounting to \$1,170,274. Liabilities included Brigham Young University Corporation, capital account, \$900,000; reserve for endowments, \$210,149; reserve for trust funds, \$4,063; notes payable \$40,000; and other items. The Knight Endowment totaled \$197,590. Besides a Henderson Research Endowment of around \$2,000, the University also had a subscribed endowment fund of just over \$10,000.⁴⁵ The audit clearly vindicated the financial management of President Harris.

During the summer of 1933 the General Board decided to reduce salaries of employees of Church schools by an addi-

43. Merrill to Harris, 2 May 1932, Harris Presidential Papers.

44. Harris to Merrill, 19 May 1932, Harris Presidential Papers.

45. Auditor’s Report, C.E. Hayes to Joseph F. Merrill, 27 July 1932, Harris Presidential Papers.

tional twelve and one-half percent. Lowry Nelson remembered that “this information fell with special weight. One could almost feel a collective slump of the members [of the faculty] in their chairs.”⁴⁶ Nevertheless, faculty members were determined to support the decision of the General Board. As Harris reported to Commissioner Merrill,

I went into the whole matter with the faculty, and while they perhaps will have to make difficult changes in their own budgets, they want to fit right into the situation. A motion similar to that passed last year was passed, expressing their appreciation to the Church for its support of the University, and their determination to carry on the University in harmony with the finances of the Church, regardless of any personal inconvenience which may come to them. I was thrilled with the attitude of the members of the faculty.⁴⁷

Encouraged by the response of the BYU faculty, Commissioner Merrill was hopeful that “we have now reached the very bottom of the Depression as it affects the Church. . . . We hope that this curve will soon take an upward turn.”⁴⁸ Faculty salaries were increased by five percent for the 1934-35 school year, but BYU employees received no more general raises until 1942.

Impressions of the New Commissioner

On 15 May 1934 John A. Widtsoe, recently called to replace Joseph F. Merrill as LDS commissioner of education, presented a report on “the condition of the various units of the Church school system.”⁴⁹ Ten days later Commissioner Widtsoe officially reported to President Harris that the General Board of Education had appropriated “\$208,200 for the partial support of the Brigham Young University” during the

46. Nelson, “Eighty,” p. 87.

47. Harris to Merrill, 10 May 1933, Harris Presidential Papers.

48. Joseph F. Merrill to Franklin S. Harris, 11 May 1933, Harris Presidential Papers.

49. General Board Minutes, 15 May 1934.

coming school year. The \$8,200 above the usual appropriation of \$200,000 was to pay the salaries of professors Guy C. Wilson, Sidney B. Sperry, and Russel Swensen who had just been hired to teach in the Religion Department.⁵⁰ Widtsoe congratulated “the University upon the good work that it is doing.”⁵¹

Commissioner Widtsoe was especially conscious of the contribution Franklin S. Harris was making to the success of BYU. Following his attendance at the commencement exercises for 1934, Widtsoe wrote President Harris,

We delight to be in your company and in your home, and we feel personal pride in the great success that has attended your efforts in life, and particularly in your presidency of the Brigham Young University.

I thought, while references were being made the other evening to Karl G. Maeser and Brother Brimhall, that the time is not far distant when the name of Franklin S. Harris will be placed side by side and shoulder high with these distinguished men. Neither Brother Maeser nor Brother Brimhall could have done the work that you have done for the BYU. Their work was well done in their day. You have done just as well in your day.

The one great need of the BYU when you came into its service as president was to build up the scholarship of the institution through a well-trained faculty, and to place the institution on an equal academic plane with other like universities in the land. This you have done. I marvel that it has been done so easily and under the handicap of a relatively small financial support. The Lord has blessed you, and you have labored earnestly and intelligently.

When I look into the future for you my heart rejoices, for your experience and integrity will continue to be used in behalf of the welfare of humanity.⁵²

50. Widtsoe to Harris, 24 May 1934, Harris Presidential Papers.

51. Ibid.

52. Widtsoe to Harris, 8 June 1934, Harris Presidential Papers.



Franklin S. Harris and President Heber J. Grant leading an academic procession from lower campus to the Provo Stake Tabernacle for commencement exercises.



Dedication of the George H. Brimhall
Building on 16 October 1935.

Brimhall Building

Throughout the difficult years of the Great Depression, Franklin S. Harris and other members of the BYU community continued their efforts to improve the physical facilities of the school. The Brimhall Building had its beginning in 1918 as a one-story brick structure of 12,574 gross square feet, built at a cost of \$43,000.⁵³ Called the Mechanic Arts Building, it was built to provide facilities for vocational training: auto mechanics, blacksmithing, and woodwork. Very little remodeling was done to this building until 1935 when two additional floors were added, bringing the total floor area to 41,673 square feet.⁵⁴

President Franklin S. Harris proposed to change the name of the building from Mechanic Arts Building to George H. Brimhall Building in honor of his predecessor in office. The new building was dedicated by President Heber J. Grant on 16 October 1935.⁵⁵ The Brimhall Building has housed classes ranging from auto mechanics, blacksmithing, woodwork, and drafting to bacteriology, agronomy, zoology, botany, landscape design, and horticulture. Offices for various divisions and colleges, including the Extension Division and, in recent years, the Lamanite (Indian) Program have also been housed in this structure.

Stadium House

An announcement was made in a faculty meeting and in a student body assembly on Monday, 5 February 1936, that plans were underway for the construction of a Stadium House.⁵⁶ Architect Joseph Nelson was chosen to prepare the plans for the building with assistance from G. Ott Romney, Charles J. Hart, Wilma Jeppson, Sidney B. Sperry, O. Meredith Wilson, and Edwin R. Kimball of the University

53. Construction Records, BYU Department of Physical Plant. *See also* chapter 13 herein.

54. Inventory of Buildings, BYU Space Utilization Office.

55. *Y News*, 18 October 1935.

56. *Y News*, 7 February 1936.



Stadium House, constructed in 1936 west of the old stadium on the brow of Temple Hill. The building was razed in 1964 to make room for the Stephen L Richards Building.

faculty. Contributions came in immediately from faculty, social units, the community, and the class of 1929. T. Earl Pardoe donated proceeds from all school dramatic performances. A pledge of ten hours' work was solicited from each student with a promise that names of contributors would be published in *Y News*.⁵⁷

Administrators decided to locate this new building parallel to the running track on the west side of the football field where the Richards Building now stands. The Stadium House was a rectangular building, with one floor above ground and a partial basement on the south end. With 8,147 square feet of floor space, the structure included athletic equipment storage rooms and women's and men's dressing, locker, and shower rooms. The building was used heavily for many years until it was supplemented by the facilities constructed in the George Albert Smith Fieldhouse, dedicated in 1951. Stadium House continued to serve in a limited way as the student body grew until it was razed in 1964 to make way for the Richards Building.⁵⁸

Allen Hall

Adequate student housing and eating facilities were matters of concern from the foundation of Brigham Young University. In 1937 President Harris presented plans to erect a cooperative residence hall where men could live and participate in the cost of both housing and eating.⁵⁹ At a 19 July 1937 meeting of the General Church Board of Education, Commissioner Franklin L. West

reminded the Board of the existence of the Jesse Knight Endowment Fund to the Brigham Young University amounting to about \$200,000 and of the low rate of interest it is drawing in a savings bank.

Two proposals have been made: One is that the Fund

57. *Y News*, 27 March 1936.

58. Construction Records, BYU Department of Physical Plant.

59. Jensen et al., "History of BYU," pp. 114-25.

be used in connection with the construction of an auditorium on the University campus. Legal opinion indicates, however, that the Fund cannot within the law be used for this purpose. The other proposal is that the University borrow from the Fund for the erection of a self-liquidating cooperative men's dormitory, the building itself and the income from the Fund to be used as collateral. Interest of 4% will be paid the Fund. This loan at 4%, amortized on a fifteen-year basis, for such a structure housing between 70 and 75 students and containing a dining hall, etc., would cost the occupant \$5.20 a month for housing alone. This plan has been presented to the trustees of the Fund and has been found to be feasible.⁶⁰

On motion of John A. Widtsoe, the General Board unanimously approved the project.

An application for fire insurance on the building, dated 13 June 1938, listed the cost of the building, not including contents, as \$75,000. Insurance was secured in the amount of \$48,750, or sixty-five percent of the cost of the building. This protection was assumed by the Church under provisions of a special trust fund set aside for insurance purposes.⁶¹

Numerous plots of ground had been acquired in the neighborhood of the school through the foresight of President Harris for the growth of the University. A site on the northwest corner of Seventh North and First East was selected for construction of the residence hall.⁶² Joseph Nelson prepared architectural plans for the building, which was constructed with the assistance of students who donated their labor. BYU faculty member LaVal S. Morris developed landscape plans for the building, and Karl A. Miller designed and installed the sprinkling system.⁶³ The structure was named Allen Hall in honor of R.E. Allen and Inez Knight Allen, son-in-law and daughter of Jesse Knight.

60. General Board Minutes, 19 July 1937.

61. Presiding Bishopric to Franklin S. Harris, 25 June 1938, Harris Presidential Papers.

62. Jensen et al., "History of BYU," pp.124-25.

63. *Banyan*, 1938, pp.152-53, 166.



Allen Hall, named for R. E. Allen and Inez Knight Allen. The cooperative men's residence hall was constructed in 1938 at the corner of Seventh North and First East.

Amanda Knight Hall

Allen Hall proved so successful that immediate steps were taken to construct a similar unit for women. When plans were being formulated for this building, Stephen L Richards invited Franklin S. Harris, J. William Knight, and Commissioner Franklin L. West to go with him to see the First Presidency of the Church about the matter.⁶⁴ The building was approved early in July 1938, and Harris wrote Stephen L Richards to thank him for "the very effective way in which you managed the business in relation to the girls' dormitory financing. Your ability to see the problem, and your skill in presenting the matter, could not help but challenge my admiration."⁶⁵

Like Allen Hall, funds for financing the construction of this new residence hall were acquired from the Knight Endowment Fund. The building, named after Amanda Knight, wife of Jesse Knight, was constructed on the southeast corner of Eighth North and University Avenue, through the block from Allen Hall. Effie Warnick, professor of Home Economics, was appointed matron.⁶⁶

Amanda Knight Hall was built as a cooperative unit where the girls assisted in the housework and in the kitchen. The hall had a capacity of ninety students, making it somewhat larger than Allen Hall.⁶⁷ A two-inch pressure gas line was installed from the lower campus to both Allen Hall and Amanda Knight Hall to provide fuel for heating through the BYU meter. High voltage power was also extended down from upper campus to provide a BYU-metered source of electric power. Laval S. Morris and Karl A. Miller landscaped the grounds and installed the sprinkling system.⁶⁸

64. Stephen L Richards to Franklin S. Harris, 30 June 1938, Harris Presidential Papers.

65. Harris to Richards, 6 July 1938, Harris Presidential Papers.

66. Jensen et al., "History of BYU," p. 126.

67. *Banyan*, 1943, p. 63.

68. M. Ephraim Hatch and Karl A. Miller, "A History of the Brigham Young University Campus and the Department of Physical Plant," BYU Archives, 4:18.



Amanda Knight Hall, a women's cooperative residence hall constructed at the corner of Eighth North and University Avenue in 1938.

Speaking of the relationship between lower campus and upper campus, President Harris had predicted in 1923 that residence halls would be built near the construction site of Allen Hall and Amanda Knight Hall: "The buildings below [on lower campus] are admirably suited for the College of Education. . . . Other colleges should be located on the hill. The two intervening blocks will have a path running through them to the foot of the hill. On either side of the path will be residential buildings, dormitories, etc."⁶⁹

Thus, during the 1930s the Brigham Young University campus began to take shape along lines that President Harris had long envisioned.

Hitting the Campaign Trail

In August 1938 President Harris announced that he would be a candidate for the United States Senate on the Republican ticket.⁷⁰ Harris received letters of personal support from LeGrand Richards, Marvin O. Ashton, and Joseph L. Wirthlin, the Presiding Bishopric of the LDS Church.⁷¹ George Albert Smith wrote, "The coming campaign is likely to be a very warm one but if you can be elected I am satisfied it will be a blessing to the people of Utah and the nation."⁷² Though these Brethren spoke as individuals and not as official representatives of the Church, their statements nevertheless indicated that Harris had the personal support of many Church leaders. Harris sought the seat in the U.S. Senate which had

69. *Y News*, 24 October 1923.

70. Harris was not the first president of BYU to run for public office. In 1895, three years after he retired as principal of Brigham Young Academy, Karl G. Maeser was the Democratic candidate for superintendent of public instruction in Utah. Maeser, who received 18,954 votes, was defeated in a close race by John R. Park, who received 21,315 votes. A total of 1,083 votes went to third-party candidate J. T. Alvord (Utah Election Returns, 1895, Utah State Archives, State Capitol Building, Salt Lake City).

71. See Richards to Harris, 17 August 1938; Ashton to Harris, 13 August 1938; and Wirthlin to Harris, 21 September 1938, all in Harris Presidential Papers.

72. Smith to Harris, 21 September 1938, Harris Presidential Papers.

been held by Senator Reed Smoot from 1902 until 1932 when he was defeated by Elbert Thomas, a Democrat. *Y News* for 12 September 1938 said that, "Because he has never shown a great activity in political affairs, President Harris's candidacy comes as a surprise to many members of his Brigham Young University family. His candidacy is the result of the pressure of a petition bearing over 1500 names."⁷³

Harris campaigned on principles similar to Thomas Jefferson's belief that "public debt" is "the greatest of dangers to be feared" and his admonition that, "To preserve our independence, we must not let our rulers load us with perpetual debt." While he was careful not to mix church and state, his ideas paralleled the political views of Church leaders from the beginning, irrespective of party. Harris deplored the fact that the national debt was "increasing by many billions each year," and urged "that something must be done to save the nation from what might develop into a disaster."⁷⁴ In his opinion, "The huge national debt which has accumulated under the excessive spending of the New Deal jeopardizes the security of all citizens of the country. Forty billions of dollars of indebtedness, and no prospect of balancing the budget, means that unless something drastic is done our whole economic system is likely to break down."⁷⁵ He thought that "throughout the country far too many people are taking on an attitude of leaners instead of lifters." He said, "We should do something to get us out of the Santa Claus era and put the country on the basis of real security for the greatest number of citizens."⁷⁶

Harris lashed out against "attempts to center all functions of government in the executive branch," which he urged "must be strongly resisted by all lovers of freedom and demo-

73. *Y News*, 12 September 1938.

74. Franklin S. Harris to "A Friend," 26 August 1938, Harris Presidential Papers.

75. Franklin S. Harris, "Real Security," radio address to friends in Southern Utah, Harris Presidential Papers.

76. Franklin S. Harris to "Community Leaders throughout Utah," 10 October 1938, Harris Presidential Papers.

cracy. If these attempts succeed, our form of government is doomed." In a radio address to the people of Southern Utah, he said,

Now is the time to halt that dictator 'yes-men' combination which is squandering the patrimony of our unborn grandchildren who must bear the burden of debt that is so rapidly carrying our country toward bankruptcy. . . . The rugged virtues of thrift, industry, frugality, and reliability must not be destroyed. Many people have somehow obtained the idea that the government has unlimited wealth which it is distributing to its citizens and that they as individuals have a right and duty to get their share of the spoils. They fail to understand that the government itself has no wealth, and that which it gives to the people it must first take from the people through taxation.⁷⁷

Prophetic of the future, he urged that "the present group [in Congress] has speeded up a momentum of spending that it cannot stop without help."⁷⁸ In an appeal to independent members of the Democratic Party, he observed, "The Democratic Party which has so long championed local self-government and economy has completely abandoned these principles and has thrown the nation into dangerous centralization of authority and an unheard [of] spree of spending."⁷⁹

Although he was supported by many Democrats as well as Republicans, Harris was defeated by a vote of 102,353 to 81,071.⁸⁰ Considering his late entry into the campaign and the popularity of the Democratic president, Harris's strength at the polls was quite remarkable. President Franklin D. Roosevelt, though opposed by both the *Deseret News* and the *Salt Lake Tribune*, had carried seventy percent of the Utah vote in the 1936 presidential election.⁸¹ With the support of Presi-

77. Franklin S. Harris, "Real Security."

78. Franklin S. Harris to George W. Middleton, 5 September 1938, Harris Presidential Papers.

79. Franklin S. Harris to "Community Leaders throughout Utah," 10 October 1938, Harris Presidential Papers.

80. Records in office of Utah State secretary of state, Salt Lake City, Utah.

81. Ellsworth, *Utah's Heritage*, p. 432.

dent Roosevelt, the 1938 congressional election was a Democratic landslide.

Harris was not discouraged by his defeat. He wrote his children,

While we were not able to go over the top in the election, all Republicans in this area are very much cheered by the results. There was a transfer of something like 60,000 votes to the Republican cause this year over the previous election. I ran about 14,000 ahead of my party and carried ten counties outright and lost two others by only fourteen votes each. . . . It was a very interesting experience and I have learned a lot from it.⁸²

Ernest L. Wilkinson, who was practicing law in Washington, D.C., wrote that, "As one who has been an independent Democrat, I recognize the merit of considerable of the criticism against the New Deal. . . . I hope you are not disappointed in the outcome of the Senatorial race. . . . Although you were defeated, I am glad that the defeat means that the Brigham Young University will still have the benefit of your services."⁸³

J. Reuben Clark, Jr., and Church Education

On 6 April 1933 J. Reuben Clark, Jr., was sustained as a counselor in the First Presidency. Because of age and illness, President Grant came to rely increasingly on President Clark to represent the First Presidency in educational matters. His copious notes in his copy of the minutes of the General Church Board of Education and correspondence in his "Church Schools" file demonstrate his importance in the Church Educational System.

As a young man, President Clark was an assistant to President James E. Talmage of the University of Utah and then the director (equivalent to president) of what became the College of Southern Utah. When he served as solicitor general of the Department of State in Washington, D.C., he was a member of

82. Harris to his children, 11 November 1938, Harris Presidential Papers.

83. Wilkinson to Harris, 17 November 1938, Harris Presidential Papers.



Estella S. Harris, Franklin S. Harris,
Luacine S. Clark, Minerva Y. Bennion,
J. Reuben Clark, Jr., and Adam S.
Bennion (behind President Clark) at
BYU.

the law faculty of George Washington University. While in the East, he made a very careful study of the life of Jesus Christ, including the works of New Testament scholars. As with all of his studies, he made copious notes which assisted him as years passed.

While he was United States ambassador to Mexico, Clark expressed concern over a tendency on the part of some Mormons to compromise the teachings of the Church in order to attain acceptance by the world. After becoming a member of the First Presidency, he found evidence to justify his fears. He made notes in his copy of the General Church Board of Education minutes which indicated his strong feelings. For example, on an outline of courses in religion for Church colleges and institutes submitted by Commissioner Franklin L. West, Clark wrote that it was guilty of “fitting Jesus into modern concept, instead of making concept fit into Jesus.”

President Clark made a thorough review of curriculum materials being used in the Church schools, institutes, and seminaries. Fearing the influence of secularization, he underlined such phrases as “abundant life,” “abundant living,” “creed,” “[Jesus] advertised himself and his work,” placing large question marks in the margin opposite these terms when used to describe Mormon interpretations of the teachings of Jesus Christ. In his opinion, the terms were a compromise with secular ideas which asserted that the teachings of Jesus were purely ethical and not divine.⁸⁴ His papers also contain charts showing “Church Department of Education unit costs per student, 1916 to 1938; total student enrollment in Church schools, 1912 to 1941; total Church expenditures per capita, 1912 to 1940; and a comparison of per capita costs for education at BYU from 1922 to 1940, at Ricks College from 1922 to 1940, and in institutes and seminaries from 1920 to 1941.”⁸⁵ With his careful study of Church schools and his fierce loyalty to Church leaders, President Clark was a powerful spokesman for the First Presidency in matters pertaining to official

84. See J. Reuben Clark, Jr., Church Schools Papers, BYU Archives.

85. Ibid.

Church educational philosophy and policy.

1937 Commencement Address

Speaking “for the officers and the Board of the School,” J. Reuben Clark, Jr., delivered the commencement address at the 9 June 1937 graduation exercises of Brigham Young University. Besides advice to LDS youth, the speech transmitted President Clark’s view of the role of Church schools. He spoke of

some of the ideas underlying the so-called Youth Movement of the day — not because I am justified in feeling that you here are infected with these ideas, for I must assume, to the contrary, that the spirit and teachings of this Church school will have given you the true view of life, its meaning, its high purpose, its destiny of ultimate divinity. But I shall do it merely by way of inoculating you against future contagion or infection. I shall do it with such soberness as an old man can muster, who has had some experience, some disillusionment, but who stands in a faith which strengthens day by day, with some vision of the beauties and glories of the Gospel and of its eternal principles which, obeyed, will lead us on to salvation and exaltation.

Speaking of the educational profession, President Clark said, “Teachers must more and more come to their work, not so much for a livelihood for themselves, as for the rendering of a service to humanity.” Of the relationship between science and religion, he said,

There is not and cannot be any conflict between the truths of these two. For all truth is harmonious, and where harmony reigns, disharmony may not enter. It is half-truths that fight. But all truth has not yet been revealed or searched out in either field.

Normally we religionists know about as little, and about as much, about science as the scientists normally know about religion. There are exceptions on both sides. When either of these normals gets into the field of the other, he wanders in strange ground . . .

Religion is sovereign in its own territory; so is Science in its territory. Religion may no more rightfully or successfully invade the territory of Science, than Science may cross over its boundaries into the land of Religion. An incursion of either into the limits of the other brings warfare. I am bound to say that a calm appraisal of the situation shows Science most often as the aggressor. . . . We welcome all men to the joy of our lives, and particularly we welcome the sober, the rightliving, reverent subjects of Science. Honestly naturalized, they become among the truest and most loyal subjects of God's Kingdom.

Placing education in an eternal perspective, President Clark concluded his remarks by encouraging the graduates:

If you would be a Newton, a Farraday, a Darwin, may it so be; if you would be a Socrates or an Aristotle, may those loftiest heights of power of mind come to you. If you would be a Beethoven, a Haydn, a Chopin, a Mozart, or a Wagner, may you as you go from hence, hear in the rustle of the breeze-tossed leaves, the motifs of the great symphonies you shall give to the world . . .

If you will remember that this sunset and dusk promise that on the morrow there will come the dawn, and then sun again and then a glorious day, it will be a parable of nature speaking to you of life here and the life to come.

So, till in the Creator's great university on the other side we shall meet again to continue the work of eternal progression throughout endless ages, may God bless you and be with you.⁸⁶

Standards for Church Educators

On 8 August 1938 President Clark delivered an address to employees of the LDS Church school system at Aspen Grove in Provo Canyon that became one of the basic statements of LDS educational philosophy. The speech was included in the 1969-70 course of study for Melchizedek Priesthood quorums

86. J. Reuben Clark, Jr., "A Pertinent Message to Youth," *Deseret News*, 19 June 1937.

of the Church. It was the foundation of instructions of the First Presidency at the inauguration of Neal A. Maxwell as Church commissioner of education in 1970 and again in the charge of the First Presidency to Dallin H. Oaks as the new president of Brigham Young University in 1971. It was also the basis for an address of Boyd K. Packer, member of the Executive Committee of the BYU Board of Trustees, in honor of Roy W. Doxey upon his retirement as dean of the College of Religious Instruction in 1974.⁸⁷

President Clark said that he would “speak very frankly, for we have passed the place where we may wisely talk in ambiguous words and veiled phrases.” Of LDS students he said,

The youth of the Church, your students, are in great majority sound in thought and in spirit. The problem primarily is to keep them sound, not to convert them . . .

These students crave the faith their fathers and mothers have; they want it in its simplicity and purity. There are few indeed who have not seen the manifestations of its divine powers; they wish to be not only the beneficiaries of this faith, but they want to be themselves able to call it forth to work . . .

They are prepared to understand the truth which is as old as the Gospel and which was expressed thus by Paul (a master of logic and metaphysics unapproached by the modern critics who decry all religion): “For the flesh lusteth against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the flesh; and these are contrary the one to the other; so that ye cannot do the things that ye would.” (Gal. 5:17)

These students (to put the matter shortly) are prepared to understand and to believe that there is a natural world and there is a spiritual world; that the things of the natural world will not explain the things of the spiritual world; that the things of the spiritual world cannot be

87. See Boyd K. Packer, *Seek Learning, Even by Study and Also by Faith* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1974). Elder Packer said that “exceptional inspiration attended the preparation” of President Clark’s address (p. 4). The Aspen Grove address was published in the *Deseret News* (Church Section, 13 August 1938), in the *Improvement Era* (September 1938), and in pamphlet form.

understood or comprehended by the things of the natural world; that you cannot rationalize the things of the spirit, because first, the things of the spirit are not sufficiently known and comprehended, and secondly, because finite mind and reason cannot comprehend nor explain infinite wisdom and ultimate truth.

Given this basic view of the nature of religious and secular truth, President Clark went on to define the role of teachers in LDS schools:

In the first place, there is neither reason nor is there excuse for our Church religious teaching and training facilities and institutions, unless the youth are to be taught and trained in the principles of the Gospel, embracing therein the two great elements that Jesus is the Christ and that Joseph was God's prophet. The teaching of a system of ethics to the students is not a sufficient reason for running our seminaries and institutes. The great public school system teaches ethics. The students of seminaries and institutes should of course be taught the ordinary canons of good and righteous living, for these are part, and an essential part, of the Gospel. But there are the great principles involved in eternal life, the Priesthood, the resurrection, and many like other things, that go way beyond these canons of good living. These great fundamental principles also must be taught to the youth; they are the things the youth wish first to know about.

The first requisite of a teacher for teaching these principles is a personal testimony of their truthfulness. No amount of learning, no amount of study, and no number of scholastic degrees, can take the place of this testimony, which is the *sine qua non* of the teacher in our Church school system. No teacher who does not have a real testimony of the truthfulness of the Gospel as revealed to and believed by the Latter-day Saints, and a testimony of the Sonship and Messiahship of Jesus, and of the divine mission of Joseph Smith — including in all its reality the First Vision — has any place in the Church school system. If there be any such, and I hope and pray there are none, he should at once resign; if the Commissioner knows of any such and he does not

resign, the Commissioner should request his resignation. The First Presidency expect this pruning to be made . . .

He continued,

For you teachers the mere possession of a testimony is not enough. You must have besides this, one of the rarest and most precious of all the many elements of human character, moral courage. For in the absence of moral courage to declare your testimony, it will reach the students only after such dilution as will make it difficult if not impossible for them to detect it; and the spiritual and psychological effect of a weak and vascillating testimony may well be actually harmful instead of helpful . . .

An object of pity (not of scorn, as some would have it) is that man or woman, who, having the truth and knowing it, finds it necessary either to repudiate the truth or to compromise with error in order that he may live with or among unbelievers without subjecting himself to their disfavor or derision, as he supposes. Tragic indeed is his place, for the real fact is that all such discardings and shadings in the end bring the very punishments that the weak-willed one sought to avoid. For there is nothing the world so values and reveres as the man, who, having righteous convictions, stands for them in any and all circumstances; there is nothing towards which the world turns more contempt than the man, who, having righteous convictions, either slips away from them, abandons them, or repudiates them. For any Latter-day Saint psychologist, chemist, physicist, geologist, archeologist, or any other scientist, to explain away, or misinterpret, or evade or elude, or most of all, to repudiate or to deny, the great fundamental doctrines of the Church in which he professes to believe, is to give the lie to his intellect, to lose his self-respect, to bring sorrow to his friends, to break the hearts and bring shame to his parents, to besmirch the Church and its members, and to forfeit the respect and honor of those whom he has sought, by his counsel to win as friends and helpers.

I prayerfully hope there may not be any such among the teachers of the Church school system, but if there are any such, high or low, they must travel the same route as

the teacher without the testimony. Sham and pretext and evasion and hypocrisy have, and can have, no place in the Church school system or in the character building and spiritual growth of our youth.

President Clark further urged LDS teachers

not to fall into that childish error, so common now, of believing that merely because man has gone so far in harnessing the forces of nature and turning them to his own use, that therefore the truths of the spirit have been changed or transformed. It is a vital and significant fact that man's conquest of the things of the spirit has not marched side by side with his conquest of things material. The opposite sometimes seems to be true. Man's power to reason has not matched his power to figure. Remember always and cherish the great truth of the Intercessory Prayer: "And this is life eternal, that they might know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom thou has sent." This is an ultimate truth; so are all spiritual truths. They are not changed by the discovery of a new element, a new ethereal wave, nor by clipping off a few seconds, minutes, or hours of a speed record.

20

Academic Review

Improving Academic Standards

The 1930s began at Brigham Young University with solid academic designs. President Harris launched a campaign to promote better teaching at the institution; every other faculty meeting at the beginning of 1930 was devoted to discussion of teaching techniques and problems.¹ Improved student study habits were the object of a campaign begun in a student devotional assembly in February of that year, and President Harris sent questionnaires to faculty members asking for suggestions to improve the academic structure of the University.²

Because the future of the Church junior colleges and the destiny of Brigham Young University were not settled, Harris and his faculty undertook an internal evaluation of the school to examine the “Reasons for BYU.” The survey determined that BYU had a definite role to fill as a Church university:

In the modern world, all major states and churches run universities. BYU is a concrete demonstration to the

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1. See BYU Faculty Meeting Minutes, February through April 1930; and *Y News*, 2 February 1930.
 2. See various letters from faculty members to Franklin S. Harris, June 1930, box 28, Harris Presidential Papers.



The BYU band performing an impromptu concert during the semicentennial celebration in 1925.

world that the Church believes in higher education. A University is the place where the truths of the past are preserved, new truths are discovered, and both are taught. The BYU library and museums are collecting and distributing centers for the entire Church of the knowledge and truths sympathetic with the teaching of the gospel. Since the Church has taken all truth for its province, its interests are as wide as the limits of human knowledge, but BYU has a special obligation to conserve the spiritual values and truths that are neglected by secular institutions.

BYU is a place where effective missionaries can be trained to go out into the world to further spread the gospel of Jesus Christ. Facilitating wholesome social contacts that result in worthy courtships and temple marriages is another vital aim of continuing the Brigham Young University. Surveying the lists of leaders in the Church (bishops, stake presidents, teachers, etc.) is evidence that BYU is the training ground for Church leadership as well as preparation for vocational and community service. BYU also, through its strong fine arts program, is an example to the world of the art and culture to which the Church is committed.

Of equal importance to the University's educators were the scientific and intellectual reasons for developing Brigham Young University:

If the university was to be withdrawn from higher education it would mean that the Gospel could not stand the intellectual test. If the Gospel will not stand the test in the light of our own sympathetic research how can we expect it to stand in the light of the research of others? Therefore, BYU must be maintained so that it will be a center of scientific research and practical knowledge coupled with the spiritual and moral philosophy of Mormonism. All public schools and universities are dealing directly with modern science, and those who come from them to BYU need to be led through rational and spiritual means to the proper convergence of both. Brigham Young University needs men and women who have fought through the battles of science and religion so they may help the young

people through the same battles. And because of the strong ties with the Church it would keep the intellectuals “lined-up” with the Church. BYU’s function is to conserve the intellectual and spiritual life of the Church, to discover methods of promoting its work and to teach the truth and methods of living for which the Church stands.³

Even though it was fully accredited by 1928, the University had to remain conscious of its academic standards and requirements. In 1934 President Harris wrote William E. Day, “Since we, as an institution, are still in the class of those who have not attained their full majority, it becomes necessary for us to stay a little closer to the letter of the law than institutions who are better established have to do.”⁴ Harris’s dedication to raising the academic standards of the institution sometimes made it difficult to fully comply with the wishes of the Church commissioner of education, Dr. Joseph Merrill, who felt that one of the school’s primary functions was to train seminary instructors. He wanted BYU to liberalize its academic requirements and render service to the seminary teachers by allowing them to obtain a master’s degree in religious education through correspondence courses. He wrote Harris, “The BYU certainly must inaugurate more liberal policies if it is to function as I would like to see it function, in helping our seminary teachers. . . . May I say that the BYU has an accredited standing with the American Association, equal to that of the U. of U. Hence the University is at liberty to formulate its own policy.”⁵ Harris replied, “Of course we are very anxious to help out the seminary men in every way possible and are willing to do anything special for them that will be consistent with the proper educational standards and that will not jeopardize the degree which they receive. . . . However, we all feel that it would probably not be wise to make any general

3. “Reasons for BYU,” box 84, Harris Presidential Papers.

4. Harris to Day, 1 June 1934, box 44, folder D, Harris Presidential Papers.

5. Merrill to Harris, 21 March 1931, box 31, folder M, Harris Presidential Papers.

let-down in our Master's requirements."⁶

This cautiousness paid off because two years later Brigham Young University nearly jeopardized its standing with the Association of American Universities. BYU had admitted a transfer student from Utah State Agricultural College whose transcript contained credits listed by the Utah State catalog of courses as high school courses. When the student went on to the University of California, his credits were examined and the discrepancy found in them was immediately reported to the Association of American Universities in New York. However, the transcript contained a letter explaining that the credits were really college credits, and BYU recognized them. Adam Leroy Jones, president of the association, wrote Heber J. Grant, president of the BYU Board of Trustees, that other institutions had questioned the soundness of BYU's policy for "admitting students with advanced standing" from other schools.⁷ BYU was consequently removed from the Association's list of approved schools. Only after President Harris made a personal trip to New York City to explain the situation and after a complete reevaluation of BYU's academic standards was the school reinserted on the American Association of Universities' list of approved schools.⁸

Curriculum Revision

In 1938 President Harris appointed a committee consisting of Christen Jensen, Parley A. Christensen, and Wayne B. Hales to revise the course requirements and graduation requirements of the various departments and colleges to bring each more in line with the others. The general University requirement for a major in any department was thirty quarter hours of credit in specialized courses, but some departments

6. Harris to Merrill, 23 March 1931, box 31, folder M, Harris Presidential Papers.

7. Jones to Grant, 5 July 1933, box 45, folder J, Harris Presidential Papers.

8. See Franklin S. Harris to Taylor Thurber, 6 November 1936; Harris to E. B. Stouffer, 15 January 1934; and Adam Leroy Jones to Franklin S. Harris, 4 January 1934, Harris Presidential Papers.

required as many as fifty-six hours of coursework to satisfy departmental requirements.⁹ In addition, University requirements for departmental minors had not been established; departments were not required to list courses needed to complete a selected minor. Furthermore, only the dean of the College of Education had the power to define course requirements for teaching majors.

The Curriculum Committee made recommendations for change in September 1938, and “the heads of departments were asked to give this problem special consideration during the autumn quarter.”¹⁰ The reorganization remained under consideration during the 1938-39 school year, but the catalog for the 1939-40 school year contained standardized requirements for academic majors and minors.¹¹ Following the trend of other universities in Utah, the Curriculum Committee considered the advisability of switching from the quarter to the semester system, but administrators and faculty members decided to leave BYU on the quarter system.¹²

Helping Students through Hard Times

Students were especially hard hit by the Great Depression. In the Department of Education session of the LDS general conference held in October 1932, Franklin S. Harris gave a presentation on how Church schools could “meet the present situation in assisting young people of the Church to get an education under the difficult conditions that exist.” He reported that the problem could be solved with determination and faith. BYU was

9. For example, zoology required thirty-seven hours; modern languages, fifty hours; physics, forty-four to fifty-six hours; music, forty-three hours; and foods and nutrition, thirty hours plus twenty-three specified hours in other departments (“Reorganizational Materials,” 1938, box 84, Harris Presidential Papers).

10. BYU Faculty Meeting Minutes, 19 September 1938.

11. Departmental major requirements varied from thirty to forty-five quarter hours. Students were required to complete at least twenty hours of coursework to obtain a minor in subjects approved by the various major departments (*BYU Catalog*, 1939-40, p. 59).

12. BYU Faculty Meeting Minutes, 28 November 1938.

endeavoring to do everything that is possible to assist students to live economically, to secure employment, and to pay their fees in an advantageous manner. . . . More important than meeting the financial situation is the fact that the Church schools are able to give out the spirit of the Gospel, which is a spirit of hope based on a sound philosophy. . . . The contribution of the Church school system in this time of depression is made in two ways; first by adjusting to the financial difficulties and enabling the young people to attend college in spite of the shortage of ready money, and secondly it furnishes a stabilizing force which enables the students to maintain their equilibrium in the presence of muddled thinking which is so prevalent in these unusual times. Education under the auspices of the Church trains for leadership of the kind that can be depended on to meet any crisis that may arise.¹³

The commitment of President Harris and his faculty to the welfare of students contributed to increased enrollment during the Depression. In November 1932 Harris wrote LaVal S. Morris that he was “surprised to have about a fifteen percent increase in enrollment this year, particularly in view of the fact that many institutions are having a decided decrease.”¹⁴ During a tour throughout Utah, faculty member Wilford Poulson observed “the mounting interest shown in our institution by young people of urban districts. The city students are looking toward the Y in larger numbers than ever before.”¹⁵

Many factors contributed to the increase in enrollment. By 1933 most of the Church junior colleges had been closed or transferred to the state, turning a number of students toward Brigham Young University. BYU officials showed a personal interest in prospective college students throughout the state. In addition, Extension Division programs broadcast over radio station KSL increased area interest in Brigham Young University.

13. *Deseret News*, 22 October 1932.

14. Harris to Morris, 4 November 1932, box 40, folder M, Harris Presidential Papers.

15. “Authorities See Many Signs of Continued Rise,” *Y News*, 17 September 1931.

During the 1933-34 school year, collegiate enrollment of full-time students reached 2,000. Considering the fact that enrollment at the University of Utah and other universities declined substantially that same year, BYU was making remarkable progress.¹⁶ From statistical reports of 555 colleges, universities, technical schools, and teachers colleges published in *School and Society*, only eighty-seven of the institutions had greater enrollment than BYU.¹⁷ College enrollment at BYU increased over fifty percent during the 1930s, from 1,494 in the 1929-30 school year to 2,375 in the 1939-40 school year.

Student Employment

BYU could not have increased its enrollment without a solid program of student employment. Wilford Lee, a student at BYU during the 1930s and later a faculty member at the school, recalled that when he first registered at BYU in 1931

the school was struggling. . . . They were still accepting gallon jugs of black strap molasses from the Dixie [Southern Utah] students as part payment on the student's tuition. Since it was in the depths of the Great Depression, the most important struggle was for survival. When I was taken on the faculty in 1934, economic conditions had not improved.

I will always remember the Y as the poor man's school; and since I was one of the poorest of the poor, I will always remember those days as a real struggle for existence. Since I needed a job and no jobs were available outside the school, through the generosity and concern of Dr. Harris the Y became father and mother to me and my family; and I respect her in the true Ten Commandments fashion. The President, because I had to have work, started me out at 25¢ an hour. When I started teaching Freshman English and they raised my salary to 50¢ an hour, I took the check back to Brother Holt

16. Franklin S. Harris to Alice Louise Reynolds, 16 November 1932, box 41, folder R, Harris Presidential Papers.

17. BYU Executive Committee Minutes, 28 December 1933.

[treasurer] and asked him if there wasn't some mistake. He said, "No, since you are doing professional work, we are doubling your salary." He had a twinkle in his eye.¹⁸

Student employment was largely made possible by government grants. The first governmental aid for students came in the fall of 1934 from the Federal Emergency Relief Administration. President Harris enthusiastically accepted the assistance. He wrote E. G. Peterson, "I believe this FERA arrangement is about the best thing that has ever happened to help out the poor person in getting a college education."¹⁹ Between 200 and 400 students a year received an average of ten to fifteen dollars per month from the National Youth Administration of the FERA.

Students worked as janitors, construction assistants, typists, library assistants, trained readers, photographers, teachers aids, waitresses, reporters, cafeteria aides, referees for intramurals, and at other supervised tasks. Government money was allotted directly to the University and then, at the school's discretion, disbursed among the needy students. Harris doubled the number of students using the program by paying them half the normal allotment per person, yet the students were grateful to get even that. The program gradually subsided as economic conditions improved in the early 1940s.

President Harris felt that governmental aid enabled BYU to ride out the Depression without drastic reductions in enrollment, but President Heber J. Grant was not so confident of the value of governmental assistance. When Harris wrote him that he could not employ all BYU students that needed work unless he took advantage of federal programs, President Grant replied,

You certainly do have a great problem in furnishing work for more than five hundred students and perhaps it [taking advantage of federal programs] is the best thing

18. Wilford Lee to James R. Clark, 23 January 1974, BYU Centennial History Faculty Survey Papers, BYU Archives.

19. Harris to Peterson, 16 July 1934, box 51, folder P-Q, Harris Presidential Papers.

to do under the circumstances, but I wish we were in a position to furnish the necessary employment without any government aid, inasmuch as the Brigham Young University is strictly a Church school, where we teach the principles of the gospel. I doubt the wisdom of our building tennis courts or otherwise adding to our facilities with funds furnished by the Government.²⁰

Harris explained that the proposed student-aid projects were part of the Federal program of make-work projects. Students would be paid wages with federal funds for work on certain approved projects at the University. This was not a federal “gift” situation but a student-aid program. The money did not accrue to the University but to the students.

Even with Harris’s assurances that “the type of work and all is well safe-guarded, and I am sure if you would follow the whole thing through you would concur in what is being done,”²¹ President Grant still had his reservations. He wanted Harris to call on the First Presidency and give them “a full account of the whole transaction.” President Grant stated that he was “ashamed and humiliated to think that many of our people are drawing support from the government, when I am sure they could get along if they had one-half or one-quarter of the determination of the early Pioneers who settled Utah.”²² Nevertheless, the First Presidency took no definite action to curtail federal assistance to BYU students, and the program continued to be a valuable source of income to needy students during the Depression.

Increases in the Faculty

The faculty increased in size and scholarship during the Depression years to accommodate growth in enrollment at BYU. From 1930 to 1935 the faculty size increased by five,

20. Grant to Harris, 20 October 1934, box 49, folder G, Harris Presidential Papers.

21. Harris to Grant, 23 October 1934, box 49, folder G, Harris Presidential Papers.

22. Grant to Harris, 26 October 1934, box 49, folder G, Harris Presidential Papers.

while the percentage of faculty members holding doctor's degrees rose from 15.5 to 18.5 percent.²³ During the last half of the 1930s the faculty increased from 114 to 142 persons, while the percentage of faculty members with doctor's degrees remained relatively constant.²⁴

Maintaining Academic Freedom

One of Franklin S. Harris's major objectives as president of BYU was to maintain an atmosphere friendly to independent thought and action. He believed that this goal could not conflict with the school's role of promoting faith and testimony in LDS students, but he did not see the gospel of Jesus Christ as being incompatible with scientific truth. He strove for a harmonious blend of the two. In 1925 he wrote Joseph Peery,

I spent many years studying biological science and I am not at all afraid of it. As far as my own children are concerned I want them to study all of the modern theories concerning biology and to know what the world teaches in science while they are still at home so that I can help them to harmonize these things. There is no doubt that science can be thoroughly harmonized with Mormonism. . . . I believe, therefore, the way to handle anything of this sort with young people is to let them learn all there is to be said about it on both sides and then to help them to make the adjustment that will at the same time retain their faith.²⁵

Harris assured teachers that they would have complete academic freedom in the classroom. He wrote William J. Snow, "You will have the utmost freedom to carry on the work as you see fit. . . . There is no reason why you could not give any subject that you want to give for which there will be a

23. There were 109 faculty members in 1930-31 and 114 in 1935-36.

24. Nineteen percent of BYU employees during the 1940-41 school year held doctorates. The figure of 142 faculty members included staff members and teachers in the Training School as well as college teachers.

25. Harris to Peery, 12 December 1925, box 15, folder P, Harris Presidential Papers.

demand.”²⁶ He trusted his teachers in the classroom because he believed they were “a fine lot of God-fearing men, men who have a thorough belief in Mormonism and men whose characters are above reproach. I wish that the entire Church might be as safe as the Brigham Young University.”²⁷ Harris’s confidence in his faculty never diminished, and his breadth of academic training allowed him to tolerate attitudes and views of all scholars aiming to discover truth.

Academic Freedom and Church Orthodoxy

Some faculty members did not believe that academic freedom remained as unrestrained at BYU during the 1930s as it had in the 1920s. Lowry Nelson later wrote,

During the 1920s and the early 1930s, the academic atmosphere at BYU was remarkably free of restraints. About 1933, however, the Church authorities became somewhat uneasy about what was happening. Partly, this unease was the result of an extraordinary Summer Session, in which four faculty members from the University of Chicago gave courses primarily for teachers in the LDS Seminaries at the high school level. There were courses in Old Testament, New Testament, and History of the Christian Church and one in Social Ethics.²⁸

As teachers advocated scientific principles in their classrooms, some leaders feared that the school was headed for a crisis similar to the one precipitated by the modernism controversy of 1911 (*see* chapter 13). In 1930 the school received “considerable criticism from some patrons because of its alleged heterodoxy.”²⁹ Stephen L Richards, a member of the Council of the Twelve and the Church Board of Education, addressed the faculty in April 1930 on the problems of the

26. Harris to Snow, 3 March 1923, box 6, folder S, Harris Presidential Papers.

27. Franklin S. Harris to Joseph S. Peery, 8 December 1925, box 15, folder P, Harris Presidential Papers.

28. Nelson, “Eighty,” p. 93.

29. Lowry Nelson to Asael Hansen, 6 May 1930, Harris Presidential Papers.

institution, intimating that the General Authorities had received complaints about some things being taught at BYU.³⁰

Subsequent events in the 1930s occasioned greater scrutiny of Brigham Young University, including careful examination of the reputation and conduct of the University and its faculty, especially in the Religion Department. In March 1932 Commissioner Merrill represented the General Church Board of Education before the faculty. Suspending all regular business, he “spoke on the particular objectives of the Brigham Young University and the relationship of the Church to the institution. He laid special stress on the importance of the department of Religious Education.”³¹

Reiterating the role of Brigham Young University as the head of the Church Educational System, the General Church Board of Education and the General Authorities of the Church advocated that BYU should be an example of faithfulness to Church ideals. Especially since the Church was eliminating its junior colleges, greater emphasis was placed on BYU as an institution for the development of Church faithfulness.

Early in 1934 Commissioner John A. Widtsoe and Charles A. Callis, both of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, were sent “to visit the school and become acquainted with its needs and better acquainted with the individual members of the Faculty.”³² Dr. Widtsoe and Elder Callis interviewed all BYU faculty members, questioning them on their loyalty to the Church and its teachings. Aware of complaints against the faculty, President Harris took a major part in the interviews. He wrote Sylvester Q. Cannon, “I am right on the trail of those who are talking against our faculty because if the faculty is teaching things they shouldn’t I want to know about it.”³³

30. BYU Faculty Meeting Minutes, 28 April 1930. *See also* Joseph Merrill to Franklin S. Harris, 28 March 1930, box 26, folder M, Harris Presidential Papers.

31. BYU Faculty Meeting Minutes, 28 March 1932.

32. BYU Faculty Meeting Minutes, 19 February 1934.

33. Harris to Cannon, 11 August 1934, box 48, folder C, Harris Presidential Papers.

Through it all, Harris stood behind his faculty members. He held a special faculty conference before the interviews with elders Widtsoe and Callis, and he insisted on being present at every interview. Harris could not understand why people took their complaints to the General Authorities rather than to the administrators of BYU. He felt many of the complaints were unjustified; one man criticized President Harris himself for praising certain aspects of Russia. The man had been informed that since Harris was talking on Russia he must certainly be in favor of the Soviet system.³⁴ By 1936 this had developed into a rumor that “communism is being taught” at BYU.³⁵

The Case of Lowry Nelson

In the summer of 1934 Dr. G. Oscar Russell, a graduate of BYU and head of the phonetics laboratory at Ohio State University, wrote a letter to President Heber J. Grant about Lowry Nelson, dean of the College of Applied Science at BYU, who had been at the school for twelve years. In the course of a visit he made to BYU, Dr. Russell asked Dr. Nelson about his views on “immortality.” Nelson had replied that immortality was “something” he “did not know. It is something one can consider as an hypothesis, which cannot be tested by any method we know, whether it is true or not. Up to now, nobody has taken me up and shown me the pearly gates.” In a subsequent letter to Russell, Nelson said he “felt agnostic about the problem.”³⁶ Russell then wrote President Harris, Professor Guy C. Wilson, and members of the BYU Board of Trustees, giving details of the Nelson conversation and enclosing a copy of Nelson’s letter. President Grant read the letter in the weekly meeting of the Council of the Twelve Apostles the day after he received it. He could not understand a faculty member at BYU having doubts about such a basic

34. Ibid.

35. Tom Broadbent to Franklin S. Harris, 10 August 1936, box 62, folder B, Harris Presidential Papers.

36. Nelson, “Eighty,” p. 96.

doctrine of the Church. Unlike the question of evolution raised during the administration of President Brimhall, which President Joseph F. Smith philosophically laid to rest by stating the Church had no doctrine as to the *modus operandi* by which the earth was made, in this case it seemed that a BYU faculty member was doubting one of the basic postulates of the Church.

As he almost invariably did, President Harris came to the defense of his faculty member. He wrote to President Grant, defending Lowry Nelson and reinforcing his own commitment to the mission of BYU. President Harris urged that when the President of the Church received complaints he should forward them to the president of the University for proper handling:

My own method of proceeding in these cases is to make investigations promptly. I do not wait for "charges" to accumulate but take them up the very day they are received. Usually there has been just a misunderstanding which can be ironed out while the case is fresh. When the case is serious I try to get to the bottom of it at once. . . . Sometimes the solution leads to a quiet exit from the institution of a member of the faculty, because of lack of harmony with the purposes of the institution, or failure to live according to its teachings. Happily, the cases of this kind have been few.

President Harris asserted that Brigham Young University could handle most of the complaints. The school could relieve the General Authorities "of much anxiety if all complaints are forwarded to us when they are received. This gives us a chance to get at any possible evil while it is in the stage where it can be corrected with the least difficulty."³⁷

President Harris ended his letter in complete defense of Lowry Nelson, hoping to relieve some of the pressure of the situation. Later, he and Nelson had a conference with President Grant. Nelson sent a letter to President Grant in which he

37. Harris to Grant, 28 November 1934, box 49, folder G, Harris Presidential Papers.

reaffirmed his faith in the gospel. Although David O. McKay assured him there would “be no investigation” of the situation, Nelson did not feel he could remain at BYU.³⁸ He therefore accepted an appointment to serve with the “New Deal” as an adviser for four western states.

Soon after Lowry Nelson left BYU, other members of the faculty resigned from their positions to accept other employment. Geologist Murray Hayes obtained a position with the federal government in Washington, D.C. Botanist Walter Cottam went to the University of Utah. Hugh Woodward, who taught philosophy, found employment with the WPA educational program. Coach Ott Romney became athletic director at West Virginia University, and Grant Ivins, who taught animal husbandry at BYU, became price administrator for Utah during World War II. These teachers all had the reputation of belonging to the “liberal” group at BYU.

Reaffirming Allegiance to the Church

The late 1930s was a time of sensitive relations between Salt Lake City and Provo. Many Brigham Young University faculty members were beginning to feel themselves qualified scholastically and spiritually to reconcile the worlds of science and religion. Newspaper articles frequently reported discussions by BYU faculty members like Wayne B. Hales, Sidney Sperry, and Carl Eyring on subjects like “Science and Mormonism,” “True Evolution,” “Modern Science and How It Affects Religious Thought,” and “Challenge to Scientists in the Church.”³⁹ In 1935 Carl Eyring published a pamphlet entitled “Science at Brigham Young University.” Speaking of the pamphlet, John A. Widtsoe wrote President Harris, “Dr. Eyring put on hip boots as he waded into the philosophical stream, but I believe came out dry. Special congratulations to him.”⁴⁰

38. Nelson, “Eighty,” p. 101.

39. See the “Church News” section of the *Deseret News* during the 1930s, especially 1932. See also the *Deseret News*, 21 May 1936 and 16 January 1937.

40. Widtsoe to Harris, 7 September 1935, box 57, folder W, Harris Presidential Papers.

Harris worked carefully with the Church Board of Education and his faculty to maintain "order in the official family without stifling freedom of expression."⁴¹ Certain members of the faculty with a liberal frame of mind thought that complete freedom of expression was essential for the University. As Russel Swensen, who obtained his training at the Divinity School of the University of Chicago, put it, "Without Harris's breadth of vision and erudite versatility and emphasis upon academic freedom, there would have been no tone of a real university at BYU."⁴² Parley A. Christensen, a great teacher of English literature, felt that Harris's most important contribution to the University was "the maintenance here of an atmosphere friendly to independent thought and action. A university which does not encourage the freely inquiring mind is not, of course, a university. Under circumstances not always congenial to untrammelled thought and expression," Harris "helped us all to preserve the essential integrity of our minds and spirits."⁴³

Most faculty members fervently supported the President of the Church, but some feared that the religious tone of the University would become so strong that the scholastic commitments of the faculty would be impaired. In some cases, there was anxiety that Brigham Young University might eventually become just a seminary rather than a legitimate university, but most faculty members had no trouble carrying on their academic work in the religious atmosphere of BYU.

President Heber J. Grant continued to carefully monitor activities at the school. In 1936 he protested to President Harris against an apparent communist sympathizer who spoke at BYU on "Russian Progress." President Grant was particularly outraged by the speaker's praise of collectivism as opposed to individual ownership of property. Recognizing the great difference between the Mormon concept of the united order and the communist concept of collectivism, the

41. Joseph K. Nicholes in *Friends and Associates* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1945), p. 98.

42. Russel B. Swensen in *Friends and Associates*, p. 40.

43. Parley A. Christensen in *Friends and Associates*, p. 53.

Church President referred to the Doctrine and Covenants (134:2-3), commenting that, "When the Lord establishes the united order it will be all right, and not when communists do it, or try to do it."⁴⁴

At the beginning of the 1936-37 school year, President Harris reemphasized the role of BYU as a religious institution. At the first faculty meeting of the year, he told faculty members that "The best measure of an educated man is the ability to discriminate between the chaff and the kernel, the evil and the good." Emphasizing the need for spiritual development as teachers sought to discern the good from the evil, he said, "We have a special obligation to the Church. Let us have it known wherever we are that we are in the Church, of the Church, and for the Church."⁴⁵

In the summer of 1937 Harris received another letter from President Grant with a complaint about a faculty member. The letter said, "We have reached a point where we must be perfectly clear that all those who are engaged in teaching in the University shall be sound on the fundamental questions which deal with Church membership." He instructed Harris to "conduct a very strict examination of all the teachers to see just where they stand" on matters of Church doctrine. He wanted to "designate some one or more from the Council of the Twelve to take part in this examination so that we can put a stop once and for all, both to the reports that appear and reappear, and to any improper teaching which may be taking place."⁴⁶ Faculty members protested to President Grant that they had not been teaching false doctrine. Franklin S. Harris

44. Grant to Harris, 7 May 1936, box 55, folder G, Harris Presidential Papers. Verse two of section 134 ("A Declaration of Belief Regarding Governments and Laws in General") of the Doctrine and Covenants states: "We believe that no government can exist in peace, except such laws are framed and held inviolate as will secure to each individual the free exercise of conscience, the right and control of property, and the protection of life."

45. Statement made in the first BYU faculty meeting of 1936, box 58, Harris Presidential Papers.

46. Grant to Harris, 11 June 1937, box 68, folder G, Harris Presidential Papers.

reassured President Grant that he was “so very anxious to make of the University the kind of institution that its Founder and the Authorities of the Church have always had in mind for it that I am very sensitive to criticism where I think it is unwarranted. On the other hand, I am always looking for suggestions that would help to make the University a more useful instrument in the service of the Church.”⁴⁷ Even with Harris’s concern, definite standards for faculty members were not delineated until the 1940s, and the limits of academic freedom were never completely resolved to the satisfaction of all parties.

College of Applied Science

The first five colleges at BYU, all of which were organized by Harris, experienced considerable growth during his administration. The College of Applied Science, organized in 1922, was designed to provide instruction to students in scientific principles and technical operations relating to the farm, the home, and the shop. The instruction was to prepare students to apply scientific techniques in their chosen trades. In line with this purpose, the major departments in the College of Applied Science were Home Economics, Agronomy, Animal Husbandry, Mechanic Arts, Bacteriology, Horticulture, and Landscape Architecture.

In the early twenties, Harris recruited Melvin Merrill as dean of the College of Applied Science, but he only remained until 1924. He taught horticulture and also attempted to create a Department of Agricultural Engineering, but the department collapsed when he left. LaVal Morris took over the teaching of horticulture. Not knowing exactly where to place emphasis in the College of Applied Science, President Harris had Christen Jensen, who filled many administrative positions during his tenure at BYU, assume the responsibilities of dean. Jensen, who was probably given the position

47. Harris to Grant, 6 August 1937, box 68, folder G, Harris Presidential Papers.



Dean Thomas L. Martin with students in
his bacteriology laboratory at BYU.

because he held a doctor's degree, was trained in political science and history. He acted as dean of the College of Applied Science until 1929 when Lowry Nelson, who had a doctorate in rural sociology from the University of Wisconsin, was appointed dean of the college. Nelson instituted a Department of Rural Social Economics, but budget problems and his own duties forced him to abandon his work on the new department.

When Lowry Nelson resigned in 1934, Thomas Martin of the Agronomy Department took his place as dean of the College of Applied Science. Renowned as a soils agronomist, Martin added bacteriology and landscape architecture to the college's curriculum in 1936. In the 1920s Professor Martin completely ran the Agronomy Department. Due to the close ties of Utah State Agricultural College with the LDS Church, most people in the state felt that BYU would be out of line to place special emphasis on agricultural subjects, so Dr. Martin almost single-handedly managed the agricultural work at BYU for many years. As enrollment increased, George Stewart joined the faculty of the Agronomy Department in 1932.

The Animal Husbandry Department functioned throughout the Harris period. Clawson Y. Cannon, head of the department, was made the supervisor for building the Alpine Summer School, which caused a reduction in animal husbandry work. In 1928 when he received his doctor's degree, Cannon was made dean of the Summer School, which also curtailed his animal husbandry work. However, between 1927 and 1929 he initiated graduate work in animal husbandry. At the end of the 1928-29 school year, Cannon left BYU for a prominent position at Iowa State Agricultural College at Ames, Iowa. After Cannon left, Grant Ivins and C. Lyn Harward carried on the work in the Animal Husbandry Department.

Several departments taught domestic skills at BYU during the 1920s. Vilate Elliott headed the Clothing and Textiles Department until her marriage in the early 1940s. Elizabeth Cannon headed the Foods and Nutrition Department until

she married Kiefer Sauls, secretary to President Harris. Effie Warnick ran the Household Administration Department until 1950 when the three departments that were teaching domestic science merged to form the Department of Home Economics. May Billings and Irene Barlow became permanent members of the department in the 1930s and 1940s. Since most women retired from their teaching positions when they married, faculty members in the Department of Home Economics often left the school after a few years. By 1945, sixty-nine courses were offered in home economics, seventeen of them graduate classes.

Brigham Young desired the school he founded to be a place where useful manual skills could be learned. During the Harris period the school offered courses in auto mechanics (which became the Mechanic Arts Department), drafting (until 1931), iron work (discontinued after two years), and woodwork (from 1922 to 1926). When the Mechanic Arts Building was remodeled in 1935, woodworking, drafting, surveying, and auto mechanics shared the main floor of the structure with the bacteriology laboratory, classrooms, and offices. William H. Snell, an expert in drafting and woodwork who had joined the faculty in 1917, headed the Mechanic Arts Department during the Harris period. Morris R. Snell, son of William H. Snell, joined the faculty in 1936. Besides serving the school as carpenter, P. P. Bigelow taught auto mechanics until his retirement in 1943, when classes in auto mechanics, machine shop, and welding were temporarily discontinued.

The Mechanic Arts Department served BYU in a practical sense during the Depression. Industrial Arts students built and remodeled equipment and furniture for the various campus departments and offices. The following were typical of the construction jobs that William H. Snell and his students supervised:

Designing and building the west steps and walks on the upper campus from the foot of the hill at Eighth North and Second East Street to the Maeser Building (1924).

Designing and building the south steps and walks to the

upper campus from Eighth North and Third East Street (1925).

Designing and building foot bridge, retaining wall, and path from the canal to the top of the south steps (1926).

Snell and his students also helped construct the Stadium House and supervised and did most of the major remodeling of the president's residence and the Iona House.⁴⁸ By 1941 the Mechanic Arts Department offered twenty-two courses in drafting, twenty-one in woodwork, three in surveying, and six in auto mechanics.

Because of the rural background of most BYU students during the Harris period, the College of Applied Science was an important part of the school's academic structure. It generally enrolled around fifteen percent of BYU college students.⁴⁹ The college awarded an average of over twenty degrees per year during the 1920s and 1930s. Between 1921 and 1945 the College of Applied Science awarded fifteen master's degrees in agronomy, bacteriology, and horticulture.

College of Commerce

The College of Commerce and Business Administration, which became the College of Commerce, was housed in the Maeser Memorial Building. Dean Harrison Val Hoyt directed the college successfully until 1932 when he left to pursue his business interests. Herald R. Clark replaced him and remained as dean of the college until 1951. This college had a small faculty. Val Hoyt and Herald R. Clark were the only two full-time professors in 1922, assisted by three office practice instructors. A. Rex Johnson, Elmer Miller, and Clarence S. Boyle joined the faculty during the 1920s.⁵⁰

48. William H. Snell, "Industrial Arts History," 1960, UA 294, BYU Archives, p. 13.

49. Clarence Marsh, ed., *American College and University* (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1936), pp. 235-36. *See also* the 1940 edition of the same work, pp. 245-46.

50. For a more detailed discussion of the College of Commerce during the Harris period, *see* Edward L. Christensen, "History of the College of Business Education," BYU Archives, pp. 89-122.

About twenty percent of BYU college students enrolled in the College of Commerce during the Harris years. Some years in the 1930s saw over fifty students graduate from this college. Val Hoyt returned to the college in 1937, and A. Smith Pond and Weldon J. Taylor joined the faculty to help meet the demands of increased enrollment.

College of Education

Brigham Young University considered its College of Education to be one of the strongest units within the University. It was accredited by the Utah State Board of Education in 1921, insuring that BYU graduates would not have to pass special examinations to qualify as teachers in Utah.⁵¹ The college was made up of two constituent divisions — the academic departments and the training schools. A student could major in education or could choose a teaching major from any department in the University. When President Harris restructured the academic organization of BYU into five colleges in place of the traditional Church Teachers College, he was attempting to change the image of the school. Teacher training had long been the only academic strength of the school, and he desired to emphasize other aspects of the University.

When Amos N. Merrill left for Chicago on sabbatical leave in 1920, John C. Swensen, a BYU faculty member since 1898, became acting dean of the School of Education. When Franklin S. Harris became president of BYU in 1921, he recruited L. John Nuttall, Jr., a graduate with a master's degree from Columbia University, from the Nebo School District to head the Training School Division of the College of Education. Nuttall was appointed dean of the college in 1924. While Nuttall acted as president of the University during Harris's world tour in the 1926-27 school year, John C. Swensen again acted as dean. Nuttall resumed the deanship in 1927, but he took a leave of absence during the 1928-29 school year to work on his doctor's degree at Columbia University. He never returned to BYU but became superintendent of schools for Salt

51. *BYU Catalog*, 1921-22, p. 74.

Lake City. When L. John Nuttall, Jr., left the University, Harris asked long-time faculty member Amos N. Merrill, who received a doctor's degree from Stanford University in 1926, to become acting dean of the College of Education. He remained in that position until 1939 when he was officially made dean of the college.

During the Harris period, the College of Education struggled to reconcile the progressive educational ideas of the day with traditional pedagogical methods. Dean Merrill "found the College of Education very typically in a state of change with its many shiftings, changes and emphases."⁵² The college was stabilized when Merrill was appointed permanent dean in 1939, but since he was sixty-four years old when he became dean, he served only six years until he was made dean emeritus of the College of Education.

Though there were frequent changes in the deanship of the College of Education, the faculty of the college remained quite stable during the Harris years. In 1925-26 the college had eighteen professors and instructors (seven in the Training School). Not including those who taught in the Training School, the 1925-26 faculty of the College of Education was composed of Amos N. Merrill (secondary education), Hugh M. Woodward (psychology), L. John Nuttall, Jr. (educational administration), M. Wilford Poulson (psychology), Mary A. Ollorton (elementary education), Ida Smoot Dusenberry (psychology), Hermese Peterson (elementary education), William Boyle (elementary education), Emma Brown (elementary education), Joseph Sudweeks (educational administration), and A. C. Lambert (educational administration). By the 1935-36 school year there had been only two changes in the college faculty; L. John Nuttall, Jr., left the school, and Mary J. Ollorton resigned. Edgar M. Jenson was hired by 1927 to teach educational administration, and Golden L. Woolf began teaching secondary education in 1934.

In 1944-45 the College of Education faculty was very simi-

52. Enid Anderson, "History of the College of Education," BYU Archives, p. 97.

lar to what it had been during the entire Harris period — Merrill, Poulson, Woolf, Lambert, Peterson, Boyle, Booth, Jenson, and Sudweeks. In addition, Wesley Lloyd, a faculty member since 1937 who served as dean of men, was made professor of philosophy of education. Georgia Maeser, Gladys Kotter, and May Hammond, all former Training School supervisors, had been given rank as part of the University faculty for elementary education by 1944-45. Billie Hollingshead, who taught in the College of Education from 1936 to 1942, transferred to the Department of Home Economics. Some of the more prominent high school instructors like A. John Clark and Anna Boss Hart were also added to the faculty of the College of Education.

Some departments within the college were restructured during the 1930s. The Elementary Teaching and Secondary Teaching departments became the departments of Elementary Education and Secondary Education. The twenty-four years of the Harris Administration saw Physical Education develop into a major department in the University. It was first recognized as a department of instruction in 1922. Eugene L. Roberts, who joined the faculty in 1910, was the only professor of physical education in 1921. Charles J. Hart joined the faculty in 1925; Fred "Buck" Dixon in 1928; G. Ott Romney in 1928; "Eddie" Kimball in 1935; Floyd Millet in 1937; and Wayne Soffe in 1938.

As the Physical Education Department grew larger, it seemed out of place in the College of Arts and Sciences; consequently, it was transferred to the College of Education in 1932. By 1937 the growth of the department was so significant that Leona Holbrook was appointed director of women's physical education. From the nine physical education courses offered in 1921, the curriculum grew to fifty-three courses in 1945, with twelve additional courses in health and recreation. The first bachelor's degree for work in physical education was awarded in 1942. Before that time, students who studied physical education had to earn degrees in education. That same year, the Physical Education Department became the Department of Health, Physical Education, and Recreation under Charles J. Hart.



BYU physical education students
dancing on the bank of Provo River.

The College of Education introduced the concept of composite majors in the 1943-44 school year. As the school catalog explained, "Experience has shown that teachers on the secondary level are more qualified to serve the needs of the average high school when they are trained in several related subjects, rather than when they are trained in a single subject."⁵³ In 1944 the college specified for the first time that elementary school teaching certificates were valid only for teaching in elementary schools, and secondary school teaching certificates were valid only for teaching in secondary schools.⁵⁴

The College of Education enrolled approximately twenty percent of the BYU college students during the 1930s and early 1940s.⁵⁵ In 1924 the college awarded 43 normal certificates and only 16 bachelor's degrees. In contrast, the college awarded 125 bachelor's degrees and 55 normal certificates in 1941.⁵⁶ Normal certificates were no longer offered after the 1941-42 school year.⁵⁷

College of Arts and Sciences

The College of Arts and Sciences handled all subjects not directly related to business, education, applied science, or fine arts. As stated in the school's catalog, this college worked "to meet the needs of students who desire a broad and liberal education that will enable them to find and take their places in the complex civilization of today."⁵⁸ Because of its broad

53. *BYU Catalog*, 1943-44, p. 48.

54. *BYU Catalog*, 1944-45, pp. 52-53.

55. Marsh, *American College and University*, 1936, pp. 235-36; and 1940, pp. 245-46.

56. After 1932, students were required to study three years to earn the normal certificate, as opposed to the previous requirement of two years.

57. For more details about the College of Education, see Enid Anderson, "History of the College of Education," BYU Archives. See also Anna Boss Hart, "A Report for Dr. Antone K. Romney Concerning Assembling, Organization of Materials, and Beginning Analyses of the Elementary Training School, Brigham Young High School, and the College of Education in the Setting of Brigham Young University," 18 August 1969, BYU Archives.

58. See BYU catalogs during the Harris years.

scope, the College of Arts and Sciences included more departments than any other college in the University.

The College of Arts and Sciences was always directed by scientists. After Dean Martin P. Henderson died in 1923, Carl F. Eyring served as dean until his death in 1951. From 1929 to 1931, while Eyring was on leave at the Bell Telephone Laboratories, and when he was away from campus in 1934-35 and from 1937 to 1939, George Hansen, a specialist in oil and gas development in Utah, served as acting dean. Knowing that he would return to BYU, Harris always kept the deanship open for Dr. Eyring.⁵⁹

While the faculty of the College of Arts and Sciences slowly grew during the 1920s and the 1930s, the structure of the college remained stable. In 1925 the Biology Department was divided into the Botany Department under Walter Cottam and the Zoology and Entomology Department under Vasco Tanner. Chemistry, the most popular of the physical sciences at BYU, held a strong position in the College of Arts and Sciences under Charles Maw, who was department chairman from 1921 to 1945.⁶⁰ The other prominent men in the department were Hugh W. Peterson, Lorin C. Bryner, Delbert A. Greenwood, and Joseph K. Nicholes. The Chemistry Department awarded between four and twenty degrees during each of the Harris years.

For years the Chemistry Department was housed in the basement of the Education Building on lower campus. Harris always wanted a modern well-equipped science building, but it was not until 1943 when budget allocations increased that he was able to begin an active campaign for a science building. The science facility was not constructed until the end of the McDonald Administration.

During the Harris period geology and geography were included in the same department. Fred Buss maintained the department until 1925 and then turned it over to Murray O. Hayes. George Hansen joined the geology faculty in 1927 and

59. See Wayne B. Hales, "History of the Department of Physics and Mathematics," BYU Archives, pp. 7-9, for more on Eyring.

60. Maw received his doctor's degree from Stanford University in 1924.



Wayne B. Hales (standing) supervising
an experiment in the BYU physics
laboratory in the 1930s.

ran the department until the 1940s when W. Elmo Coffman and Kenneth C. Bullock were hired to supplement his work. The geology division slowly built up its rock collections during the Harris period.

Dean Eyring took charge of the physics and mathematics work with the assistance of Dr. Milton Marshall, who did considerable research in electricity and magnetism.⁶¹ Wayne B. Hales, trained in physics, astronomy, and meteorology, joined the faculty in 1930.⁶² Other faculty members of lower rank hired during the Harris period in the Physics and Mathematics Department were A. Ray Olpin, J. Stewart Williams, and Carl J. Christensen, all of whom left BYU to obtain doctor's degrees and never returned. Later, Hugh W. Peterson and O. Norman Geertson joined the physics and mathematics faculty.

The social science departments of History, Sociology, and Political Science were also a strong part of the College of Arts and Sciences. John C. Swensen chaired both the Sociology Department and the Economics Department in the College of Commerce until his official retirement in 1942 after forty-four years of service. Though he officially retired in 1942, Swensen taught some classes after that time. Elmer Miller, a Stanford graduate, assisted Swensen in sociology and economics. In 1935 Miller took over as head of the Economics Department. Ariel Ballif was hired in 1938 to teach in the Sociology Department. Harold Christensen became head of the Sociology Department when Swensen retired.

Political science was Christen Jensen's forte. His doctoral dissertation, "The Pardoning Power of the American States," completed in 1921, was the first among the BYU social science faculty to be published.⁶³ The curriculum of the Political Science Department included studies in United States, state,

61. Marshall received his doctorate from the University of Chicago in 1924.

62. Hales received his doctor's degree from California Institute of Technology in 1926.

63. Jensen's dissertation was published by the University of Chicago Press.

and local governments, citizenship, commercial law, comparative European governments, international law, international relations, and the United States Constitution. J.W. Robinson and George Ballif, both practicing lawyers in Provo, assisted Dr. Jensen in the political science coursework.

The History Department was closely allied with the Political Science Department at BYU. Christen Jensen headed the History Department and taught classes in American history. The class offerings in history slowly increased in the 1920s. The department was strengthened in 1923 when William Snow received his doctor's degree from the University of California. Thomas C. Romney joined the faculty that same year. The faculty increased during the 1930s to include Russel B. Swensen, O. Meredith Wilson, and Arthur Gaeth.⁶⁴ By the end of the Harris period the history curriculum had increased from sixteen courses offered in 1922 to fifty-two in 1945. Due probably to the small demand for history teachers, the History Department never awarded more than nine bachelor's degrees in any given year during the entire Harris Administration.

In the 1920s the English Department consisted of Alice Louise Reynolds, Alfred Osmond, J. Marinus Jensen, Harrison R. Merrill, Ed Rowe, Elsie C. Carroll, and Reinhard Maeser (who died in 1926). None of these teachers held a doctor's degree. In 1927 Harris hired Parley A. Christensen with a doctorate from Stanford as a promising scholarly addition to the English faculty.⁶⁵ Karl E. Young, fresh from Oxford University in 1930, was made director of freshman English. Gladys Black, Ralph A. Britsch, Orea B. Tanner, and Leonard W. Rice were recruited to strengthen the English Department forces.⁶⁶ The department graduated at least ten students a year during the Harris period.

64. Wilson later became president of the University of Oregon and then the University of Minnesota.

65. For more on Christensen's contributions to the English Department, *see* Karl Young, "History of the English Department," BYU Archives.

66. Rice later became president of Oregon College of Education in Monmouth.

The Department of Modern Languages and Latin was greatly strengthened when Gerrit de Jong joined the faculty, for he was able to carry the German and Spanish load while department head B. F. Cummings taught French and Latin. In 1925 the name of the department was changed to Modern and Classical Languages. Many other instructors were hired during the 1930s and 1940s to assist with language teaching, including Bethar Roberts, Thomas L. Broadbent, Irene Osmond, Harold W. Lee, and Lee B. Valentine. Russel Swensen and Sidney Sperry of the Religious Education Department added their knowledge of Greek and Hebrew to the courses in classical languages. Italian, Aramaic, Syriac, Russian, and Akkadian were added to the language curriculum in the 1930s and 1940s.

The 1934-35 school year saw a change in the organization of the College of Arts and Sciences. It was divided into five divisions in order to provide better counseling for students. These were

Biological Science Division: botany, psychology, zoology

Physical Science Division: chemistry, geology and geography, physics, and mathematics

Social Science Division: history, political science, sociology, and economics

Language Division: English, French, German, and Spanish

General Course Division: for students who had no special interests but needed orientation.⁶⁷

The College of Arts and Sciences was large in terms of faculty members and student enrollment. Students who could not decide on professions, premedical students, prelaw students, students interested in politics, and many who desired to become teachers enrolled in the college. In 1934-35, a total of

67. *BYU Catalog*, 1934-35, p. 65.



BYU Symphony Orchestra assembled in the Provo Tabernacle during the 1930s.

650 of 2,176 BYU daytime college students — thirty percent of them — were enrolled in the College of Arts and Sciences. Considering enrollment figures, Dean Eyring had his hands full at registration time, for he was required to personally sign the registration form of every student in his college.

College of Fine Arts

Brigham Young University was proud to patronize the fine arts. The 1925-26 catalog revealed that “A constantly growing desire to offer greater opportunity to those whose inclinations and talents lead them into this field resulted in the organization of the College of Fine Arts.”⁶⁸ The college included the departments of Art, Music, and Speech. Gerrit de Jong was dean of the College of Fine Arts from its organization in 1925 until 1960. Though he was dean of the college, de Jong did very little teaching in fine arts; his forte was languages, and he taught many language courses in the College of Arts and Sciences. In contrast with other deans who taught classes in their own colleges, Dr. de Jong restricted his activities in the College of Fine Arts to administrative matters.

The Music Department consisted of a vocal and an instrumental division. In the 1920s Robert Sauer, Frank Madsen, Florence Jeppson Madsen, William Hansen, and Margaret Summerhays conducted the music courses along with various specialists. LeRoy Robertson, Richard P. Condie, and others later joined the Music Department faculty.

The Art Department featured Bent F. Larsen, who received his master’s degree from the University of Utah in 1922, and Elbert Eastmond, a faculty member since 1904. Verla L. Birrell, Lynn Taylor, and J. Roman Andrus joined the art faculty during the Harris period. With help from the administration, the Art Department acquired over 700 pieces of art during President Harris’s tenure at BYU.

The Department of Public Speaking and Dramatic Arts was headed for years by T. Earl Pardoe, who joined the BYU faculty without a degree during the later Brimhall years but

68. *BYU Catalog*, 1925-26.

who had earned a doctorate by 1936. With the help of May Billings, Morris Clinger, and his wife, Kathryn Pardoe, T. Earl built up the dramatic arts program. The University became known for the excellently produced plays it presented every year. Alonzo Morley successfully headed the speech work after 1928.

Changes in Religious Education

The Theology Department was not a part of any college at BYU during the 1920s. The only faculty member considered a professor of theology was President-Emeritus Brimhall. The rest of the theology classes were taught by regular faculty members from other departments. In the 1929-30 school catalog the term *theology* was changed to *religious education*.

As BYU entered the 1930s, changes came to the Department of Religious Education. Because Professor Brimhall's health was failing (he was seventy-eight years old), the General Authorities were of "the sentiment . . . that Brother [Guy C.] Wilson should head your Department of Religious Education, the understanding being that Brother Brimhall is virtually on retirement."⁶⁹ Guy C. Wilson began his work at the University in 1930. He had received a bachelor of pedagogy degree from BYU in 1900, after which he studied at the University of Chicago in 1902 and Columbia University in 1912 and 1913. Wilson had much training in the Church seminary program. He taught at BYA and Juarez Academy and was recognized as the man who established the Church's first seminary at Granite High School in Salt Lake City in 1913. He was president of Latter-day Saints University from 1915 to 1926 and supervisor of religious education for the Church Department of Education from 1926 to 1930.

By 1930 many General Authorities and members of the Church Board of Education were of the opinion that the BYU "Department of Religious Education must have its staff of teachers, specialists in the field, who are devoting their whole

69. Joseph Merrill to Franklin S. Harris, 28 March 1930, box 26, folder M, Harris Presidential Papers.

time to this work. This of course would not exclude teaching help from other departments. But sooner or later the teaching of this department would be done mainly by specialists in the department.”⁷⁰ In 1932 Dr. Sidney B. Sperry, educated as an Old Testament and ancient languages scholar at the University of Chicago, joined the Brigham Young University faculty. The next year Russel Swensen, trained at the University of Chicago in the New Testament, came to BYU.

BYU offered its first graduate courses in religious education during the 1930-31 school year. Commissioner Joseph Merrill was anxious for Brigham Young University to be the center of graduate studies for all LDS seminary teachers. Therefore, excepting a course in anthropology, the graduate courses centered around seminary teacher training.⁷¹ In the past, seminary teachers had studied religious education during BYU summer school sessions. In 1922 the Education Department brought Dr. Charles Edward Rugh from the University of California to teach “Religious Education” and “How to Teach the Bible.”⁷²

In 1927 Elder John A. Widtsoe offered a course in “Current Problems” which focused on issues raised by higher criticism and the relationship between science and religion. Superintendent Adam S. Bennion also offered a course on “Social and Ethical Interpretation in Gospel Teaching” which pointed out the functional value of religion.⁷³ In 1929, three years before he came to BYU after obtaining his doctorate from Chicago, Sidney B. Sperry taught summer school classes in Old Testament and literature. Joseph F. Merrill, appointed LDS commissioner of education that year, was so impressed with the success of Sperry’s courses that he requested permission from the General Church Board of Education to hold future sum-

70. Ibid.

71. See *BYU Catalog*, 1930-31. Professor George Hansen taught three upper division classes and one graduate course in anthropology in the Department of Religious Education. All of the courses were classified as graduate classes in 1932-33, and they continued in the Department of Religious Education curriculum until 1936-37.

72. *BYU Summer School Announcement*, 1 February 1922, pp. 20-23.

73. *Deseret News*, 16 July 1927.

mer sessions dealing with religious education. This resulted in four successive summers with instruction from the following non-Mormon scholars from the University of Chicago Divinity School: Edgar Goodspeed, Jr., professor of biblical literature and noted American New Testament author and translator; William C. Graham, Old Testament scholar; John T. McNeil, professor of church (Christian) history; and William Clayton Bower, professor of religious and character education.

After 1934 the Department of Religious Education did not bring visiting professors to summer school until 1938. In 1934 Merrill was released as commissioner and the Depression severely limited funds that could be used to pay visiting professors. Besides, with Sidney Sperry and Russel Swensen on the faculty, BYU was developing its own corps of Bible scholars. In addition, some people criticized BYU for bringing non-Mormons to teach religion at an LDS school. Many Church members preferred to have their children taught religion by professors of their own faith.

The Passing of George H. Brimhall

George H. Brimhall, who was directly associated with much of the spiritual tradition at BYU, died on 29 July 1932, just a few months before his eightieth birthday. The BYU faculty meeting minutes for 29 August 1932 recorded that Brimhall

was a highly gifted teacher, possessing unusual ability to inspire. In his chosen field, the training of teachers, he was preeminent. The creditable reputation Brigham Young University enjoys as an institution for the training of successful teachers was gained in later years largely through his efforts. For four decades he has been known as one of the foremost educators of the Church and the State.

While we shall greatly miss his spiritual uplift and feel keenly his passing, yet we are grateful to our Heavenly Father for our association with one so richly endowed, so loyal to the ideals of the Institution — ideals which he has played so vital a part in creating. In all of his ministrations

among us he has given evidence of possessing the qualities of true greatness.⁷⁴

Brimhall's funeral was held in the Salt Lake Tabernacle, for many wished to honor him at his passing. Owen Smoot, William H. Boyle, Franklin S. Harris, Thomas N. Taylor, and George Albert Smith paid tribute to him at the memorial services.

Unifying the Religious Curriculum

Besides the passing of George H. Brimhall, another change occurred in the Department of Religious Education in 1932. Since those who graduated from the department generally pursued teaching careers and since the department's graduate work was geared to upgrading seminary teachers, the department was made a part of the College of Education. This was the first and only time the theological work at BYU did not exist autonomously. Also at the beginning of the 1932-33 school year, the faculty decided that returned missionaries must register for religious education like other students, though they were not held strictly to the class requirements. Prior to this time, returned missionaries were not required to take theological classes if they chose not to because it was felt that their missions had sufficiently introduced them to Mormon beliefs.

Featuring new teachers and the additional emphasis on seminary teacher preparation, the Department of Religious Education rapidly expanded its curriculum during the early 1930s. The 1932-33 catalog listed seven lower division classes, thirteen upper division classes, and seventeen graduate courses. In 1935-36 nine lower division, sixteen upper division, and eleven graduate courses were offered. Through this entire time, there were no courses on scriptures peculiar to the LDS Church: the Book of Mormon, the Doctrine and Covenants, and the Pearl of Great Price. In fact, in 1932-33 the only classes based exclusively on Mormon doctrine were

74. BYU Faculty Meeting Minutes, 29 August 1932.

“The Mormon Community” and “Doctrine and Missionary Methods.” In contrast, thirteen classes related to religious and philosophical aspects of religion and eleven to the Bible, Jesus, and Christian history. Various other courses treated leadership in Church auxiliaries, anthropology, and seminary administration. In 1935-36 only the “Doctrine and Missionary Method” class dealt exclusively with Mormon religious beliefs.

With each professor teaching his favorite course in religion, there was no attempt to present a unified curriculum. In 1936 the department began a coordinated effort to revise the course structure. The revision was also prompted by a “criticism of this department by Commissioner Franklin L. West that there was little unity and that too many courses were in the curriculum which clearly belonged in other departments than that of religious education.”⁷⁵

A curriculum committee, composed of Guy C. Wilson, Carl F. Eyring, Amos N. Merrill, Thomas L. Martin, Grant Ivins, Sidney B. Sperry, William H. Boyle, and Russel Swensen, discussed the problem, pointing out that BYU offered no courses dealing with the standard works of the LDS Church. There was no logical sequence from class to class, the choice of courses being left completely to the individual student. Even though he recognized the need for curriculum revision, Dean Eyring argued that the school should not adopt a system of religious education that would force students through a lock-step sequence of required courses.

At a second meeting of the curriculum committee, professors Amos N. Merrill and Sidney B. Sperry proposed that religion classes should be organized into the following categories: scriptural, historical, philosophical, doctrinal, and courses designed to teach service techniques. They also suggested that the number of courses offered should be limited, but the committee felt that “there was a decided value in having some variety here of personalities which would thus

75. Minutes of Meetings of the Curriculum Committee of the Department of Religious Education, 20 March 1936, box 58, Harris Presidential Papers.

have a greater appeal to the different types of students.” The committee also resolved

That the name of the department be changed to the Department of Religion; that the courses could be kept on the two-hour basis instead of the proposed three-hour plan; that each teacher be given a right to explain and justify his course if there were a proposal to drop that course and that we classify our courses in the Department of Religion under the four headings: A first-year orientation course, the scriptural-historical, the philosophical-doctrinal, and the service techniques.⁷⁶

The next meeting dealt with a proposal to transfer the “Scout Leadership” and “Recreational Leadership” classes to the Department of Physical Education. Since these two popular classes were offered in a sequence of three school terms, students often registered for these courses, not to learn to be leaders of youth, but because these classes were a pleasurable way to satisfy religion requirements. Registering for these courses, a student could graduate from BYU with very little serious scriptural or doctrinal study about the Church. Because feelings of committee members were so strongly divided, no action was taken on the proposal to transfer the youth leadership classes to the Department of Physical Education.

The meetings continued with lengthy discussions on the content and sequence of classes to be offered. It was unanimously agreed that Professor Hansen’s anthropology class, Professor Poulson’s class in the psychology of childhood and adolescence, Professor Russel Swensen’s course on Christianity and Christian religions, and Professor Sperry’s Hebrew archeology class should not be included in the religion curriculum. Committee members proposed that the orientation for freshmen should consist of Brigham Young’s discourses, *Gospel Doctrine* by Joseph F. Smith, and conference bulletins (many of the other philosophical and ethical religion classes used texts written by non-Mormons).

76. Ibid., 1 April 1936.

Meeting for a final time on 10 April 1936, the curriculum committee decided that Chairman Guy C. Wilson should formulate the final program and personally present it to the individual members of the committee.⁷⁷ With the help of the religion faculty, Wilson began to implement the new curriculum during the 1936-37 school year. The first Book of Mormon and Church history classes were taught, some three-term classes were consolidated, and courses like anthropology and mental hygiene were removed from the curriculum. In a report to President Harris, Wilson said, "I feel that we have this year laid a foundation for great progress in the field of religious training for the future. Special mention perhaps should be made of the great interest manifest in the study of the Book of Mormon."⁷⁸

President Harris used this rebirth in the religion curriculum to good advantage for the University. He instructed Carl Eyring, Guy Wilson, and A. C. Lambert to dedicate the August 1937 quarterly published by the University to the field of religious education "to acquaint members of the Church and officials who are interested in the University with the religious education objectives and opportunities at Brigham Young University. This could also serve as a publication to be mailed to parents who inquire regarding our religious education and the general spiritual influence of the school."⁷⁹

The 1937-38 and 1938-39 religion course offerings were consolidated even more than in the previous year, with the number of upper division classes dropping from twenty in 1936-37 to twelve in the following years and the graduate courses from nine to three. The 1936-37 introductory freshman course, "Problems of Religious and Ethical Life," became "The Restored Gospel as a Way of Life" in 1937-38.

The Church Board of Education took a direct interest in religious education at BYU. On 3 April 1939 Commissioner

77. Ibid., 10 April 1936.

78. Wilson to Harris, 28 May 1937, box 65, folder W, Harris Presidential Papers.

79. Harris to Eyring, Wilson, and Lambert, 31 May 1937, box 62, folder W, Harris Presidential Papers.

Franklin L. West conducted a Deans' Council meeting where the religious education teachers were called on to review all the courses to be offered in the department for the next school year.⁸⁰

Organizing a Division of Religion

On 21 April 1939 President Harris proposed to the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees the establishment of a new school at Brigham Young University to be known as the "School or Division of Religion or Religious Education." The proposed courses for this new division, which had been outlined "by the faculty of the University with the cooperation of the Church Department of Education," were also presented at the meeting of the Executive Committee.⁸¹ No action was taken on Harris's proposal, but the Board of Trustees did appoint a committee to study the curriculum of the Department of Religious Education.⁸²

Committee members John A. Widtsoe, Joseph F. Merrill, and Franklin L. West spent the remainder of 1939 studying the department. On 5 January 1940 the special committee reported its findings in a meeting of the Executive Committee. The committee's recommendations, which included the following, were quickly approved:

1. All students should take religion classes every quarter.
2. The new Division of Religion should be directly supervised by the president of the University.
3. The division should supervise all religious teaching and activity on campus.
4. The division should provide instruction in the scriptures, doctrine, Church history, and religious leadership.
5. Certificates should be awarded students who complete thirty-six quarter hours of religious education.

80. BYU Deans' Council Minutes, 3 April 1939.

81. BYU Executive Committee Minutes, 21 April 1939.

82. BYU Board Minutes, 7 June 1939.

6. The division should offer graduate work only in the field of religious education.⁸³

The full Board of Trustees approved the recommendations on 11 January 1940. Acting President Christen Jensen expeditiously conveyed the news to President Harris, who was on leave in Iran. Commenting on the action of the Board, Harris wrote Jensen, "Under the circumstances the best thing was doubtless done, and I am sure that this most important work can function well under the new arrangement."⁸⁴

Arrangements for the change still had to be worked out. Under instructions from Acting President Jensen, a faculty committee consisting of J. Wyley Sessions, Russel Swensen, and Wesley P. Lloyd studied the Board's resolution and made their suggestions for uniquely Mormon titles of the sections within the new Division of Religion. For instance, the Executive Committee preferred "Department of Latter-day Saint Scripture" to "Department of Sacred Scripture."⁸⁵ On 19 April 1940 the entire plan was approved by the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees.⁸⁶

J. Wyley Sessions, a faculty member since 1939 who held a master's degree from the University of Idaho, was appointed head of the division.⁸⁷ Sidney B. Sperry directed the Bible and Modern Scripture section. Wesley Lloyd headed the section on Church Organization and Administration.⁸⁸ Russel Swensen took charge of the Church History section, while J. Wyley Sessions conducted the Theology section.⁸⁹

Before the changes brought about by the creation of the

83. BYU Executive Committee Minutes, 5 January 1940.

84. Harris to Jensen, 22 February 1940, box 77, folder J, Harris Presidential Papers.

85. See Franklin L. West to J. Wyley Sessions, 29 March 1940, box 89, Harris Presidential Papers.

86. BYU Executive Committee Minutes, 19 April 1940.

87. Sessions organized the Church's first college-level "institution of religion" in 1926 at the University of Idaho.

88. Lloyd came to BYU in 1938 with a doctorate from the University of Chicago.

89. *BYU Catalog*, 1941-42; and BYU Executive Committee Minutes, 17 May 1940.

new Division of Religion were published in the 1940-41 school catalog, Acting President Jensen wrote to the BYU professors teaching on the religion faculty to inform them of their assigned courses of instruction for the coming year. Some were surprised at being assigned classes to teach when that had never been the practice before. Amos N. Merrill wrote,

I have some little difficulty in making adjustments in my thinking to the program that has been initiated. I have been with the University quite a time and I have taught Religious Education every quarter. Never before, however, have I been assigned to courses except I have had the privilege of talking over my assignment with the Director of Religious Education. . . . I am not persuaded that our Religious Education program of the past, while it may have had some shortcomings, was altogether inefficient. . . . However, I am perfectly willing to enter upon this new work enthusiastically.⁹⁰

On 22 May 1940 the Board of Trustees approved the catalog to be published with the new changes, and once again BYU had an autonomous religion department, this time with greater unity and correlation than ever before.⁹¹

The Graduate School

Dr. Christen Jensen, who was named dean of the Graduate School in 1929 when the name was changed from Graduate Division to Graduate School, remained in that position throughout the rest of the Harris Administration. The graduate work progressed slowly prior to 1930. Of fifty-three master's degrees awarded, over fifty percent were in some phase of education.⁹² The remaining degrees were given by

90. Amos N. Merrill to Christen Jensen, 24 May 1940, box 89, religion folder, Harris Presidential Papers.

91. BYU Board Minutes, 22 May 1940. For further details, see Richard Cowan, "History of the College of Religious Instruction," BYU Archives.

92. Master's degrees in education were awarded in the areas of educational administration, philosophy of education, elementary education (only one), and secondary education.

the Botany, Chemistry, Zoology, Psychology, Sociology, Political Science, History, English, and Religious Education departments.

The 1935-36 school catalog listed the following requirements for the master's degree:

A student may be admitted to candidacy upon the completion of the following requirements: (a) The candidate must, after securing a bachelor's degree, furnish 48 [quarter] hours of graduate credit, approved by the Dean of the Graduate School and major professor, in addition to 186 hours of college credit, and 16 units of high school credit. Beginning with the school year 1935-36 the candidate will also be required to be in residence three quarters. (b) A thesis must be submitted based on work done in some field of investigation within the major department, and which must show evidence of independent research. The final acceptance of the thesis shall be under the supervision of a committee to be known as the Thesis Committee. This Committee shall consist of the major professor and two other persons to be selected by him. The thesis must be completed at least ten days before the final examination. (c) At least fifteen days before graduation, the candidate must pass an oral examination to be given by a committee to be known as the Examining Committee. This Committee shall consist of five members, including the Dean of the Graduate School, the major professor, and three members to be selected by them. . . . (e) A candidate for a master's degree must secure a grade of "B" or above in three-fourths of his graduate work. No grade below "C" will count toward a master's degree. (f) An applicant for this degree must furnish at least one-half of his graduate credit in his major subject. The rest of the credit for this degree must be offered in work closely related to the major subject.⁹³

Graduate enrollment increased with undergraduate enrollment during the Depression. The Music Department first offered graduate work in 1931; Geology and Geography in

93. *BYU Catalog*, 1935-36, pp. 61-62.



Student registration in the Heber J. Grant Library around 1940.

1931; Physical Education in 1932; Art in 1933; Agronomy in 1933; Physics in 1933; French in 1934; Economics in 1934; Speech in 1934; German in 1935; Bacteriology in 1936; Marketing in 1936; Accounting and Business Management in 1939; and Horticulture in 1943. Some departments, such as Horticulture, Political Science, Marketing, and Elementary Education, awarded only one master's degree during the twenty-four years of the Harris Administration, while the Department of Educational Administration awarded thirty-six master's degrees during that same period. In 1934 a total of thirty-two students earned master's degrees from BYU. However, because of World War II, the school granted only four master's degrees in 1944 and in 1945.⁹⁴

The Lyceum Series

One of the special goals of Brigham Young University during the Harris years was to "develop within our institution an atmosphere of refinement and culture in which our students may have the opportunity of becoming genuine ladies and gentlemen."⁹⁵ The Lyceum Series was designed specifically to meet this objective by bringing cultural figures to the BYU campus each year. Prominent figures who participated in the program included philosopher Will Durrant in 1929, poet Carl Sandburg in 1937, pianist Sergei Rachmaninoff in 1938, and poet Robert Frost in 1940. The program brought many other poets, dancers, novelists, singers, and performing groups to Utah Valley.

Herald R. Clark made himself one of the leading experts in the country on cultural and musical professionals. He read the *New York Times* daily to know where each of these cultural troupes was performing, traveling, and lecturing. When they were within range of Provo he engaged them for a performance, generally at a rate under half their regular price. As

94. See UA 311, BYU Archives, for a breakdown by department of degrees awarded at BYU during the Harris years.

95. Christen Jensen to "Parents and Friends," December 1939, box 78, folder N-Q, Harris Presidential Papers.

Gerrit de Jong expressed it, "H.R. Clark . . . has accomplished the seemingly impossible in booking world famous artists and organizations at extremely low fees."⁹⁶

Many visitors to campus were surprised by the spirit of culture permeating the atmosphere of such a small school in the Rockies. M. Leide-Tedesco wrote Gerrit de Jong in 1943,

Somehow your University had made on me the greatest impression. In my own thinking I always visualized a University as a center of culture. I had not anticipated the possibility of finding it in Utah. Truly, a Mecca of Culture! From the beginning it must have been a vision, and through the years men and women of vision carried on and will carry until the end of time that purpose and ideal.⁹⁷

During the Harris years the Lyceum Series did much to produce a cultural tradition that has continued at Brigham Young University.

The Battle for Books

Through the 1930s and into the war years, Harris continued to squeeze every penny he could out of his budget for the library. He spent between \$4,095 and \$6,573 a year between 1930 and 1934 on library improvements. A lover of books and libraries, he had spent a day a week browsing through the stacks of the library when he was a student at Cornell.⁹⁸ Harris filled the Heber J. Grant Library with books as rapidly as he could, and by 1930 the collection included 57,000 volumes.

From 1929 to 1933 the school obtained several thousand

96. Gerrit de Jong, Jr., to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 18 February 1952, Wilkinson Presidential Papers. Two Chataqua managers told Ernest L. Wilkinson in the 1940s that BYU and the University of Indiana had the best lyceum programs in the country.

97. M. Leide-Tedesco to Gerrit de Jong, Jr., 1 March 1943, CR 102, Uncatalogued Department of Education Papers, Church Historical Department.

98. Franklin S. Harris to E. B. Stouffer, 18 July 1934, box 85, folder S, Harris Presidential Papers.



Important BYU library personnel in 1943 (left to right): Beth Richardson Webb (at BYU since 1941), Newburn I. Butt (library researcher, 1922–68), Anna Ollorton (head librarian, 1931–48), and Naomi Rich Earl (head librarian, 1951–61).

volumes from the old LDS College library in Salt Lake City. Harris also worked to obtain, on an exchange basis, publications of other colleges. In 1921 the only periodicals index at BYU available to students was the *Reader's Guide*, which catalogued only general periodicals. Under Harris, the library successfully acquired specialized indexes covering such fields as agriculture, home economics, commerce, and business. This greatly extended the usefulness of the periodicals. Unfortunately, the library lacked some important specialized indexes and professional journals.

The library provided many students with part-time employment during the Depression. Besides helping with check-out procedures and cataloging, students did simple repair work on books. The students also bound magazines and newspapers, including the *Salt Lake Tribune*, *Deseret News*, *New York Times*, *Provo Herald*, and many smaller Utah and Idaho newspapers. Adopting the Dewey classification system, the library kept its books well cataloged and available for maximum use. The librarians and their assistants were friendly, making up for lack of books by a greater effort to locate material in available sources. In 1936 the genealogical section of the library was begun by the Utah Stake Genealogical Committee.⁹⁹

Anna Ollorton took over head librarian responsibilities from Annie L. Gillespie in 1923. Because the size of the library increased dramatically during her twenty-five years as librarian, Ollorton's job became much more complex as years passed, especially since graduate and undergraduate enrollment also increased. When Ella L. Brown, a former teacher at Brigham Young Academy, was hired in 1922, the librarian had only two full-time assistants. N.I. Butt joined the staff as a research assistant in 1926, and Julia Smith, formerly of the Utah Genealogical Society Library, began working at the library in 1934. When Julia Smith left the library after her marriage in 1938, James R. Clark, a seminary teacher at

99. Joseph Sudweeks to Franklin S. Harris, 26 April 1936, box 57, folder S, Harris Presidential Papers.



Professor Alonzo J. Morley with a student in his speech laboratory in 1937.

Lovell, Wyoming, took her place.

In November 1940 President Harris approached the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees for an addition to the library. The Heber J. Grant Library was equipped to handle 100,000 books. By 1940 there were 116,100 volumes in the building. He suggested that "some plans be prepared looking to the adding of a stack room to the Heber J. Grant Library building when funds are available."¹⁰⁰ At the meeting of the full Board a few days later he was given authorization to draw plans for the addition, "the plans to be in readiness for such time as funds may be available for the project."¹⁰¹ Unfortunately, nothing ever came of Harris's proposal. However, he continued to work for the growth of the library, for he knew that without a good library Brigham Young University could not be a great school. Efficient use of available resources and generous book endowments overcame financial limitations that otherwise might have curtailed the growth of the library. From 17,000 books in 1921, the BYU library grew to 138,750 hard-bound volumes in 1945. As in other areas, Harris's work to promote the library proved that dedication and persistence could overcome financial hard times.

Brigham Young University emerged from the difficult 1930s on solid ground. The University not only survived the economic hard times, but increased its enrollment during the Depression. The academic programs were strengthened in every department and college through the work of dedicated scholars and the growth of the Graduate School. And the Division of Religious Instruction acquired a unified curriculum to be taught by qualified instructors. Though difficult for the administration and faculty, the catalytic years of the Great Depression brought the beginnings of academic maturity to Brigham Young University.

100. BYU Executive Committee Minutes, 8 November 1940.

101. BYU Executive Committee Minutes, 13 November 1940.

21

Student Trends and Traditions: 1921-1945

The Spirit of the Y

Brigham Young University developed a unique atmosphere that permeated the entire University community. Known as "the spirit of the Y," this atmosphere, nurtured through the trends and traditions of the times, became a cherished heritage for each BYU student. The era of Franklin S. Harris enriched this spirit, giving it a special meaning that was both a reflection of the times and an expression of the school's sense of tradition. During the 1920s at least half of all BYU college students came from Utah County. By 1929 fifty-two percent of the students came from outside Utah County and fourteen percent from outside the state of Utah. Enrollment that year included students from fifteen states and six foreign countries. BYU retained its rural roots during the twenties. Many Provo families continued to milk cows which pastured on ward meadows just outside the city limits. Families traditionally grew their own vegetables and fruits, sewed their own clothes, and shopped at the neighborhood market. Because of transportation difficulties (poor roads, mountains and deserts, and inadequate vehicles), smaller towns in Utah County were even more isolated than Provo. Without easy access to urban centers, residents of these rural

areas lacked many modern conveniences. Newspapers were delivered late. Radio was in its infancy. The trek to general conference in Salt Lake City often proved to be the adventure of the year. Overall, a sturdy sense of family, church, and community interdependence, undergirded by pioneer tradition, dominated community life in Utah Valley.

Because of their belief in education and the inability of the rural economy to support the growing population, many parents sent their children to college to acquire skills that would enable them to make their way in urban society. Brigham Young University, close to home and associated with the Church that was so much a part of Utah County life, was an ideal place for local residents to send their children. As in the past, students during the early Harris period often enrolled late and left school early to attend to farm duties. Their hands bore marks left from thinning beets, pitching hay, and cleaning irrigation ditches. To BYU they came, riding the rails at a cent-and-a-half per mile, far from rich but not really poor. A remarkably bright, eager, and naive group of youngsters, they became the raw ingredients in Franklin S. Harris's work to create a great university.

Pleasant Accommodations

After arriving in Provo, out-of-town students looked for a place to stay. University committees met students with lists of approved housing. As enrollment increased, the University prescribed separate housing for men and women and appointed inspection teams to approve facilities. As the 1923-24 school catalog proclaimed, "The University emphasizes the value of home life, and the people of Provo have shown great educational patriotism by providing for the comfort and convenience of students. If patrons will make their wants known in advance, much delay in getting students properly located will be avoided. . . . Provo is a city of modern homes. Its sidewalks and business centers are paved, and no one need fear a lack of accommodations within easy access of the University."¹

1. *BYU Catalog*, 1923-24, p. 28.



Lunchtime in the student cafeteria in the Arts Building on lower campus during the 1920s.

As a service to the school, homeowners gave students board and room for \$12.50 a month. Although faculty members lived frugally, most of them shared their residence with their students. The boarders helped change sheets, cook meals, and wash dishes for large families. Sometimes when money was tight, as it often was, a parent brought a dressed lamb or bushel of pears to help pay for his child's room and board. In the homes, students knelt with their foster parents in family prayer. Often a room in the house became a joint study hall for boarders and family members alike. Students took their joys and problems to their substitute parents, promoting long-lasting ties between out-of-town students and their Provo families.²

Handshakes, Hugging, and Hazing

The first major event of the school year was the traditional "Handshake," where students introduced themselves to President Harris, prominent faculty members, and the student body officers and then lined up to shake hands with all the other students who came through. With serpentine lines of students filling the Women's Gym, everyone caught the "hello" spirit.³ This traditional greeting continued throughout the year as students passed each other rushing from lower campus to upper campus during the ten-minute break between classes.⁴

Devotionals were an important part of school life. Three times a week students crowded into College Hall for programs of surprising variety and interest, where all speakers radiated a genuine "democratic spirit."⁵ President Harris welcomed students to the institution that had acquired a reputation as the most homelike in the West.⁶ General Authorities of the

2. Interviews with Algie Ballif and Katherine Pardoe by Helen Candland Stark, June 1974.

3. Janet Hansen interview with Kiefer Sauls, June 1974.

4. "The 'Hello' Habit," *Y News*, 12 October 1921.

5. "First Assembly Very Impressive," *Y News*, 24 September 1924.

6. "BYU Students Shall Not Belong to Frats — Harris," *Y News*, 19 March 1924.

Church often spoke at these devotional exercises, and some churchmen like Adam S. Bennion became campus favorites. Students remembered George H. Brimhall for his four-minute inspirational talks. On one occasion Brimhall told his audience that too much hurry causes people to lose moments that should have been savored. Calling on his recent experience of driving through Orem's flowering peach orchards, he concluded, "When you drive through heaven, stop and look." On another occasion, Brimhall spoke on "The Spurs of Duty":

His examples of this theme were very striking. For instance it was the spur of duty that guided the pilgrims to sacrifice; that prompted Lincoln to his emancipation policy; that Christ demonstrated when he came to do the will of the Father. These examples should prompt us to all strive harder to heed the spurs of duty, thus making our lives bigger and truer.⁷

If a BYU student won an essay, short story, reading, or extemporaneous speaking contest, everyone knew and applauded, for the claimant to fame performed in devotional. The same was true of musical accomplishments, as school and community sponsors were anxious to reward student achievement. In addition to devotionals originating from BYU student efforts, the school exchanged programs with other institutions. The student body also sponsored popular programs that often focused on upcoming athletic contests.

Part of catching the spirit of the Y was understanding the rules of the school. President Harris told students, "We pride ourselves on being an institution practically without rules; we simply expect every student to be a gentleman or a lady, and leave largely to each individual responsibility for doing this as best he can."⁸ Nonetheless, the school did enforce rules of conduct, including regulations against smoking, drinking, and cutting classes. The Committee on Attendance and

7. "Reaction to Exercises Held in College Hall," Notes on BYU Assemblies, 1926-27, UA 18, BYU Archives.

8. Franklin S. Harris to the Student Body, 1924, box 12, folder S. Harris Presidential Papers.

Scholarship worked with students who were not attending or who were failing their classes. It also handled violations of University regulations pertaining to gambling, the use of tobacco or alcohol, dishonesty, insubordination, and profanity.⁹ Since the Committee on Attendance and Scholarship included the most prestigious faculty members, to be called before them for scholastic failure or for moral laxity was a sobering experience.¹⁰

The University also maintained guidelines on boarding-house living. Unless they were brother and sister, male and female students could not live in the same home. Students were to keep their rooms clean, and the faculty housing committee made regular inspections of boarding places to make sure that standards were met. All students were expected to be in by eleven o'clock on school nights and Sundays and by twelve-thirty on other nights.¹¹

Registration in the Maeser Building was often a confusing experience for new students. After deciding on a major, they went directly to the dean of their college. They signed up for classes with the help of their dean and other faculty members.¹² Tuition and student body fees rose gradually from thirty-five dollars per year in 1921-22 to eighty-five dollars in 1929-30.

Once classes began, students made frequent trips to the library. Sometimes nicknamed the "Matrimonial Bureau," the library was a favorite evening gathering place where students met friends whom they often escorted home by way of

9. BYU Faculty Meeting Minutes, 26 September 1921.

10. *See* BYU Faculty Meeting Minutes, 26 September 1921. Committee members at that time included Martin P. Henderson (chairman), Clawson Y. Cannon, and B. F. Cummings.

11. *See* Ethel C. Butt (member of the Committee on the Care of Girls) to Franklin S. Harris, 21 May 1925, box 14, folder H, Harris Presidential Papers.

12. Nearly half of the students at BYU in the 1920s studied education. All students had to register directly through the deans of the various colleges. This was quite a task, for in the early 1920s nearly half of the students were either freshmen, special unmatriculated, or unclassified students who needed extra attention upon arrival at the University.

“Lover’s Lane” on Maeser Hill, the place of “rendezvous for young people who were out late at night.”¹³

While BYU was known facetiously as “B.Y. Woo,” only about one percent of the students in 1924 married during the school year. When asked if he felt that students should marry before completing their degrees, President Harris remarked that it depended on the individual, but he added, “I think a person has a better show to make it himself than he would with a wife, but the right kind of wife should be a help; she could pitch in and keep boarders.” At the time, women did not usually work after marriage, so keeping boarders was about the only financial help a wife could give a student-husband.¹⁴ While many students married former classmates after graduation, most BYU collegians in the 1920s remained single until they finished their undergraduate careers.

During the 1920s freshman hazing was a serious campus activity. For the first quarter of the school year it played a major role in student orientation. New students looked on it with both excitement and fear. Ironically, freshmen were told that hazing was “not enforced with the idea of submerging the Frosh in the least,” but “primarily for the benefit of the Freshmen themselves.”¹⁵ Upper classmen, recalling their own freshman experiences, enthusiastically initiated new students. Regulations varied from year to year, but freshmen were generally required to wear the prescribed green beany and to use only the rear and side doors of the Maeser, Education, and Grant Library buildings. Freshmen memorized the “College Song” and school yells, which they were required to repeat at the request of upper classmen. They also ran errands, carried books, and otherwise demonstrated their subservience. Penalties included being forced to appear before a senior court, being required to carry a sign announcing “Freshman Law Breaker,” and, in rare cases, being paddled. At the end of the

13. Franklin S. Harris to Mayor O. K. Hansen, 10 January 1922, box 2, folder H, Harris Presidential Papers.

14. Franklin S. Harris to George J. Jarvis, 10 April 1924, box 8, Harris Presidential Papers.

15. “What May We Expect?” (editorial), *Y News*, 17 September 1924.



A meeting of the staff of the Y News
around 1925.

Courtesy Mark Allen.

hazing period, all freshman student body members became official members of their class and became eligible to enjoy the full benefit of student activities.

Gathering Goat Feathers

Students extensively involved in social activities at BYU during the 1920s, which often included turbulent affairs of the heart, were said to be “gathering goat feathers.”¹⁶ There were many enjoyable activities, such as the Autumn Leaf Moonlight Hike each fall, Y Day, pep vodies, dances, athletics, the Winter Carnival, big sister events, rides on the Orem Interurban railroad to see plays at the Salt Lake Theater from the peanut gallery, hikes with Professor Buss to look at rocks or with Walter Cottam to observe flowers, and the all-important debating meets.

Students of the 1920s considered themselves a “renaissance” group. Many activities they introduced to campus became traditional. In 1921 the name of the college newspaper was changed from *White and Blue* to *Y News*, with *White and Blue* becoming a literary magazine. The students completed part of the trail from Aspen Grove to the summit of Mount Timpanogos. The traditional Heber J. Grant oratorical contest also began in the early 1920s.

When women in the United States gained the right to vote, BYU women liberated themselves by “bobbing” their hair, shortening their skirts, wearing make-up, and initiating a few programs on their own. Amy Lyman Merrill became the first full-time dean of women in 1922. She sponsored affiliation with the National Association of Women Students, an organization recognized at many colleges and universities. A big sister movement took shape, with each junior or senior girl befriending half-a-dozen freshmen or sophomores. The dean of women, outstanding faculty women, and distinguished Provo women served on President Harris’s Committee for the

16. Helen Candland Stark, speech at the BYU Emeritus Club initiation of the class of 1924, 18 April 1974, Franklin S. Harris source file, Centennial History Papers, BYU Archives.



BYU students preparing for a winter
trek up Provo Canyon.

Courtesy Mark Allen.

DATE BUREAU

SOPHOMORE LOAN FUND BALL



Students at a 1920s date bureau for the Sophomore Loan Fund Ball.

Care of Girls' and Women's Activities. Nettie Neff Smart, who succeeded Amy Lyman Merrill as dean of women, was available for consultation at all times, and her office kept a directory card on every female student.¹⁷

Matinee dances, including a program, were held weekly at a charge of fifteen cents per person. Matinees were no-date affairs, but evening parties were more formal. A girl's popularity could be gauged by how rapidly her dance program was filled. Live orchestras played such favorites as "I'm Forever Blowing Bubbles," "The Sheik of Araby," "Dardenella," "When You Come to the End of a Perfect Day," "Peg O My Heart," and "Yes, We Have No Bananas." Cheek-to-cheek dancing was forbidden, and, after one warning, Coach E. L. Roberts escorted couples in violation off the dance floor.

During this period the school gave students of the University "the privilege to attend public entertainment at their own discretion."¹⁸ Many students danced at the Utahna Hall in downtown Provo.

In 1924 various student groups staged the first pep vodie in College Hall as a competitive attempt to promote student spirit. Advertising the event, the *Y News* bubbled, "Something new, something novel, something extraordinary is to be staged in College Hall next Thursday evening at 7:30."¹⁹ Vodies became traditional before basketball games with either the University of Utah or Utah State Agricultural College, and the theme of the program centered on the upcoming conflict. The winning act in the show received free pages in the *Banyan* and sometimes cash prizes. There were more innovations in 1924. The big Y on the mountain east of campus was completely lit for the first time in the fall for the incoming freshmen and in May for graduating seniors. The school also conducted its first Autumn Leaf Hike to Maple Flat (on Y Mountain) and a winter carnival of competitive snowsport activities at Vivian Park in Provo Canyon.

17. *BYU Catalog*, 1926-27, p. 40.

18. "Can the President Trust BYU Students?" *Y News*, 19 April 1922.

19. "Basketball 'Pep' Vodie to Be Held Tomorrow Night," *Y News*, 13 February 1924.

Because students were concerned when their comrades were compelled to leave school for lack of money, the Class of 1924 sponsored a Loan Fund Ball in 1922, which became an annual affair. All services, including food, music, and the dance hall, were donated, and proceeds from the dance, which every college student was expected to attend, went to the student loan fund. Providing a chance for everyone to contribute, girls paid for their own tickets. By the late 1920s the student loan fund contained around \$3,000.²⁰ In 1925 BYU was one of a limited number of colleges to receive loan money from the Harmon Foundation. By 1929 numerous individuals, alumni, and institutions were offering a wide assortment of scholarships and loans.²¹

BYU teams excelled in debating and basketball.²² Debates drew crowds large enough to occupy “practically every seat in College Hall.”²³ The school band accompanied the debating team to the train station as they departed for meets at other schools. Fiery discussions resulted from such topics as “Resolved: The best interest of the State of Utah could be served by grouping the Central Pacific Railroad with the Union Pacific rather than the Southern Pacific” and “Resolved: The United States should immediately grant independence to the Philippine Islands under substantially the same arrangement as that enjoyed by Cuba.” History, sociology, and speech professors coached the debaters who opposed other college teams within the state as well as teams from such schools as the universities of Nevada, Wyoming, and Southern California.

Cougars and Kittens

Win or lose, basketball was a vibrant part of student life at

20. The Sophomore Loan Fund Ball was held annually until 1960 when it was discontinued because it cost more to stage than could be raised at the dance.

21. *BYU Catalog*, 1928-29, pp. 31-32, 40-41.

22. See A. Rex Johnson (student body president) to Franklin S. Harris, 29 May 1924, box 61, Harris Presidential Papers.

23. “The First Time Since 1916 for ‘Y’ to Have This Honor,” *Y News*, 25 January 1922.



George K. "Georkee" Lewis holding
the two BYU mascots, Cleo and Tarbo,
in 1925.

Courtesy Mark Allen.

BYU during the 1920s. Noisy crowds shook the Women's Gym to its foundations.²⁴ After joining the new Rocky Mountain Conference in 1921, the University won the conference championship in 1924. Just before the championship game with the University of Colorado, BYU's team captain came down with the mumps, but Coach Twitchell's boys managed to win the game by a score of thirty-two to twenty-five.²⁵ Coach Eugene L. Roberts continued the basketball tradition until 1928 when he left the institution. His successor, Ott Romney, led the team in 1928-29 to national prominence with a season record of twenty wins against ten losses.

Continuing a tradition established during the Brimhall years, BYU held annual high school invitational track meets under the direction of Charles Hart. The BYU college track team took its first conference championship in 1929. The school first participated in intercollegiate swimming and wrestling in the 1920s, winning a national collegiate championship in swimming.

Live mascots boosted school spirit during the twenties. Cleo and Tarbo, two wild cougars, were brought to BYU in 1924. They were kept on the south side of Temple Hill until 1930 when Tarbo died and Cleo pined away until she was sent to the Liberty Park Zoo in Salt Lake City. The school never owned its own mascot again, though live cougars were sometimes brought to campus on special occasions.

Football was the struggling kitten of BYU sports during the 1920s. Banned from the campus in 1900, football was not sanctioned again until 1919. When BYU resumed intercollegiate competition in 1920, many of the players came from small farming communities that did not even field teams. Nonetheless, BYU fans enthusiastically supported the team they had, and the class of 1922 started a stadium fund. Student body president A. Ray Olpin wrote President Harris, "We feel that we caught a vision of the future when we decided that the small pittance which we might contribute after

24. DeAlton Partridge, "Honors Wrested from Colorado Quintet in Final Game of Series," *Y News*, 19 March 1924.

25. Helen Candland Stark, Emeritus Club speech, 1974.

these four years of constant expenditure would go further if placed in a sinking fund for the erection of the greatest institution in unifying college life — namely, a stadium.”²⁶

After six years of contributions from the graduating classes and with proceeds from the bookstore, the football stadium became a reality in 1928. Because of contributions in time and money from students and faculty, the stadium cost only \$25,000 to build. Each student was “responsible for two days’ work either by the sweat of the brow or by forfeiture of \$2.50 per day to pay to have the work done. . . . The girls have been asked to furnish lunches for the men who work. . . . ‘Only sickness or death should be an excuse for not performing the labor as prescribed,’ said President Harris.”²⁷ Men like J. William Knight, Ed Firmage, Ashby Snow, and George S. Ballif contributed money to the construction.²⁸

The stadium, constructed on the west incline of University Hill north of the Maeser Memorial, was dedicated in October 1928. The public address system, the score board, and the flagpole, all donated for the occasion, were ready for the first big game. BYU fans hoped that the new stadium could inspire the BYU football team to victory, but that first game ended in defeat at the hands of Utah State Agricultural College by a score of ten to nothing. Disappointed fans perhaps remembered the words of the 1924 *Y News*: “What the school needs is not seats for spectators, who have never yet attended its games, but conditions that will make possible the production of teams that will attract spectators to fill the seats that are already provided.”²⁹ The 1929 football team, coached by Charles J. Hart to a record of five wins and three losses, was the first in BYU history to have a winning season.

26. Olpin to Harris, 6 June 1923, box 6, folder O, Harris Presidential Papers.

27. “Every Student Will Give Two Days Work on Stadium,” *Y News*, 6 March 1928.

28. Franklin S. Harris to Lowry Nelson, 14 June 1928, box 20, folder N, Harris Presidential Papers; and J. William Knight to Franklin S. Harris, 12 June 1928, box 23, folder K, Harris Presidential Papers. Knight and Firmage contributed \$1,000 apiece, while Ballif and Snow gave \$500 each.

29. “The Stadium,” *Y News*, 22 October 1924.



First BYU Stadium soon after its completion in 1928. Located just west of the brow of Temple Hill, the stadium was built where the Richards Building now stands.

From Tau Kappa Alpha to Rolling Pin Dodgers

School catalogs encouraged BYU students to join the many clubs on campus that were organized according to the geographic origin of students, hobbies, academic specialties, and social interests. Geographic clubs beckoned students from such areas as Arizona, Alpine (Central Utah), Dixie (Southern Utah), Idaho, Spanish Fork, the Uintah Basin, Wasatch County, and Beaver. Hobby groups covered a wide range of interests, from the Winter Walkers, who sponsored a winter carnival, to the Radio Club, which worked with homemade components in the basement of the Education Building. Academic clubs proliferated to include Agriculture, Art Service, Biology, Mask, and Piano clubs. Students and teachers enjoyed warm fellowship through these departmental societies.³⁰ The Block Y Club included students that earned letters in intercollegiate competition. The YDD was an organization for returned missionaries, while married students joined the Rolling Pin Dodgers.

Chapters of national honor societies also found place on campus, linking BYU with the academic world and increasing its reputation with other schools. Tau Kappa Alpha, a national debating society, was the first national society on campus, followed by Theta Alpha Phi, dramatics; Alpha Delta, commerce; Gamma Phi Omicron, home economics; and Alpha Kappa Psi. Club cohesiveness was fostered by means of an All Presidents Club for presidents of campus organizations.

Though BYU administrators encouraged the development of campus clubs, President Harris discouraged private fraternities. He had been the adviser of a fraternity at Utah State and he shared other educators' views that private social clubs promoted idleness and snobbishness. Members of fraternities were often required to give greater loyalty to their social organization than to the school itself. Students were admitted to fraternities by invitation only, and such a practice did not

30. For more details on campus clubs during the twenties, *see* Jensen et al., "History of BYU," pp. 265-72.



Participants in a 1925 junior and senior class "Wild West" party in the Women's Gym.

Courtesy Mark Allen.

coincide with the Brigham Young University ideal of student equality. Besides, Church leaders did not like to see young LDS students join organizations that practiced secrecy.

Despite objections from faculty members, many BYU students participated in organizations that resembled fraternities and sororities.³¹ The *Y News* decried the “secret organizations within our midst” that tried “to keep to themselves by drawing up the students and carrying on their activities elsewhere.”³²

The faculty was divided on the social club issue. Thomas Martin asked how such clubs were “violating the spirit and purpose of the institution.”³³ Elsie Carroll added, “Unless we can supply a more satisfactory means for giving the students of this school a broader and more formal social training, I should very much dislike to see these clubs abolished. Instead, I should like to see encouragement given for the creation of a sufficient number of such clubs that all students who desire might be affiliated with one.”³⁴

Striving for a compromise, President Harris came up with the idea of organizing social units that would permit students to interact in harmony with the ideals of the Church. The purpose of the social units was “to promote good fellowship and the spirit of democracy, and to provide means for broad, rich, and wholesome social contacts and experiences for all members of the student body.”³⁵ Every student was to join a social unit of twenty to thirty persons established on the basis of sex, interest, and congeniality. President Harris hoped that his idea for social units would encourage shy students to feel more at home at BYU. The 5 September 1928 *Y News* listed

31. See BYU Faculty Meeting Minutes, 10 March 1924, 19 March 1924, and 26 April 1927.

32. Organizations not founded under the auspices of the school itself were considered secret. One such club was composed of girls who had gone to school together in the past and who continued their friendship in an exclusive sororitylike organization.

33. Thomas L. Martin to Franklin S. Harris, 3 October 1927, box 20, folder M, Harris Presidential Papers.

34. Elsie C. Carroll to Franklin S. Harris, 1 October 1927, box 19, folder C, Harris Presidential Papers.

35. BYU Faculty Meeting Minutes, 31 October 1927.

the basic functions of the social unit organization:

1. To discourage class distinction and stimulate a spirit of democracy.
2. To socialize rather than ostracize.
3. To equalize social opportunities with no discrimination or rigid requirements.
4. To discourage excessive or expensive social activities.
5. To keep social functions on the campus and afford faculty supervision.
6. To foster close and lasting friendships.
7. To provide means for the acquirement of poise, tact, and all the social graces.
8. To encourage scholarship.
9. To provide a basis for intramural activities.³⁶

The first social units to gain recognition were those that already existed as campus clubs, such as O. S. Travata, Nautilus, and the Brickers. However, the dean of women and the Faculty Committee for Social Units had trouble organizing other units and getting students to join them. Students had voted to accept the social unit idea, making it their responsibility to support the new system, but administrators had to devise ways to involve reticent students without overinvolving those who were already socially active. A special card was included in every student's registration packet to make it easy to join social units.³⁷ Harris created two reserve units for "all registered students of the institution not yet affiliated with one of the listed social units."³⁸ He hoped that all students would enter into one or more of the activities of the student body, but his dreams were not fully realized by the end of the 1928-29 school year. The 1929 *Banyan* objectively summarized the situation:

Social units are at once the pride and joy and the target for ridicule at Brigham Young University. The optimists among the faculty and students view their handiwork

36. "Social Unit Organization at 'Y' Unique," *Y News*, 5 September 1928.

37. BYU Deans' Council Minutes, 7 September 1928.

38. "Unit Council Forms Reserves," *Y News*, 28 September 1928.

with beaming approval, proclaiming it a panacea for every social ill. The pessimists, intolerant and impatient, regard it a masterpiece for making bad conditions worse. The majority of students regard it with toleration and sympathy, realizing that it is like a young baby that is not yet entirely sure of its steps. They hope that it will soon grow up into a husky system, well able to take care of itself. It is with hopeful eyes that the future is faced with the expectation that this will prove an improvement over the past.³⁹

End of an Era

The twenties changed the face of America, linking small towns to the rest of the world with improved roads, Model A Fords, radio, and the airplane. Americans bought stocks, land, and innumerable gadgets. The economy seemed to be expanding without bounds, but the crash of 1929 brought the country to the threshold of the sobering thirties, a decade that forced BYU students to abandon their social frills for an era of frugality.

Batching It through the Depression

In August 1933 President Harris told Ray Graham, a BYU student who did not feel he had enough money to return to school, "We have advised students who have enough funds to meet their expenses for the first two or three months to come and make the start and our various faculty committees will gladly assist in any way they can to make it possible for the student to get through the school year."⁴⁰ In 1931 President Harris had said, "The one comforting thing about it [the Depression] is that everyone is in pretty much the same box, and so the person who is economizing will be strictly in style."⁴¹

39. "Our New Social System," *BYU Banyan*, 1929, p. 215.

40. Harris to Graham, 8 August 1933, box 44, folder G, Harris Presidential Papers.

41. Franklin S. Harris, "Economy Stylish This Year," *Y News*, 9 September 1931; and Franklin S. Harris to LaVal S. Morris, 4 November 1932, box 40, folder M, Harris Presidential Papers.

To economize, many students moved from private homes to apartments where they could prepare their own food and live for under ten dollars a month. The University did what it could to assist needy students, providing fruit and produce from University gardens. Articles like "Boons for Batches" appeared in *Y News*, giving hints on ways to economize and providing recipes for such delicacies as lima bean chowder and corn chowder.⁴² A survey made during the 1937-38 school year found that almost half of BYU students lived in apartments, about twenty percent lived at home in Provo, and around thirty percent boarded in private homes. The same survey reported that about forty percent of the students spent between three and six dollars per month on food, while about a quarter spent between six and nine dollars a month on food. Another twenty-three percent spent from nine to twelve dollars a month on food.⁴³

The school helped students find part-time work to pay tuition expenses, which were \$86.50 a year from 1930 throughout the rest of the Harris period. The library hired students to catalog and file at twenty-five cents an hour. Times were hard, so students accepted any work that would help them remain in school. Very much aware of the troubles of his students, President Harris wrote at the beginning of the 1934-35 school year, "We are now in the midst of registration and I cannot help but be a little heart-sick over it from the fact that practically every student has a tale of woe due to the long continued depression and unusual drouth this year. I am not sure whether I shall be able to stand up under the pressure of trying to help people who have no resources try to get an education. Those who come in seem very anxious, however, to go on to school."⁴⁴

Rather than completely abandon their social activities, BYU students learned to cope with the Depression by practicing

42. Bessie Taylor, "Boons for Batches," *Y News*, 8 March 1932; and "Allen Gives Food Hints for Batches," *Y News*, 7 October 1932.

43. "A Survey of Student Expenditures in Provo, Utah, 1937-38," UA 47, BYU Archives.

44. Franklin S. Harris to Anna Egbert, 22 September 1934, box 49, folder E, Harris Presidential Papers.

frugality and cooperation. The school paper editorialized, "We must not let this [the Depression] fasten itself upon us and make us irritable and unsocial. . . . But let's spend less money and more ingenuity on our affairs. It is possible to have really enjoyable parties for little cost, if restraint, brains, and cooperation are employed."⁴⁵ As Harris expressed it, social life at BYU may have lost "something of the usual glamour because of the general financial situation," but there were still prospects for an enjoyable social life at the school.⁴⁶

Accepting President Harris's challenge to continue school traditions, the student body officers of 1932-33 worked to revitalize student interest in traditional activities.⁴⁷ Moonlight hikes, freshman orientation ceremonies, the Handshake and matinee dances, and pep vodies returned to the campus scene.

As in other times of adversity, the Depression brought students closer together. At the close of the 1932-33 school year, Harris wrote A. Rex Johnson, "We have had a successful year in spite of the fact that no one seemed to have any money. There has been the finest spirit that I believe I have ever known in the Institution, and the unity is rather remarkable. We are a great, happy family of faculty and students."⁴⁸

Hard times affected everyone, diminishing class distinctions. Harris advised, "The main thing to remember is that none of us around here is so wealthy that we dash around in \$50 suits or \$300 fur coats. . . . If your clothes fit, are clean and are up-to-date, you will be in style. . . . Don't let your wardrobe bother you too much."⁴⁹

The " 'hello' spirit of the 'Y', " along with the school's repu-

45. "Great Prospects for the Units," *Y News*, 7 October 1931.

46. Franklin S. Harris to Franklin S. Harris, Jr., 6 May 1932, box 35, folder H, Harris Presidential Papers.

47. Mark Eggertsen, "Prexy Greets New Students," *Y News*, 30 September 1932.

48. Harris to Johnson, 5 April 1933, box 39, folder J, Harris Presidential Papers.

49. "Students Should Buy in Provo," *Y News*, 12 September 1938. *See also* Franklin S. Harris to Alice Louise Reynolds, 16 November 1932, box 41, folder R, Harris Presidential Papers.

tation as a matrimonial agency, persisted through the 1930s.⁵⁰ The *Y News* noted that many of the matrimonial hopefuls enrolled in the first "Foundation of Religious Living" classes, better known as "Courtship and Marriage."

As enrollment increased, the student body became more cosmopolitan. In 1934-35, a total of 523 students came to BYU from Provo City; 1,144 from other parts of Utah; and 407 from outside Utah. By 1938-39, a total of 606 BYU students were from Provo; 1,386 from other parts of Utah; and 644 from outside Utah. Foreign students came from such places as Mexico, New Zealand, Japan, and Canada.

Frosh Treks and Homecoming Parades

Rules governing freshman hazing became more elaborate during the 1930s. Freshmen had to wear blue caps. Frosh men were not permitted to wear stockings or ties or light-colored corduroy pants on campus, nor could they cut in on any upper classman during matinee dances. Frosh women had to wear stockings that did not match. All freshmen had to know not only "College Song" and the pep song, "Alma Pater," but they also had to be able to repeat at least five college yells on request. They had to step off the sidewalk or path upon seeing an upper classman, raise their cap, and "look dumb" until the upper classman had passed. In addition, frosh men were not permitted to "cultivate a mustache, whiskers, hair fuzz, misplaced eyebrows or cookie duster on the mouth piece" during the initiation period.⁵¹

In 1932 the Blue Key Club, a men's national honor society, established the Freshman Trek to orient incoming students. The trek began with a meeting at College Hall which included an explanation of the rules of hazing and instructions in "the gentle art of making yells and singing the school song." Paired off, the freshmen marched out of College Hall to tour upper

50. "Ben Lewis, Student Prexy, Welcomes New Y Students," *Y News*, 14 September 1939.

51. "New Freshman Rules Formed; Paddling Out," *Y News*, 19 September 1930; and "Learn These Rules, Frosh!" *Y News*, 28 September 1934.

and lower campus. At their first stop on the east side of the Maeser Building, the initiates got their first glimpse of the lighted Y. Then, making their way down the new steps and along “the famous ‘Lovers Lane’” to the Women’s Gymnasium, they were confronted with a huge cougar’s face through whose mouth they walked to gain entrance to a dance given in their honor. Students other than freshmen could not attend “lest they be confronted with half the football squad, ready to gently but firmly throw them out.”⁵²

The first Homecoming Day was celebrated in the fall of 1930. Prior to this time there had been frequent class reunions in the springtime, but never a general Homecoming Day. During halftime of the November 15 football game with the Montana State Bobcats, floats, costumed students, stunts, and people depicting various periods from 1875 to the year 2000 paraded past the stands. BYU alumni were special guests of the institution. The first homecoming queen was chosen in 1937, and the entire event has become a traditional University celebration. Other events which continued to hold the interest of the students were Founders Day, held in October; the Sophomore Loan Fund Ball; the Snow Carnival; intramural sports; lyceums; and plays. Girls’ Day featured a fashion review and a dance which eventually became the Preference Ball.

Y Day, which originated in 1906, continued to be an important student body event. The school was proud of its huge block Y. Blocked in 1921, it measured 335 feet by 120 feet and was reputed to be the largest school emblem in the world. In the fall of each year freshmen students climbed to the letter and removed brush from the area as a part of their initiation activities. On Y Day in the spring the men students met early in the morning for roll call. The faculty cleared the trail, the freshmen hauled water from a spring, sophomores carried up the whitewash and mixed it in wooden troughs, and juniors and seniors poured it on the large letter. All worked to the music of the band boys, who kept school spirit soaring all day.

52. “Frosh Trek Introduces New Students to Campus,” *Y News*, 5 October 1939.



President Heber J. Grant and President Franklin S. Harris watching a BYU football game together.

While the men were on the mountain whitewashing the huge letter, the women students remained on campus to prepare lunch. Each year the Y Day activities became more elaborate. A matinee dance was always held after lunch, but by the late 1930s swimming, bowling, rollerskating, and other activities had been added.⁵³ In 1939 the girls organized some games and tournaments of their own in the stadium to pass their time until the men returned from the mountain. The Y was lighted in the evening to add a touch of splendor to the day.

Dancing remained a favorite student activity throughout the Harris period. Every Wednesday a live band matinee dance was held in the Women's Gym. No one was expected to bring dates. Formal changing of partners was not encouraged since the purpose of the matinee dances was to promote new acquaintances. In contrast, the evening dances, held every Friday night in the Women's Gym, were much more formal. Different student organizations sponsored the dances, and occasions like Thanksgiving, Valentines Day, and St. Patrick's Day often provided themes for the evening. Dates and formal exchanges were encouraged. Students without partners often felt uncomfortable at these affairs unless they came in large groups. The one exception to the formality of evening dances was the traditional Handshake, where formal exchanges were not allowed. At this event, students enjoyed popular group dances like the clap, the lemon, and the Virginia reel.⁵⁴

Dances flourished all year long, but the most regal, sophisticated, and decorative affair was the Junior Prom. Months of preparation went into this dance. Local tuxedo shops could not keep enough suits in stock for all who wished to escort a young lady to the event of the year, though such formal attire was not required. Every year the prom seemed more beautiful

53. See "History of the Student Body," 1930-31, p. 47; 1932-33, pp. 29-30; 1936-37, p. 103; and 1938-39, pp. 119-20, BYU Archives.

54. "Annual Handshake Scheduled Tonight in Ladies' Gymnasium," *Y News*, 30 September 1932; "Get Acquainted Affair Will Attract Large Crowd to Renovated Ladies' Gym," *Y News*, 30 September 1938; and "'Hello Everybody!' Theme of Big Handshake Friday," *Y News*, 30 September 1931.

and decorative than the last. Themes and settings varied from the garden of a Southern colonial mansion with stars, floating clouds, gleaming pillars, garden gates, a profusion of magnolia blossoms, and real Spanish moss to a simulated Timpanogos Cave with glistening crystal formations and an illuminated bleeding heart suspended from the ceiling. Programs and favors were in keeping with the themes.⁵⁵ Art professors contributed hundred of hours helping students create awesome decorations.

Dancing styles came and went as BYU watched the “evolution . . . in dance music.” In 1939 the *Y News* noted that “The jitterbug is dying a slow death. Within six months the caveman acrobatics and heavy rhythmic thump of the species will be history, and civilized man will have triumphed again.”⁵⁶

Depression Football and Championship Basketball

Athletics continued to foster school spirit at BYU during the 1930s. The hopeful student body inaugurated each football season with a bonfire rally. In 1932 Ott Romney coached the team to its best record ever, with eight victories against a single defeat. Though the student body prepared for games with the University of Utah with special enthusiasm, holding “Beat Utah” rallies throughout the week preceding the contest, BYU never did beat the University of Utah until 1942, though they did manage to tie the rival school in 1929.

Ott Romney coached the basketball team until 1937 when Fred “Buck” Dixon came to BYU. In 1933 BYU played the University of Wyoming Cowboys in a best two of three series for the conference championship. The 1932-33 history of the student body described the excitement of the third game:

Saturday night, the final game — 1,500 fans jammed the Ladies’ Gym to witness the decisive encounter. Wyoming, deliberate, calm, started out to make this game a repeti-

55. “History of the Student Body,” 1938-39, p. 116.

56. “Evolution Seen in Dance Music,” *Y News*, 15 December 1939.



Basketball game between BYU and
Utah State Agricultural College in the
Women's Gym in 1937.

tion of the first tussle [which the Cowboys won]. At half-time, the Cowboys led twenty-two to sixteen. Midway through the final period Wyoming enjoyed a long lead of twelve points, and long since even the most ardent Cougar fans had conceded the game lost. But they had not reckoned with the Cougars. Spurred on by fresh replacements, the Y cut Wyoming's lead to thirty-seven to thirty with only three minutes to play. And then it happened! Striking suddenly with the swift fury of their namesake, the Cougars swept the Cowboy defense aside, and, as the stunned crowd howled hysterically, launched an eleven-point basket barrage that brought them a forty-one to thirty-nine victory and the championship!⁵⁷

The winning team featured Elwood Romney, BYU's first all-American in basketball.

Track teams did well in the 1930s, taking conference championships in 1935 and 1936, while the wrestling team won conference titles in 1931, 1932, and 1933. In 1938 BYU became affiliated with the newly organized Mountain States Athletic Conference. Commonly known as the "Big Seven," this conference included the University of Colorado, Colorado State University, the University of Utah, Utah State Agricultural College, Denver University, the University of Wyoming, and BYU.

The BYU Invitational Track and Field meet continued to be one of the outstanding public relations events of its kind in America, growing to involve thousands of young people and hundreds of officials. A sportswriter described the magnitude of the 1940 invitational meet:

Besides being one of the most colorful events on the state's athletic calendar, the annual Brigham Young University track meet and relay carnival at Provo represents a gigantic undertaking in promotional endeavor and leadership.

The maze of details connected with this traditional fixture would astound even such hardy souls as the operators of a three-ring circus. Confronted with the

57. "History of the Student Body," 1932-33, pp. 76-77.

problem of staging a tennis tournament, a posture parade, and a track and field event involving a total of 3,000 youngsters, not to mention the problem of caring for several thousand spectators, I imagine the average ringmaster would decide it's much easier to direct a group of temperamental troupers and a flock of animals from the African jungles.

Yet Brigham Young University officials and their friends have been tackling this mammoth undertaking year after year with an eagerness that has pushed the event to one success after another. Approximately twenty-five acres of Brigham Young University ground will be turned into athletic fields to make room for the various events in this year's program. Even the orchard near the athletic field and the football practice areas have been converted into javelin lanes and shotput rings to avoid crowding on the regular stadium turf.

In all, about one hundred fifty officials will cooperate in conducting the various events, presenting awards to the winners, tabulating the results, getting the athletes ready to perform at the prescribed time and arranging for the general comfort and entertainment of the competitors and the fans.

All this work represents a tremendous expansion since E. L. Roberts, then Director of Athletics and Physical Education at the Y, inaugurated this event in modest fashion back in 1911. Nevertheless, the proof of the pudding is in the eating, and this gigantic program is a remarkable monument to the foresight and imagination of Director Roberts as well as a high credit to the energy of the men who have so enthusiastically put their shoulders to the wheel since that time.

Reaching as it does into so many homes in this vast intermountain empire, the relay carnival offers a striking display of modern youth in body-building activities. It is indeed a remarkable incentive to athletic ambition and another means of insuring clear-minded, strong-bodied men and women for future America.⁵⁸

58. *Salt Lake Telegram*, 9 April 1940.



Participants in a posture parade on Temple Hill in the 1920s. Posture parades were a part of the annual BYU Invitational Track and Field Meet.

Cursed with Clubs

Clubs and social units complemented athletics as important aspects of extracurricular student life at BYU in the thirties and the forties. Although fraternities and sororities were banned, pledge night for social units was reminiscent of fraternity initiations. Girls were “locked in closets” and fellows blindfolded and “dragged to canyons,” where they were left to find their way out of the mountains. Other inductees were “unmercifully harangued” until pledge night was over.⁵⁹ Women’s social units vied with each other to set fashion trends and to dominate class elections. Aggressive men’s units competed to win the approval of their feminine counterparts. Prominent among these men’s units were the Brickers, Mates, Brigadiers, Tausigs, Val Hyrics, and Vikings, who were equally competitive in their pursuit of their feminine counterparts.

Despite President Harris’s efforts, by 1932 only one-third of all BYU students were involved in campus social units. In 1933 Harris changed his emphasis from social units to clubs, adopting the slogan, “Every student in at least one club.”⁶⁰ Though there were over forty student clubs by December 1935, one-third of the student body still claimed affiliation with no kind of campus social organization.⁶¹

Other organizations encouraged students to participate in extracurricular activities. The “Big Sister” program of the 1920s became the “Mentor System.” Under the direction of Nettie Smart, dean of women, freshman girls were arbitrarily assigned to junior and senior girls with social leadership ability who were generally affiliated with an organized unit on campus. These girls acted as big sisters or social leaders for their mentor groups during the entire school year. By that time most of the girls had become associated with one of the social organizations on campus.⁶²

59. *BYU Banyan*, 1935, p. 219.

60. Franklin S. Harris to George Hansen, 28 November 1933, box 44, Harris Presidential Papers.

61. “Cursed with Clubs,” *Y News*, 19 December 1935.

62. Franklin S. Harris to Franklin L. West, 11 February 1938, box 1, folder 7, UA 536, BYU Archives.



Members of a BYU social unit in the 1930s.

Designed to add “a new link in the social system of Brigham Young University,” a chapter of the LDS Church fraternity, Lambda Delta Sigma, opened at BYU in November 1938. Wesley Lloyd, adviser of social organizations, supervised the new organization with the assistance of J. Wyley Sessions.⁶³ Being “more religious in nature than the present units of the campus,” Lambda Delta Sigma chapters with faculty advisers attracted about two hundred students.⁶⁴

As student enrollment passed 2,500, President Harris recognized that the system of social units “had its limitations,” but he saw no reason to discontinue the program.⁶⁵ The desirability of social units was not questioned until much later, and Harris persisted in his efforts to insure proper social as well as intellectual growth for BYU college students.

Since Uncle Sammy Called the Boys

After the United States declared war on Japan in December 1941 and massive voluntary enlistments as well as conscriptions of BYU students began, some people assumed there would be no college graduating classes for 1944 or 1945. Many students who did not go to war took high-paying jobs in the rising economy, but a few BYU students, even though they flinched “uncomfortably whenever people asked us why we were going to college when there was a war going on,” were convinced that education would better prepare them to meet the challenges of the future, and therefore remained in school. This was especially true of those who could not qualify

63. Lambda Delta Sigma (Greek letters standing for LDS) was organized to involve LDS college students in extracurricular activities with other members of the Church. In 1938 there were chapters at the University of Utah, Utah State Agricultural College, and Arizona State University, among others (“Lambda Delta Sigma, Unique Social Organization Planned for BYU Students,” *Y News*, 14 October 1938; and *Deseret News*, 29 November 1938).

64. “Lambda Delta Sigma, Unique Social Organization Planned for BYU Students,” *Y News*, 14 October 1938.

65. Franklin S. Harris, “Some Activities at Brigham Young University during the Presidency of Franklin S. Harris, 1921-1945,” UA 452, BYU Archives.

for service in the U. S. Armed Forces.⁶⁶

The 1941-42 school year brought the war closer to home as BYU men signed with the reserve forces. Fortunately, athletics bolstered the school's morale that year. The new basketball coach, Floyd Millet, took his team to a record of seventeen wins against only three losses. 1942 was a milestone in BYU athletics, for the football team not only defeated the University of Utah for the first time, but the basketball team won its way to the post-season tournament in New York's Madison Square Garden for the first time. Because of gasoline rationing, football was suspended after the 1942 season, but basketball continued on a limited basis.⁶⁷

Students insisted on holding their traditional Junior Prom during the 1942-43 school year. The dance culminated two and one-half months of preparation. At the student body assembly, a committee of girls unfurled a huge satin banner bearing the theme "Invitation to Dream" as four pianists played "I'll See You Again." That night a national radio hookup featuring Arnold Burgner substituted for live band music, and students danced in the Joseph Smith Building Ballroom, which was decorated to resemble a sunken garden.⁶⁸

Not long after the Junior Prom, nineteen of the top men on campus were called up for naval training at the University of Chicago. Since this group included most of the student leaders, the student government was left "near to being a calamity." In April 1943 army reservists were called into active service. School ended with a huge production, "Ain't College Grand?" depicting the campus under the strains of war. Every heart fluttered as the cast sang the hit tune of the production, "Since Uncle Sammy Called the Boys."⁶⁹

In the fall of 1943 there were so few men on campus that the Associated Men Students organization did not function.

66. "Editorial," *Y News*, 17 February 1944.

67. "History of the Student Body," 1942-43, pp. 74-75.

68. "History of the Student Body," 1942-43, p. 83; and 1943-44, p. 140.

69. "History of the Student Body," 1943-44, p. 140.

Women students accepted the shortage of men philosophically, joking about it in assemblies and bidding for dates to student activities. One ingenious girl suggested a system for rationing dates similar to the national program for rationing gasoline.⁷⁰ With so few men on campus, the Associated Women Students organization assumed responsibility for keeping girls socially occupied with carnivals, hazing, big sister programs, and girls' day activities.

In 1944-45 women students outnumbered men by a margin of six to one, and there was no homecoming activity, no football, no leadership week, and no Alpine Summer School, but the Associated Women Students "rolled up their sleeves and arranged a record-breaking calendar of fun and frolic for the 1,150 women students."⁷¹ The Associated Men Students organization also revived its efforts to provide for the needs of the 210 men on campus. They sponsored a beard-growing contest, a pie-eating contest, and the traditional "Smokeless Smoker," a rowdy day of jokes, stories, piano playing, tumbling, arm-wrestling, dunking, tug-of-war, boxing, and eating.⁷²

Students did what they could to contribute to the war cause, sponsoring a "Stag Rag Ball" for the nationwide clothing drive for needy Europeans.⁷³ The *Y News* featured a section called "The Fighting Sons of Brigham" in 1943 and "The Fighting Cougar" in 1944, listing names and locations of former BYU students in the Armed Forces, along with other news related to how the war affected the students and the school. Professor Pardoe and his associates provided former students with a school newsletter. In November 1944 President Harris wrote BYU men in the service, "Each day brings one or more letters from some former student of Brigham Young University. These letters come from all parts of the world. . . . At

70. Arlene Andrew, "Effects of Rationing Described by Andrew," *Y News*, 27 May 1943.

71. "History of the Student Body," 1944-45, p. 174.

72. *Ibid.*, p. 81.

73. *Ibid.*, p. 97.

Brigham Young University we never have prayer offered in any of our functions without having our service men remembered. You are very much in our hearts and our affections.”⁷⁴

School spirit was at a low ebb in 1944, but students would not allow authorities to cancel Y Day. They protested, “We need a Y Day more than we ever did before. . . . With the virtual abandonment of varsity sports and the sinking of the social program into small dances that are attended . . . by comparatively small numbers of students, there is a very real need for some activity that will unite ALL the members of the student body.”⁷⁵ Administrators reversed their decision, and Y Day 1944 became Y Day — Girls’ Day. Sports activities and food were the main attractions, but the Y on the mountain had to remain slightly gray for another year because the work of whitewashing the school emblem was considered too strenuous for the ladies to handle.

Planning for a Student Union

In 1944 President Harris, prompted by the enthusiasm of faculty members and students, made a proposal to the Board of Trustees for the erection of a building to house student and alumni activities. The Board of Trustees approved the project in April, and Harris expected construction to begin as soon as conditions permitted.⁷⁶ Dean Herald R. Clark was appointed general chairman of the project, which was expected to cost around \$250,000. Eight months after the building was approved, Harris wrote Lynn Taylor that “The mere announcement of this project brought almost magic response from a group of enthusiastic friends who have contributed more than \$28,000 toward the fund for the building.”⁷⁷ Long

74. Harris to “BY’sers in the Service,” 28 November 1944, box 101, folder B, Harris Presidential Papers. *See also* “Short Biographical Sketches of BYU Students in World War II, 1939-45,” Mor 920.0792, B97, BYU Library Special Collections.

75. “Why No Y Day,” *Y News*, 27 April 1944.

76. BYU Faculty Meeting Minutes, 10 April 1944.

77. Harris to Taylor, 20 December 1944, box 103, folder T, Harris Presidential Papers.

lists of contributors appeared in successive issues of Board of Trustees minutes.

President Harris considered this project to be of utmost importance to the morale of the school. He wrote the committee in charge of the building,

Let me say that I believe that you are taking up one of the most important projects ever launched in the history of this University. If we are able to erect the right kind of a building, this will have a tremendous influence on the spirit of the school and the intimate life of the students who study here. It should also be a great aid to the faculty in carrying on their work of reducing disciplinary problems and increasing the social opportunities of the school.⁷⁸

Plans for the new building carried on with full enthusiasm, but the facility did not become a reality until 1965.

Student Government

Student government at BYU began in 1909. The 1922 college constitution stated that the purpose of student government was "to further educational growth, to foster high ideals of conduct, to insure cooperative development, to broaden the field of our service, to govern ourselves more wisely, and to establish worthy traditions for us and all that may follow."⁷⁹ Except for minor adjustments, the structure of student government remained relatively unchanged during the Harris period. The 1924 constitution called for the election of a president, first vice-president, second vice-president, secretary-historian, editors of *Y News* and *Banyan*, and a cheerleader. Editors of *White and Blue* (literary magazine) and *Y's Guys* (humor magazine) were appointed by the student council, of which President Harris was an ex-officio member. The council included a representative from each class and one

78. Franklin S. Harris to Herald R. Clark, Franklin Haymore, and Emel Morton, 20 November 1944, box 90, folder C, Harris Presidential Papers.

79. "College Constitution," *Y News*, 12 April 1922.

from the secondary training school. The council also selected one faculty member to serve with it.⁸⁰

The student council maintained a finance committee to regulate the expenditure of money allotted to the student body. In 1923-24 the student body spent its allocation of \$9,500 as follows:

Athletics	\$4,600
Debate	650
<i>Banyan</i>	500
<i>Y News</i>	850
Honors	500
Lyceum	1,500
General Expenses	900 ⁸¹

As enrollment increased, so did student body income, and yearly student body fees were raised from ten dollars in the 1920s to fifteen dollars in the 1930s.

The student council also maintained a Lyceum Committee and a Public Service Bureau, organized in 1921 by Ernest L. Wilkinson. As early as 1922 the Public Service Bureau produced fifty-two programs involving 460 persons which reached audiences totaling 25,000. In subsequent years, the bureau produced up to 200 programs yearly throughout the Intermountain West. It featured programs from the departments of Dramatic Arts, Music, Art, and Physical Education. This Public Service Bureau was the forerunner of the BYU Program Bureau that received international recognition in later years.

The student council proclaimed the school colors to be white and blue and the block Y to be the official letter of the student body given participants in intercollegiate activities, student body officers, and all students receiving their bachelor's degree. In 1936 a new constitution outlined in

80. "Student Body Constitution," *Y News*, 17 September 1924. The first official student body constitution was adopted on 18 March 1920. Prior to that time the student body functioned under "articles of organization" (see box 29, folder 3, Brimhall Presidential Papers).

81. Minutes of Meetings of the Student Body Council, 1923-24, BYU Archives, p. 7.

detail the roles of student body officers and committees. It also provided for the election of more officers and stipulated that students had to be upper classmen to hold certain positions.

The student organization was officially known as the Student Body until 1933 when the title Associated Students of Brigham Young University was used for the first time. The student government efficiently administered the affairs of the small student body with relatively little supervision from the school's administrators. Harris felt that students could most effectively run their own affairs. Faculty members and administrators participated as friends, not as superiors.

Counseling Services

Brigham Young University had an elaborate student guidance system during the entire Harris Administration. The system was decentralized but easily coordinated because of the smallness of the institution. Guidance specialists included the dean of women, the dean of men (dean of students after 1937), the Attendance and Scholarship Committee, the Student Personnel Committee, the Social Committee, the Social Unit Committee, directors and teachers of religion, the chairman of the student's major department, and the faculty proctors of the cooperative clubs.

The dean of women counseled female students, especially incoming freshman girls. The first dean of men, Dr. A. Rex Johnson, served during the late spring and the summer months of 1937. When President Harris invited Dr. Wesley P. Lloyd, who was head of the Social Units Committee, to be dean of men just before the beginning of the 1937-38 school year, he asked Dean Lloyd to study ways to correlate the activities of the school's guidance services. Lloyd's efforts resulted in new emphasis on registration and student orientation, ground breaking for the first student residence halls, and emphasis on the Associated Men Students as a resource for developing student activities.

The deans of the various colleges registered freshmen and sophomores in their colleges, while major department profes-

sors assisted juniors and seniors. This intimate relationship between faculty members and students made it possible for the University to monitor student progress “without seeming to use the iron fist.”⁸²

The Scholarship and Attendance Committee functioned as the disciplinary arm of the University. It used the following “Standards and Rules Governing Student Conduct at BYU” as guidelines:

The University *confidently* looks to the students to maintain upon their own initiative the high ideals and moral standards of the Church that founded this institution.

In a University community of three thousand students it is helpful to know some of the specific things that are expected in order that the rights of all may be preserved.

General Student Conduct:

1. Students are *required* to place major emphasis upon their elected program of study and to maintain satisfactory academic rating.
2. The use of tobacco or intoxicating liquor either on or off campus is prohibited.
3. Students are required to maintain order in all buildings of the institution.

Rules Governing Student Housing and Living Conditions Off Campus:

1. All housing arrangements are subject to the approval of the Housing Committee.
2. Before transferring from one residence to another during the regular school year permission *must be secured* from the chairman of the Housing Committee and from the chairman of the Attendance and Scholarship Committee.
3. Women students are not permitted to enter the living quarters of men except when properly chaperoned.
4. Men and women students are not expected to occupy rooms in the same rooming house except in the cases of brother and sister.
5. The keeping of late hours will not be permitted. Students are expected to be in their living quarters at the

82. Franklin S. Harris to Waide M. Condon, 4 April 1933, box 38, folder

latest by eleven o'clock on school nights.

6. Proprietors of boarding and rooming houses are *required* to report violations of these rules or *any improper conduct* on the part of the students directly to the chairman of the Attendance and Scholarship Committee.⁸³

Harris's unwritten policy was that dress should be "on the conservative side"; there was little fuss over dress standards, except perhaps when girls appeared at formal dances wearing strapless evening gowns. Gerrit de Jong wrote, "Whenever the important decisions had to be made that necessitated a choice between the ultimate welfare of the student and unwavering subscription to rules and regulations, President Harris relied largely on his remarkable gift for recognizing permanent values. He invariably allowed himself to be guided by the spirit rather than by the letter of the law that applied."⁸⁴ Harris summarized his personal philosophy on dress standards in a letter to Horace Cummings:

I know there is a good deal of discussion of the effect of length of skirts and length of sleeves, etc., on modesty and morality. As I stated before, I, myself, am somewhat baffled to know just what the relationship is. . . . However, I do like to see modesty, whatever that may be. We are constantly alert in the institution here to try to preserve it. If we vary too much from the prevailing methods of dress, we establish a selfconsciousness among the young people which has its bad effects. I think that we as a people, however, can safely be on the conservative side in all dress matters.⁸⁵

The directors and teachers of religion felt a special obligation to become intimately acquainted with the students in their classes and to encourage them to talk to professors about personal problems. Before President-Emeritus Brimhall died

C, Harris Presidential Papers.

83. Box 80, folder B, Harris Presidential Papers.

84. Gerrit de Jong, "President Franklin S. Harris — 24 Years at Brigham Young University," p. 9.

85. Harris to Cummings, 13 May 1937, box 62, folder C, Harris Presidential Papers.

in 1932, he, as director of religion, took personal interest in the welfare of his students. He often sent questionnaires to the religion teachers, asking, "Will you kindly furnish a statement of what you have done thus far this year toward rendering the members of your class pastoral attention in the lines of becoming personally acquainted with them?" He also asked, "How often do your students pray and would they take religion classes if not required?" These anonymous surveys helped Brimhall assess the spiritual progress of BYU students.

Another part of student services, the Personnel Committee, administered aptitude and achievement tests to freshman students and assigned new students to faculty advisers. Faculty members rendered service as advisers to students in their major departments.

President Harris was an important link in the system of student counseling services. The open door policy he maintained toward faculty members was also in effect for students. He provided many students with the inspiration they needed to finish their college careers. Because of his concern for students, they respected him very much. A former student wrote,

As students we all respected President Harris very highly. Having never been to a University before, I was particularly naive, strictly a farm boy from the broad sagebrush plains of southern Idaho. We thought of him, not only as a fine scholar, sophisticated — in the best sense of the word — urbane, world traveled, and a gentleman; but we also knew him to be a sensitive and perceptive father-away-from-home to every student.

President Harris had a phenomenal memory for names and faces and knew almost every student on campus by name. Because of his extensive agricultural research work in rural Utah communities, he was acquainted with the families and neighbors of many of his students. This helped new students feel more at home as they faced life at BYU. And Harris did not forget students. He was often able to call them by name years after they left the University.

President Harris diligently supported student activities. A

former student wrote, "As a student, I never ceased to be astonished by his ability and willingness to find time to support university activities — not simply athletic events, but concerts, lyceums, plays, operas, recitals, exhibits, etc. As a participant in numerous plays and musical events, I learned almost to expect President and Mrs. Harris would be present." As Harris served his students, he became as loyal to them as they were to him and to the school he represented. He always tried to maintain contact with the young people who "work themselves into our hearts and then . . . leave to go about their business."⁸⁶

A New Religion Program for Students

In the 1920s many of the students at Brigham Young University were still from the Utah County area, and they often rode the Orem Interurban train home on weekends where they attended Church in their home wards. School administrators encouraged students who spent their weekends in Provo to attend Provo wards where they resided. The students often felt out of place in the local wards, and bishops had a hard time making them feel a real part of the congregation. As enrollment increased to over 2,500 students in the late 1930s, it became increasingly difficult for the local wards to function with so many extra participants; the classroom and activity facilities in the Provo wards could not accommodate all the students who wished to attend.

As faculty and administrators of Brigham Young University observed the growing need for supervision of the University students in their Church activities, the newly organized Division of Religion formed a committee to study the problem. Their suggestion was the organization of a priesthood program, a Sunday School, and a Mutual Improvement Association specifically designed to meet the needs of college students. The committee hoped the new program would:

86. Franklin S. Harris to "New York BY'sers," 28 February 1931, box 31, folder O, Harris Presidential Papers.

- A. Improve personal attitude and conduct by striving for a positive attitude toward the ideals of Mormonism.
- B. Improve brotherly attitude by being "your brother's keeper" in the situation that arises from:

1. Religious growing pains
2. Social maladjustments
3. Academic failures
4. Financial difficulties
5. Housing problems
6. Many others that might be mentioned.⁸⁷

Feeling that the dignity and powers of the priesthood and Church organization intermingled with the goals of the University would bring much greater commitment from LDS youth, the committee saw the new program as a means for "fostering a dynamic religious environment at the University," for "maintaining a high scholastic standard," and for "supporting a more effective social organization of the student body."⁸⁸

Acting through Christen Jensen, the committee presented its plan to the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees, suggesting that the Joseph Smith Memorial Building, then under construction, would be an ideal place for Sunday School and MIA activities. In its 15 March 1940 meeting the Executive Committee promised to consider the proposal.⁸⁹ The idea required careful study. Never before had the Church given ecclesiastical powers to a university. After a year's deliberation, the Church officially established Sunday School and MIA work at Brigham Young University. The activities were to be conducted under the direct supervision of the Board of Trustees, and courses were to follow those outlined by the general boards of the Sunday School and the Mutual Improvement Association. The Church also gave the

87. Professors Sessions, Wilson, Eyring, Nicholes, Swensen, and Lloyd, to Christen Jensen, 11 March 1940, box 89, religion folder, Harris Presidential Papers.

88. Ibid.

89. BYU Executive Committee Minutes, 15 March 1940.

University authority to establish “a procedure to encourage and check activities of students in Priesthood quorums affiliation with the understanding that a suitable report system may be devised to apprise bishops of wards having jurisdiction of the membership of such students of such data as may be useful to them in determining graduation or advancement in the Priesthood.”⁹⁰

With the completion of the Joseph Smith Building, the program got under way. President Harris conducted the first Mutual Improvement Association meeting on 7 October 1941 with 486 young people in attendance. The superintendency of the new Sunday School, directly under the supervision of J. Wyley Sessions, was composed of students, while BYU religion teachers served as class instructors. The courses of study were quite similar to the religious education classes on campus.⁹¹ Because of World War II, the full effects of this revolutionary program in religious education could not be measured until much later. From 1941 to 1945 most of the leadership positions in these organizations were filled by faculty members rather than students. Not until after the war was BYU faced with the problem of establishing an even more extensive ecclesiastical organization at the school.

The Alumni Association

The Alumni Association of Brigham Young University was organized in 1893. During the Harris period it was rather small, but it nonetheless contributed to many activities and events on campus. A president of the association functioned

90. BYU Executive Committee Minutes, 2 May 1941.

91. Classes taught during fall quarter, 1941, included “The Doctrines of the Church” by Sidney B. Sperry, “Missionary Training” by J. Wyley Sessions, “Contributions of Modern Scripture to Present Living” by Thomas Broadbent, “Gospel Messages” by O. Meredith Wilson, “Church in Action” by Wesley D. Lloyd, and “The Cultural Contributions of Mormonism” by Russel Swensen. The “Gospel Messages” and “Church in Action” classes enjoyed the largest attendance. The average weekly attendance at Sunday School that quarter was 540 (Walter Lewis, Theron Knight, and Phyllis Poulson to BYU Department of Religion, 18 January 1942, box 109, Harris Presidential Papers).

as the governing agent until 1926 when an executive secretary was added, along with an alumni board. In 1923 the Alumni Association organized a series of chapters throughout Utah and the United States. All former students who had attended at least one term of regular work at BYU were eligible for membership in the local chapters.⁹² By 1940 the most active Alumni Association chapters were New York City, Denver, Ogden, Los Angeles, Salt Lake City, and Idaho Falls.

The Alumni Association made substantial contributions to BYU during the Harris years. Feeling that "the greatest service that could be rendered the Institution by the Association at this time [1931] was the building of morale for the University and assistance in increasing the enrollment," the Alumni Association worked to recruit students.⁹³ It also collected money for the stadium and for general campus improvements.

The association played an important role in BYU's semi-centennial celebration in 1925. Heralding the event as "the climax of the historical development of Brigham Young University," the Alumni Association gathered souvenirs for exhibition at the celebration.⁹⁴ Railroads granted excursion group rates to bring participants to the celebration. Begun on October 15, the three days' activities included programs, a historical session, dinners, an academic procession, a jubilee ball, dedication of the new Heber J. Grant Library, a parade, class contests, a student dance, and a football game. Besides evoking the past, the semicentennial celebration effectively directed Brigham Young University into the future.

In 1929 the Alumni Association became involved in the University's drive for a permanent endowment fund. On June 12 the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees met to discuss "preliminary plans and suggestions for an endowment drive for a 'greater Church University.'" Estab-

92. Harold W. Pease, "The History of the Alumni Association and Its Influence on the Development of Brigham Young University" (Ph. D. dissertation, Brigham Young University, 1973), p. 58.

93. BYU Alumni Association Board Minutes, 2 March 1931.

94. Pease, "Alumni Association History," p. 72.

lishing a goal of \$2,500,000, the Board and President Harris were determined to use all possible means to gain contributions, for the University could not continue to grow and improve with an annual budget of \$200,000 and a small income from tuition and fees. If BYU could establish a large endowment fund, it could survive financial conditions that were forcing the Church to close its junior colleges.

Since the Alumni Association had access to friends and former students of the University, it was an important part of the Endowment Fund drive. The theme for the 1929 alumni banquet was the Endowment Fund drive, and one of the main speakers, President Heber J. Grant, donated a thousand dollars. Dr. Joseph F. Merrill, superintendent of Church schools, also spoke and donated one hundred dollars. Dr. Richard R. Lyman, president of the Alumni Association, donated one thousand dollars. Others followed, including J. William Knight, Judge Johnson Greenwood, L.H. Holbrook, Jennie Brimhall Knight, Augusta W. Grant, and L.H. Holbrook, Jr., all of whom gave substantial sums. Twenty other people each donated one hundred dollars. With contributions from three hundred people, the event raised \$8,500 to begin the Endowment Fund.⁹⁵ The Depression hit the nation just a few months after the Endowment Fund was initiated, and the donations abruptly dwindled. In 1931 President Harris was invited to report to the Alumni Association on the status of the Endowment Fund. He wisely recommended that a "vigorous campaign ought not be started at this time,"⁹⁶ and the Depression delayed further work on the project for years.

Richard R. Lyman began the Emeritus Club as an affiliate of the Alumni Association in 1941. Both Lyman and his wife graduated with the class of 1891, and he proposed that all living alumni who graduated that year or earlier should be honored.⁹⁷ The school accepted Lyman's proposal and chose

95. For more details, see "An Appeal to the Friends and Students of the Brigham Young University," 1 November 1929, box 84, "Reasons for BYU" folder, Harris Presidential Papers.

96. BYU Alumni Association Board Minutes, 28 January 1930.

97. Pease, "Alumni Association History," pp. 144-46.

commencement week, 1941, to honor the class of 1891 and others who attended the Academy prior to that date. A large mail and radio campaign tried to reach every former student. President Grant was to confer an honorary degree of doctor of laws upon Supreme Court Justice George Sutherland, a graduate of Brigham Young Academy. Sutherland was unable to attend the festivities, but his speech, paying glowing tribute to Karl G. Maeser, was read to the crowd.

Richard R. Lyman was chosen president of the Emeritus Club. Of the estimated 5,000 former students who could have become members of the Emeritus Club, only about 1,000 were still alive in 1941. About 150 of these oldtimers gathered for the first Alumni Emeritus Banquet.⁹⁸ Diantha Billings Worsley, Emma Stubbs Taylor, Alice Smoot Newell, Mary E. Cluff Little, Charles Albert Glazier, and Samuel D. Moore, all members of Karl G. Maeser's first class in 1876, attended the banquet. The Emeritus Club, representative of the many enthusiastic activities promoted by the Alumni Association, was thus very successful from its foundation.

98. General Authorities over seventy years old also qualify as BYU emeriti.

22

We Are All Enlisted: 1939-1945

Reorganization of the Board of Trustees

The 1940s saw the realignment of administrative functions within the Church Educational System. By then a majority of Church schools had either been closed or turned over to the state, while the system of seminaries and institutes adjacent to high schools and colleges was growing very rapidly. As early as 13 April 1938 Church Commissioner Franklin L. West suggested the desirability of centralizing control of all Church schools. Rather than maintain separate boards of trustees for each Church school, West “recommended that we have one General Board for the whole Church School System, which would mean the dissolution of the local boards of BYU, Ricks College and LDS Business College. This move is calculated to integrate the entire Church School System.”¹ This was an obvious step toward unification of the entire Church Educational System, but as Stephen L Richards pointed out, there were some “legal points involved” in the dissolution of the local boards. The General Board adopted a motion by Richards that the reorganization be approved in principle but

1. General Board Minutes, 13 April 1938.

that a committee be appointed by the President of the Church to study the recommendation.

From the beginning, Stephen L. Richards was a leading exponent of this reorganization of the Board. He especially liked the idea of having General Authorities constitute the Board of Trustees of BYU, but he was not in favor of merging the BYU Board of Trustees with the Church Board of Education. President Heber J. Grant felt that "Brigham Young University is not a Provo institution, but a Church institution, and it should be so understood by everyone."² The Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees at the time were all Utah County men, Thomas N. Taylor, Stephen L. Chipman, and J. William Knight. Although Thomas N. Taylor, chairman of the Executive Committee, was a close friend of President Grant and had efficiently worked with President Harris on the administrative problems of the University, President Grant felt that the time had arrived for Brigham Young University to dispense with the last vestige of its image as a local school. If this could be done by the dissolution of the local Board and the inauguration of a more efficiently integrated Church school system, President Grant was in favor of the change.

President Grant therefore appointed Stephen L. Richards and Albert E. Bowen, two lawyers who were also members of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, and Commissioner Franklin L. West to report at the next meeting of the General Church Board of Education on their evaluation of Commissioner West's proposal. The report, dated 20 July 1938, examined the legal status of Brigham Young University, Latter-day Saints College, Ricks College, the mission schools (Jaurez Academy in Mexico and the Church School in Kelsey, Texas), seminaries and institutes, and the Deseret Gymnasium. The committee reported that the Articles of Incorporation of the Latter-day Saints College would "shortly expire by limitation," which would automatically solve the legal problems of the proposed dissolution of that local board. Ricks

2. Ibid.

College had never been incorporated, and since the property was vested in the local stake president of the Church, "It would seem to us entirely unnecessary to maintain the present Board of Trustees." The mission schools in Mexico and Texas had no separate boards of trustees. The seminaries and institutes were already functioning under the General Church Board of Education with the Church commissioner of education as their executive officer. The Deseret Gymnasium was functioning under a board of control "selected from the various auxiliary organizations of the Church and Salt Lake County Stake Presidencies." The committee recommended that since appropriations for the Deseret Gymnasium came directly from the General Board, administration of the facility could easily be transferred from its board of control to the General Church Board of Education.

The case of Brigham Young University was a little more complicated. The committee recommended that the First Presidency ask the heirs of Brigham Young to waive all future rights under the stipulation of the Deed of Trust that there should always be three heirs of Brigham Young on the Board of Trustees. The committee pointed out that, under the Articles of Incorporation of Brigham Young University adopted in 1896, "The control of the Institution is vested in the First Presidency of the Church with power to appoint officers and trustees thereof." Therefore, no violence would be done "to the provision of the conveyances" if the First Presidency would appoint a "complete new Board of Trustees for the University."³ The letter to the First Presidency, which was made a part of the minutes of the meeting of the General Church Board of Education, further suggested that the Articles of Incorporation of BYU, which had provided for a Board of Trustees of twelve members, could well be amended "to include all of the members of the General Board of Education if that were desired." The committee concluded that these amendments and the appointment of an entirely new

3. Stephen L. Richards, Franklin L. West, and Albert E. Bowen to the First Presidency, 20 July 1938, Stephen L. Richards Papers, Office of the First Presidency, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Board of Trustees would not “disturb the present corporate status of the University.”⁴

With legal problems so easily resolved, the committee recommended “that direct control and supervision of the educational agencies and departments of the Church . . . should be vested in the General Board of Education with the Commissioner of Education as its chief officer.” The committee saw many advantages “in this plan for centralized control.” These included a central budgetary and auditing system and “a more complete unification of the educational agencies, policies, and activities of the Church.”⁵

Stephen L Richards, making some supplementary remarks to the committee report, stated, “The Committee believe that the living children of Brigham Young should be consulted with from a gracious standpoint, and not from the standpoint of legal necessity.” Richards’s recommendation was adopted, and after some discussion, the General Board approved another motion by Stephen L Richards “that the General Church Board of Education declare itself as favorable to the adoption of the recommendations contained in the foregoing report, and that the Commissioner of Education be instructed to carry the recommendations into effect.”⁶

Though the recommendations did not make it clear whether the president of BYU was to be responsible to the Church commissioner of education or directly to the Board of Trustees, the General Board worked quickly to implement the new program. The First Presidency of the Church met with the Board of Trustees of Brigham Young University on 28 September 1938 and

4. General Board Minutes, 20 July 1938.

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.* Ernest L. Wilkinson wrote Stephen L Richards in 1951, “I want to take this opportunity . . . to thank you for your vision some twelve or fourteen years ago in having the Board of Trustees of the Brigham Young University changed so as to include members of the Quorum of the Twelve. As I see it, that decision was the most important step forward ever taken in making the Brigham Young University the University of the Church” (Wilkinson to Richards, 7 June 1951, Wilkinson Presidential Papers).

explained that in the administration of the Church school system greater simplification was desired. . . . The method of simplification that had been decided on was to place larger responsibilities for the remaining institutions in the hands of the Church Board of Education.

All members of the Board [of Trustees] who were present expressed approval of this plan. Each one told of his pleasure in serving the University and pledged support to the new members of the Board to be appointed by the First Presidency.⁷

The First Presidency sent letters to retiring BYU Board members, stating that the change was made “to bring about a more effective control in the Church School System.”⁸

On 2 November 1938 Commissioner West reported to the General Church Board of Education that the Brigham Young University Board of Trustees had been advised that they should call a meeting and “disorganize the Board. Stephen L. Richards agreed to assist in the matter. Following that action, the First Presidency will appoint a new Board of Trustees of the Brigham Young University.”⁹ Seeing the change as only a change in personnel, Franklin S. Harris wrote Commissioner West,

In regard to the legal procedure in transferring from one board to another, it seems to me that the thing to do would be for the First Presidency to announce the new personnel of the Board of Trustees. You see, there is not a change from one system to another, but simply a change in personnel. . . . Time after time in the past there have been additions made to the Board of Trustees. . . . The First Presidency would announce who the new Trustees are, they would meet as a Board of Trustees, and then proper minutes would be made.¹⁰

7. BYU Board Minutes, 28 September 1938.

8. Stephen L. Richards Church School Papers, September 1938, Office of the First Presidency.

9. General Board Minutes, 2 November 1938.

10. Harris to West, 11 November 1938, box 1, folder 7, Franklin L. West Papers, BYU Archives.

But Commissioner West insisted that more than a change of personnel was involved. He said that the BYU Board of Trustees should disorganize itself. He told Harris, "The only new record that will be made will be when the First Presidency notifies you that either the present General Board or such a one as they may appoint in the immediate future will be your Board."¹¹ As a matter of legal procedure and assuming there was to be a new BYU Board of Trustees appointed, Harris was right. Since the Trustees of BYU had no power to appoint new members to the Board, they had no power to disorganize the Board. Legal technicalities notwithstanding, Harris and West agreed that the First Presidency should appoint the new Board of Trustees.

Composition of the New Board

Formal organization of the new Board occurred on 2 February 1939.¹² Harris recorded in his diary that the General Church Board of Education met at 10:00 A.M. and that there was a meeting of the Board of Trustees of Brigham Young University later that day. Separate minutes were taken for the two meetings, the minutes of the General Church Board of Education over the signature of Arthur Winter, secretary, and those of the Board of Trustees of Brigham Young University over the signature of Kiefer B. Sauls, secretary. This procedure was followed throughout the balance of the Harris Administration and during the presidencies of Howard S. McDonald and Ernest L. Wilkinson. Thus, the Board of Trustees of Brigham Young University remained separate from the General Church Board of Education. President Harris had won his point over Commissioner West that the change was to be a change of personnel and not a dissolution of the Board of Trustees of Brigham Young University and a complete unification of control of the Church Educational System

11. West to Harris, 2 December 1938, Franklin L. West Papers.

12. Harris wrote the date 1 February 1939 in his diary, but the official minutes of the first meeting of the new Board show 2 February 1939 as the date of organization.

under the commissioner of education.¹³

President Grant did not attend the organizational meeting. On motion of Richard R. Lyman, President J. Reuben Clark, Jr., was appointed temporary chairman. Those present were J. Reuben Clark, Jr., David O. McKay, Rudger Clawson, Joseph Fielding Smith, Stephen L Richards, Richard R. Lyman, John A. Widtsoe, Joseph F. Merrill, Franklin L. West, Franklin S. Harris, and Arthur Winter. President Clark

announced that the following persons had been appointed by the First Presidency as trustees of the Brigham Young University: Heber J. Grant, J. Reuben Clark, Jr., David O. McKay, Rudger Clawson, Joseph Fielding Smith, Stephen L Richards, Richard R. Lyman, John A. Widtsoe, Joseph F. Merrill, Charles A. Callis, Franklin L. West, Adam S. Bennion, Franklin S. Harris, and Arthur Winter. These persons have all qualified according to the law.

On motion of Stephen L Richards, the Board approved the appointment of the following officers: Heber J. Grant, President; J. Reuben Clark, Jr., and David O. McKay, as First and Second Vice-Presidents, respectively. On motion of Franklin S. Harris, Kiefer B. Sauls was appointed Secretary-Treasurer of the Board.¹⁴

The members of the General Church Board of Education and the Board of Trustees of Brigham Young University were now the same. All three members of the First Presidency and seven members of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles had

13. Notes on the reorganization appeared only in the minutes of the Board of Trustees of Brigham Young University and not in the minutes of the General Church Board of Education for 2 February 1939. Kiefer B. Sauls, who served as secretary-treasurer of the Board of Trustees of Brigham Young University for the remainder of the Harris Administration and beyond indicated that there was a sincere difference of opinion between Commissioner West and President Harris over including Brigham Young University in West's proposal for centralized control of the Church Educational System and that this difference was discussed by the Board of Trustees on a number of occasions (James R. Clark interview with Kiefer B. Sauls, June 1974).

14. BYU Board Minutes, 2 February 1939.

become members of the Board of Trustees of Brigham Young University. Stephen L Richards and John A. Widtsoe were particularly close friends and educational advisers of Franklin S. Harris. The letters of appointment sent to President Harris, Stephen L Richards, and other members of the new Board stated:

The Brigham Young University has become one of the great schools of the country. The retiring Board of Trustees have rendered great service in building it from its humble beginning to the position of usefulness, power, and prestige which it now holds. In appointing you to this new work we feel sure that you and the other members of the new Board will bring to your service that same devotion, high ideal, and great faith which characterized the work of those who have preceded you in this service.¹⁵

Stephen L. Chipman, longstanding member of the old Board and at the time president of the Salt Lake Temple, wrote President Harris on 24 January 1939:

I received last week my official release as a Board Member of the Brigham Young University.

I take this opportunity of expressing to you my great appreciation for the experience that has been mine during my membership on the Board, also the Executive Committee.

It has been my pleasure to be connected in this capacity during the administration of Benjamin Cluff, President George H. Brimhall and yourself, and I assure you that it has been a joy to me to be thus associated. I retire from the Board with intense anxiety for the success of the school, for I feel that it is one of the greatest factors in holding our young people to the faith of the Gospel.

I appreciate your great wisdom, sound judgement and resourcefulness in the position you have occupied. I leave

15. First Presidency to Franklin S. Harris, 19 January 1939, box 73, folder G, Harris Presidential Papers. Since the letters of appointment were sent out before the February 2 meeting of the General Board, Harris and the others knew of their appointment before the meeting. In fact, the appointments to the Board became effective in January.

with very kind feelings toward all with whom I associated.¹⁶

Chipman's letter was typical of the response of members of the old Board to the change in personnel.

President Harris valued the wisdom and experience of members of the old Board and was reluctant to lose their counsel and support. He wrote J. William Knight, "As long as I am here you will always be to me a member of the Board, and I hope that you will feel free to give suggestions in the future just as you have done in the past."¹⁷ Despite his desires to retain old Board members in an unofficial advisory capacity, Harris recognized the advantages of having General Authorities of the Church as members of the new Board of Trustees. He wrote Stephen L Richards, "It is always a red letter day in the institution when you visit us. I appreciate your constant help and your personal friendship. I hope that this new assignment on the Board of Trustees will bring you even closer to the institution."¹⁸ Commenting on the composition of the new Board of Trustees, Harris wrote to a faculty member on leave, "I suppose you have heard that the personnel of the Board of Trustees has changed, and the present Board consists of the same individuals as are members of the Church Board of Education. It was thought that this would help to keep the brethren a little better posted on the University, and I believe it will work out a good deal better all the way around, even though the association with the old Board was most pleasant."¹⁹

The Loss of Reed Smoot

Reed Smoot, a member of the Quorum of the Twelve

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16. Chipman to Harris, 24 January 1939, box 72, folder C, Harris Presidential Papers.
 17. Harris to Knight, 25 January 1939, box 73, folder K, Harris Presidential Papers.
 18. Harris to Richards, 28 January 1939, Stephen L Richards Papers, Office of the First Presidency.
 19. Franklin S. Harris to Carl F. Eyring, 22 February 1939, box 72, folder E, Harris Presidential Papers.

Apostles and longstanding member of the BYU Board of Trustees, was not sustained as a member of the new Board. Writing to Harris on 9 October 1940, Richard R. Lyman spoke of Smoot's service to the school and said,

Now he is no longer a member of the Board of Trustees of the institution, and I am sure he feels hurt on this account, and in fact I think something has been said about it during a political campaign or something of the sort, and I think this was said in the BYU, that has given him considerable distress. And now a suggestion: It is that he be invited to come down, perhaps Founders Day or some other time, and tell what he knows about the history of the institution.²⁰

Already aware of Smoot's feelings, President Harris responded to Elder Lyman's letter:

Thanks for your suggestions in your letter of October 10. A few days ago I called in and spent a couple of hours with Senator Smoot. We all have to build him up a little as he seems to be hurt by being left off the Board of Trustees of the University and he now seems to blame the University for this.

He does not remember the circumstances of the matter. The members of the Board were called in by the First Presidency of the Church and the whole thing was talked over, and I remember that Brother Smoot was the first one to fall in line with the First Presidency. He made a long talk about the University and the pleasure he had in serving but that he would concur with the wishes of the First Presidency.²¹

Like his father, Abraham O. Smoot, Reed Smoot was a valiant supporter of Brigham Young University. He died on 9 February 1941 at St. Petersburg, Florida, at the age of seventy-nine, apparently still unreconciled to having been left off the new BYU Board of Trustees. Although his defeat in

20. Lyman to Harris, 9 October 1940, box 81, folder J-P, Harris Presidential Papers.

21. Harris to Lyman, 12 October 1940, box 81, folder J-P, Harris Presidential Papers.

his attempt to be elected for a sixth term as senator from Utah in 1932 was undoubtedly his greatest sorrow, Smoot's release from serving his alma mater saddened him immensely.²²

Lines of Authority in Church Education

Commissioner West pushed for centralized control of the Church Educational System after the reorganization of the BYU Board of Trustees. On 6 February 1939 Stephen L. Richards, Albert E. Bowen, Franklin L. West, and Robert L. Judd submitted to the First Presidency a proposed set of Articles of Incorporation for the Church Department of Education. The committee gave the following reasons for proposing the incorporation:

- (a) To provide a suitable entity with perpetual succession for the holding of legal titles of educational properties.

22. Editor's Note: While he served longer in the Senate than any other man from Utah, Reed Smoot has never been given the credit he deserves for his great service to BYU and for his steadfast devotion to the Church when literally offered the Republican nomination for the presidency of the United States. In a conversation with Dr. Creed Haymond of Salt Lake City, James A. Farley, postmaster general under Franklin D. Roosevelt and manager of most of Roosevelt's political campaigns (Farley is recognized as one of the most astute American politicians of the twentieth century), said of Smoot, "I am a Democrat of some national prominence, and Reed Smoot is a Republican; but I consider him to be the greatest diplomat in the United States Government. He knows more of what is going on, attends more meetings, and is a better authority on all that goes on than anyone else I know. I wish we had more men exactly like him. I have been reliably informed that Reed Smoot was offered the nomination for the Presidency of the United States, on the Republican ticket, if he would deny his faith — his being a Mormon would make it impossible for him to receive any such nomination." Some fifteen years later, when Senator Smoot was in Dr. Haymond's office, Dr. Haymond told Smoot what Farley had said. Smoot responded, "In two national Republican Conventions I was offered the nomination for President of the United States, if I could turn against my Church." Haymond asked, "Wouldn't it be worth it?" Smoot whirled on him, took him by the arm, and said, "Young man, maybe you do not know my stand in regard to my Church. If I had to take my choice of being a deacon in The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, or being the President of the United States, I would be a deacon" (Bryant S. Hinckley, *The Faith of Our Pioneer Fathers* [Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1956], p. 202).

All titles are not now in desirable condition, particularly properties vested in the LDS University of Salt Lake Stake, Ricks College, and Teachers' Loan Fund, the legal status of which is very questionable.

(b) To facilitate a more centralized and adequate control of the Educational Department, this, pursuant to a policy already adopted by the General Board of Education . . .

(c) To facilitate and possibly simplify accounting processes, bringing under one classification all the Church agencies properly included within the educational system.

(d) To keep the name of the Church out of suits or other liabilities incurred in the operation of the educational system.

If the proposed incorporation were made, the committee was confident that, "So far as personnel and operating force for the various units are concerned, no changes in present practice would be necessary, except that the operating heads would report directly to the Department of Education which could exercise close supervision."²³ President Harris did not wish to report directly to the commissioner of education, for he would thereby lose his privilege of taking school administrative problems directly to the First Presidency.²⁴

In a BYU Board of Trustees meeting held on 31 March 1939, "President Clark announced the appointment by the First Presidency of Albert E. Bowen as a member of the Board of Trustees and the following as members of the Executive Committee of the Board: Joseph Fielding Smith, Stephen L. Richards, John A. Widtsoe, Joseph F. Merrill, Charles A. Callis, and Albert E. Bowen."²⁵ That same day President Clark told a meeting of the General Church Board of Education that "the First Presidency was not yet ready to report to the Board on the matter of the incorporation of the Depart-

23. Stephen L. Richards, Albert E. Bowen, and Franklin L. West to the First Presidency, 6 February 1939, David O. McKay Papers, 1940-41, Church Historical Department.

24. James R. Clark interview with Kiefer B. Sauls, June 1974.

25. BYU Board Minutes, 31 March 1939.

ment of Education.”²⁶ According to Commissioner West, after this notification he discussed his position and duties as Church commissioner of education with President Clark. He evidently suggested to President Clark that he be appointed an ex officio member of the recently designated Executive Committee of the General Church Board of Education. President Clark suggested that West put his proposal in writing to the First Presidency.²⁷

In the 18 April 1939 meeting of the Brigham Young University Board of Trustees, Joseph Fielding Smith was elected chairman of the Executive Committee of the Board, and Kiefer B. Sauls was elected secretary to the Executive Committee. On 3 May 1939 the First Presidency notified Harris by letter of his appointment as an ex officio member of both the Board of Trustees of BYU and the General Board of Education and their executive committees and requested him to “be good enough to hold yourself in readiness to meet with the Executive Committee, not only of the Board of Trustees of Brigham Young University, but also the Executive Committee of the Board of Education, as they may indicate to you.”²⁸

This appointment placed Harris in the most powerful position that any president of the school had occupied since its founding in 1875. In response to the appointment, he wrote, “I shall be most pleased to serve in this work. I want to do everything that I am asked to do and to do nothing that is not desired of me. I am sure that this new arrangement in the governing board of the University is going to be a very fine thing.”²⁹ The 7 June 1939 meeting of the General Church Board of Education confirmed that the General Board would also serve as the board of trustees of Ricks College and LDS Business College. Harris may have feared that reorganization

26. General Board Minutes, 31 March 1939.

27. Franklin L. West to David O. McKay, 31 March 1939, David O. McKay Papers, 1939, Church Historical Department.

28. First Presidency to Franklin S. Harris, 3 May 1939, box 72, folder F, Harris Presidential Papers.

29. Franklin S. Harris to First Presidency, 5 May 1939, box 74, folder P, Harris Presidential Papers.

of the Board of Trustees would weaken his position in the Church Educational System, but within six months after the reorganization he was a member of the governing boards of all LDS Church schools. Moreover, he had not lost his prerogative to take important administrative matters directly to the First Presidency of the Church.

Looking Toward Foreign Shores Again

With his position as president of BYU in a more favorable situation than ever before, Franklin S. Harris prepared for another international journey. The day after the June 1939 commencement, Harris recorded in his diary, "Spent forenoon at the office finishing details and packing. At 1 P.M. Estella, Leah and I left by auto to go east to take the boat for South America."³⁰ But Harris only got as far as Grand Junction, Colorado, on his trip to South America when he received a telegram from the Iranian Legation in Washington, D.C., "asking about my going to Persia to reorganize their Department of Agriculture."³¹ Before leaving Grand Junction the next day he received a second telegram from the minister of Iran to the United States asking "conditions under which I would go to Iran."³² Harris continued his journey east as originally planned, arriving in Washington, D.C., on June 14. After a little over a week's conference at the Iranian Legation and with officials of the U.S. Department of State, he evidently decided to accept the post at a salary of \$14,000 a year plus travel expenses for himself and Estella from Provo to Tehran and back.³³

Upon returning to Utah on 28 June 1939, Harris conferred with members of the Board of Trustees about a leave of absence to go to Iran. In a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees two days later, Harris "reported

30. Diary of Franklin S. Harris, 8 June 1939, ms. 923.7, H24, 1937-42, BYU Archives.

31. Ibid.

32. Diary of Franklin S. Harris, 9 June 1939.

33. Diary of Franklin S. Harris, 19 June 1939. Harris's salary at BYU was \$6,000 per year with free use of the president's home.

that after consulting members of the First Presidency, who agreed to grant him a leave of absence of from six months to a year, he had accepted an appointment with the Government of Iran (Persia) to work out plans for the rehabilitation of the agriculture of the country." The Executive Committee

expressed for the Board of Trustees appreciation of the honor that has come to the University and the Church in the selection of President Harris for this work. A motion was adopted that the Executive Committee concur with the First Presidency in the leave granted President Harris for a period not to exceed one year. . . . Dr. Christen Jensen was appointed Acting President for the period of Dr. Harris's leave with an additional compensation of \$100 a month and occupancy of the official President's Residence on the University campus.³⁴

The Harrises left Provo on 15 July 1939 and departed from New York for Iran four days later. They made the trip to Tehran by way of Cherbourg, Berlin, Warsaw, Russia, and the Caspian Sea, arriving in Tehran on 8 August 1939. Harris spent the rest of August orienting himself to his new assignment. His fifty-fifth birthday on August 29 caused him to recall his Russian experience ten years earlier: "Ten years ago I spent my birthday in the forests of Siberia. Here I am in the forests of Persia just south of the Caspian Sea. Am in the best of health and have as much vigor as at any time in my life."³⁵

During the months of August and September Harris made a preliminary tour of inspection of the various departments of the Iranian Ministry of Agriculture and the agricultural college, along with some field trips. In September he had two audiences with the Shah of Iran concerning his work for the Iranian government. The first audience was on 12 September 1939,

a national holiday commemorating the announcement of Mohammed that he was a prophet. . . . On invitation from the Prime Minister I attended a reception given to

34. BYU Executive Committee Minutes, 30 June 1939.

35. Diary of Franklin S. Harris, 29 August 1939.

government officials by the Shah at Golestan Palace. . . . I was with the agricultural group. The Shah came into the room followed by the Crown Prince, three feet behind his father. . . . When he came in front of us, the Prime Minister stepped over and said, "This is Dr. Harris, who has already begun his work in reorganizing our agriculture. He has recently been on a trip of inspection." The Shah replied, "Give him everything he needs to make his work effective."³⁶

In the second audience four days later the Shah again passed along a reception line according to protocol, but then he returned to Harris and "said that they were expecting great things of me in rearranging the agriculture of the country and the agricultural college."³⁷

Harris spent the final three months of 1939 touring Iran and observing agricultural practices in general. During the first three months of 1940 he reorganized, with the approval of the government, the Department of Agriculture of Iran, including the agricultural program of the agricultural college and other schools.

While performing his important work in Iran, Harris never lost track of developments at Brigham Young University. As a token of their respect, the University family sent Harris a bound volume containing "Christmas Greetings from Faculty and Students, Brigham Young University, 1939," designed by Edgar M. Jensen, art professor, which reached the Harrises in Tehran on 28 January 1940. The book said, "We want you to know that though we miss you every day here on the campus, we are proud of the distinction which has come to you as well as to us in the service to education which you are giving." It contained the signatures of Acting President Christen Jensen, 115 faculty members, and approximately 1,000 students. Frank and Estella responded with a hand written letter addressed "Dear Faculty Members":

I wonder if you know just how thrilled Estella and I

36. Diary of Franklin S. Harris, 12 September 1939.

37. Diary of Franklin S. Harris, 16 September 1939.

were when today's mail brought the book which we shall always prize, containing the signatures of practically all of you and the students who are so fortunate as to come under your inspiring tuition. Lucky students and also lucky faculty, for where on the face of the earth can be found a place where faculty and students have so much to be thankful for, and where each can contribute to the other so much of the richness of living and the abiding spiritual satisfactions? . . .

Looking at your signatures over and over again has stirred in us pleasant memories of the years we have spent with you at the "Great Old School" and we are made to realize how precious each of you is to us, and how much our happiness in life is bound up with you, your families, the school, and the Church which we all love and serve so humbly. . . . In the meantime we are trying to so enrich our background, that our being away will not have been in vain.³⁸

On 2 April 1940 President Harris received a cablegram from the First Presidency of the Church asking for an approximate date of his return to America. He wired them that he would leave Iran in July. On April 4 he received a cablegram approving the date of his return.³⁹ During his remaining three months in Iran, Harris prepared reports on olive growing, the tea industry, and other agricultural activities.

Before Harris and his wife left Tehran the director of the Department of Agriculture of Iran, M. Ram, orally expressed his appreciation and that of his country for the service rendered by President Harris. Ram reaffirmed his appreciation in a letter dated 25 December 1940:

Though your stay in Iran and our contact in work was for a short period, yet short as this period was, it was enough to reveal your good character, the high standard of your knowledge, your nobility, your love for mankind, and especially the keen interest you displayed in the service of

38. Franklin S. and Estella Harris to BYU Faculty, 28 January 1940, box 77, folder J-K, Harris Presidential Papers.

39. Diary of Franklin S. Harris, 2 and 4 April 1940.

my country and its improvement. By your example and your work you have left behind a lasting memory and always my heart and the hearts of all those who came in contact with you in work are full of gratitude, goodwill and appreciation towards you.⁴⁰

A year later Ali Akber Hakimi, the new minister of agriculture of Iran, reviewing the work of Harris and his 1939-40 report, wrote to express regret that Harris was not still present in Iran to give further counsel and technical aid:

Being appointed by the Imperial Government of Iran Minister of Agriculture, I hereby take the opportunity to thank you and express my appreciation for the valuable work and noteworthy studies carried out by you in our country during your short stay in Iran as technical adviser. When I took over the management of the Ministry of Agriculture, and studying the various works done in the several branches of agriculture during the last few years, I came across your valuable reports and rational views and useful suggestions for the enhancement of agriculture in Iran, which I appreciate highly. It is a pity that at this time when I am at the head of the Ministry of Agriculture and when we are really in need of capable technical advisers like you, I cannot profit from your valuable and close collaboration for the benefit of our country. But in spite of your absence from our country I hope that, taking into consideration your love and attachment as well as your keen interest in our agriculture, you will be so kind as to assist us now and then by your useful advice and rational suggestions for the betterment of our agriculture.

Besides having a positive effect on the agricultural development of Iran, Harris's mission was a great instrument of good will. Of it Professor Karl Young of the BYU faculty wrote, "The esteem in which President Harris was held by people in the countries to which he was sent may be suggested by a sentence in a letter from Mr. Ardeshir Zahedi, Amba-

40. Ram to Harris, 25 December 1940, Harris Presidential Papers.

sador from Iran, addressed on May 1, 1954, 'to my dear Dr. Harris, whom I really love as much as I do my father.'"⁴¹ At the time of Dr. Harris's death in 1960, Mrs. Harris received a telegram from the Iranian ambassador to the United States, one sentence of which read, "As his former student and later his colleague, I will always remember his outstanding personality and his love for human kind."⁴² Over twenty years after Harris's mission, Ernest L. Wilkinson, the new president of Brigham Young University, visited Iran where BYU had a cooperative mission with the government of Iran in the field of education. He reported the Iranians were still praising Dr. Harris and his accomplishments.

The Harrises left Iran for India on 2 July 1940, traveling to Provo by the way of Bombay, Singapore, Hong Kong, Tokyo, Honolulu, and San Francisco. They arrived home on August 31. President Harris reported his activities in Iran to the Executive Committee and to the Board of Trustees of the University on 6 and 7 September 1940, thanking them for the opportunity provided him "for this interesting and profitable experience."⁴³

Developments under Acting President Christen Jensen

When Franklin S. Harris left for Iran, Christen Jensen, dean of the Graduate School, became acting president of BYU. Jensen told faculty members that they should "particularly stress the idea of improving the scholarship of our students."⁴⁴ While President Harris was in Iran a number of changes in organization and administration, especially with respect to religious education, were proposed by the Church Department of Education. Acting President Jensen and the deans with whom he discussed these proposals felt that no changes of consequence should be made during the absence

41. Karl Young in "Memorial Services for Franklin S. Harris," 23 May 1960, p. 11.

42. Ibid.

43. BYU Executive Committee Minutes, 6 and 7 September 1940.

44. BYU Faculty Meeting Minutes, 8 September 1939.

of President Harris. President Jensen felt it was his duty to preserve the organization of the University as President Harris had left it until his return. As J. Reuben Clark, Jr., wrote him, "You had that rare virtue of absolute loyalty to your absent chief when some would have sought to build up themselves at his expense."⁴⁵

An important legal problem affected the University while Harris was away. In 1933 an accident in a chemistry laboratory at the University injured a student. An oxygen-making apparatus exploded, throwing glass which cut the student's face and body and injured his left eye. After several years the student brought suit for damages against the University.⁴⁶ Attorneys for the University argued that the school was an eleemosynary institution and not subject to damages. However, the judge ruled that the case should be tried first on its merits. The question of liability could be settled afterwards if need be. On final hearing, the student was awarded damages, and subsequently the University was held to be liable for the payment of damages.⁴⁷ Despite the problems associated with this court case and the limited budget with which the school was forced to operate, Christen Jensen kept the University on even keel until President Harris returned in August 1940.

Joseph Smith Building

President Harris characterized the new religious education building as the most notable addition to campus during his leave of absence to Iran. While the project began before Harris left and ended after he returned, the main responsibility for seeing that the facility was constructed fell to Acting President Christen Jensen.

The construction of this building was unique in the history of Brigham Young University. Preceded by a complete reorganization of the Board of Trustees, it marked a change in

45. J. Reuben Clark, Jr., to Christen Jensen, Christen Jensen Letters in possession of Lorna J. Harrison.

46. BYU Faculty Meeting Minutes, 4 December 1939.

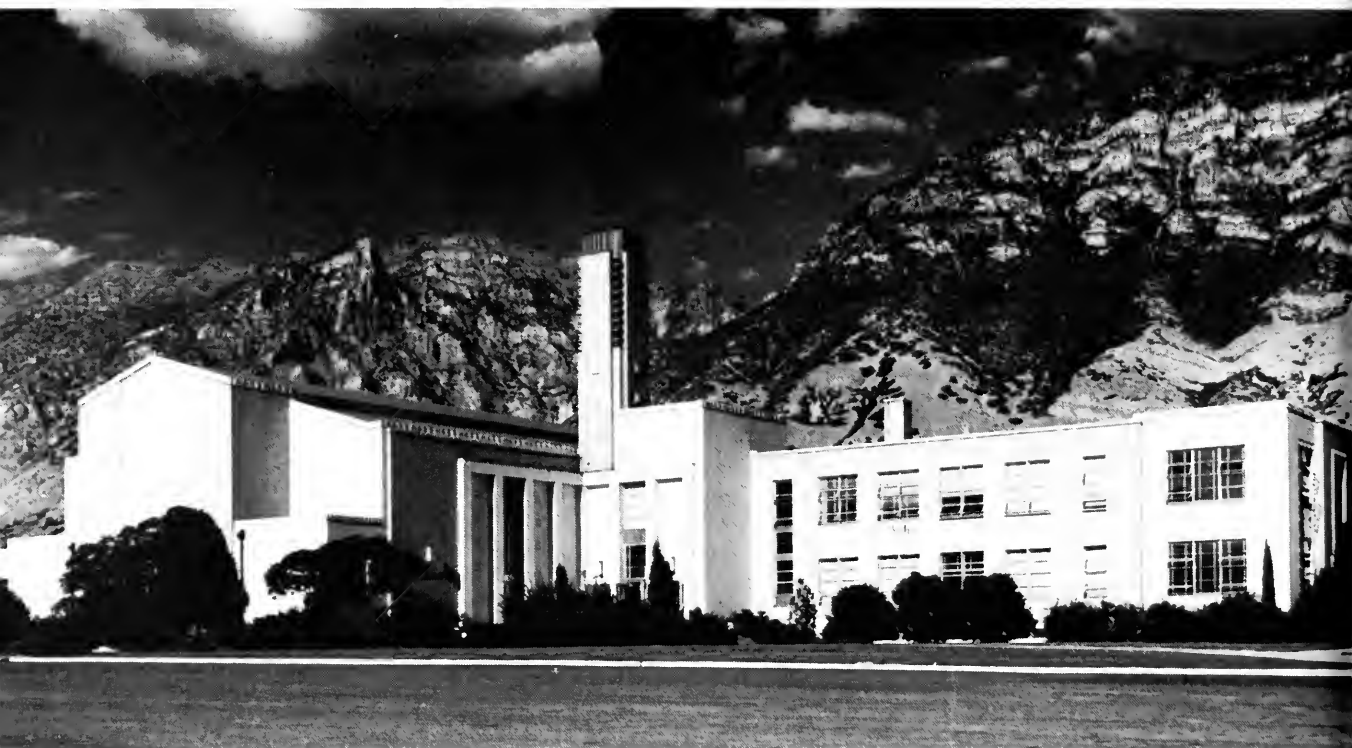
47. *Lillywhite vs. Brigham Young University*, 314 U.S. 638.

campus environment toward a more religious atmosphere. It also brought a new architect, Fred L. Markham, onto the scene. Markham was a graduate of BYU who later received his architectural training at Massachusetts Institute of Technology. The Trustees were so pleased with his design of the Joseph Smith Building that he was later commissioned to design many other buildings for BYU. He was also later designated general architect for the campus, and all building design had to receive his approval.

The completed plans for the Joseph Smith Building included an auditorium-chapel that would seat 1,044 persons, about one-half of the student body; classrooms; faculty offices; a small library; a ballroom; a banquet hall; a cafeteria; and many facilities geared to the social life of the students. The building was constructed as a Church welfare project, one of the largest attempted up to that time. Harold B. Lee, director of Church welfare, correlated the work. Twelve stakes were involved, with all wards supplying donated labor. When the ward supply of labor was insufficient, additional labor was obtained from BYU students. Howard McKean was the general superintendent of construction and Burt Russell was foreman. This building of 67,703 gross square feet was constructed on upper campus at the site of the old athletic field. Construction began in July 1939. By June 1940 the male members of the college student body had donated 4,439 man hours of work on the project.⁴⁸

Since some members of the Board of Trustees viewed the main room in the structure as a chapel while others viewed it as an auditorium, there was considerable discussion over what type of seating would be appropriate. Some members of the Board thought that hard wooden pew-type benches would promote the desired chapel atmosphere. Others felt that oak pews with individual box spring seats covered with a good grade of imitation leather and padded backs covered with a good grade of mohair would be more appropriate to the use

48. President's Annual Commencement Report, June 1940, BYU Archives.



Joseph Smith Memorial Building,
dedicated on 16 October 1941 by
David O. McKay as a part of Founders
Day observances.

of the building. On 6 December 1940 the Executive Committee approved the second alternative with a dissenting vote against the padding of the seat backs cast by Dr. Joseph F. Merrill.⁴⁹

A name for the new building was apparently easier to decide upon than the style of seats for the auditorium. In November 1940 Stephen L Richards wrote Harris that in glancing through a pamphlet published by the University he had noticed that the building was referred to as "the new religion and social center." He inquired, "How would 'Joseph Smith Center' be? . . . After all, is not the building to be the center of university life?"⁵⁰ On 8 November 1940 the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees approved Stephen L Richards's suggestion for the name of the new building.⁵¹ At

49. Editor's Note: The position of Joseph F. Merrill was characteristic of his life and a tribute to his frugality. As one of forty-one children born to Marriner Wood Merrill, he learned frugality from his youth. When he went to Johns Hopkins University, his father gave him a little book of accounts. When he returned, he accounted for every nickel he spent. When he became a member of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, he was equally circumspect as to the spending of tithing funds of the Church. If he could go by bus, he would travel that way because it was cheaper than to go by train. If he had to go a long distance by train, he always took the chair cars during the day and engaged a Pullman sleeper only during the night. A few weeks before his death at age eighty-four, he came to Brigham Young University to address the student body. Arrangements had been made for a cab to pick him up at the bus station, but he spurned the cab, exclaiming, "You don't need to think that I need a car to take me that short distance [about thirteen blocks] to the Brigham Young campus." He objected to the installation of water coolers in the Church Office Building because the building already had drinking fountains and the coolers would be an unnecessary expense. His brother Melvin, who served a short time as dean of a college at BYU, budgeted the purchase of each succeeding automobile for years in advance. When he bought a new car, he would set up a reserve fund each year so that when the time arrived for a new car he would have enough money to pay cash for it. One year it was apparent that if he waited until the year he had agreed upon, he would have to pay more because of an announced increase in price. He bought the car a year in advance but did not drive it at all during the year.

50. Stephen L Richards to Franklin S. Harris, 15 November 1950, Harris Presidential Papers.

51. BYU Executive Committee Minutes, 8 November 1940.

the dedication of the Joseph Smith Building on 16 October 1941, President Harris explained, "The founding of the University did not begin with Karl G. Maeser nor with Brigham Young, but with the founder of the Church, Joseph Smith. Without his revelation, there would be no Brigham Young University; and it is most fitting that a building be named in his honor."⁵² David O. McKay, second counselor in the First Presidency of the Church, dedicated the building as part of Founders Day celebrations. President McKay described the new edifice as "a place of worship, a temple of learning, and a place of spiritual communion" which stood for the "complete education of youth — the truest and the best in life."⁵³

The printed dedicatory program summarized the purpose of the building as follows:

The need of this building and the contributions it will make to the future of Brigham Young University and to the entire Church cannot be overestimated.

The Joseph Smith Building will provide for specific training and activity which will blend the "eternal elements and spirit" of the student and make possible the completeness of life and the "fulness of joy" the Prophet visioned.

This magnificent edifice, this stately religious and social center, will provide means of enlarging and enriching beyond estimation the spiritual and cultural contributions of the University, thus lifting the entire plane of life for the student body.⁵⁴

Standards for Church School Employees — 1940

As in 1937 and 1938, the First Presidency was concerned about the religious doctrines being taught in Church schools, institutes, and seminaries in 1940. They also showed continuing concern that employees of the Church, including

52. Founders Day Report, 16 October 1941, BYU Archives.

53. Proceedings of the Dedicatory Service, Founders Day Report, 16 October 1941.

54. Souvenir Program for Dedication of the Joseph Smith Building, BYU Archives.

Brigham Young University faculty members, should be living examples of the principles they were expected to teach, including the payment of tithing.

In February 1940, writing for the First Presidency, President J. Reuben Clark, Jr., sent Commissioner West “another letter of the kind we have sent to you heretofore,” reporting on the problem of the teaching of false doctrines in the Church Educational System. President Clark commented:

Quite obviously one affirmative statement that false doctrine has been taught is worth a ream of statements that they never have heard false doctrine taught. It is like the story that they tell about the Dutch judge who acquitted a man because, while six men saw the accused commit murder, he produced ten who did not see him do it.⁵⁵

The First Presidency was deeply concerned about the orthodoxy of doctrine being taught in Church schools. President Clark accordingly prepared a memorandum to Commissioner West establishing guidelines for religious instruction in Church schools, seminaries, and institutes. Speaking for the First Presidency, the memorandum said,

As forecast by President Clark, speaking for the First Presidency at Aspen Grove on August 8, 1938, the First Presidency has, after careful and mature deliberations, reached the following conclusion:

Institutes and Seminaries will hereafter confine themselves exclusively to the following work:

- a. Fostering and promoting the work of the auxiliary organizations of the Church . . .
- b. Teaching the principles of the Gospel, as set out in the doctrines of the Church. In this work the teachers will use —

The Old and New Testaments
The Book of Mormon
The Doctrine and Covenants
The Pearl of Great Price

55. Clark to West, 17 February 1940, First Presidency Papers, Church Historical Department.

These four constitute the "Standard Works of the Church," and are the ultimate authority on all matters of doctrine, save where the Lord shall have given or shall give further revelation through the prescribed source for such — the President of the Church . . .

Teachers will do well to give up indoctrinating themselves in the sectarianism of the modern "Divinity School Theology." If they do not, they will probably bring themselves to a frame of mind where they will be no longer useful in our system. The most brilliant of them will find enough in the Gospel to tax all their brilliancy, even genius. The heights and depths of the Gospel have yet to be sounded.

The teachers will not teach ethics or philosophy, ancient or modern, pagan or so-called Christian; they will as already stated teach the Gospel and that only, and the Gospel as revealed in these last days.

In their teaching, the teachers will use the verbiage and terminology which have become classic in the Church. They will not use terms and concepts which, though in one sense, are susceptible of being applied to the Church and Church doctrines, yet which, in another sense, are completely misleading. For example, no teacher should speak of either the Church *ideology* or Christian *ideology*, which if the teacher intends to say what he is in fact saying and if the student understands what the teacher is saying and intends to say, places the Gospel in the same category with any and every pagan religion or theology, and characterizes them all as "a science that treats of the history and evolution of human ideas." This concept, reduced to its lowest terms, may be expressed as conceiving that religion is man-made, that man makes his God, not God his man — a concept which is coming to be basic to the whole "Divinity School Theology," but which is contrary to all the teachings of the Church and to God's revealed word.

The *Gospel* should be spoken of as *the Gospel*, God's revealed truth; it is not and must never be spoken of or treated as a "history and evolution of *human* ideas." No student must ever be permitted to get this point of view

from the teachers' work; and if the student does get it, it is the teachers' place to bring the student to a proper view. The teachers should carefully refrain from saying anything that will raise doubt or question in the student's mind about the Gospel. Here again cumulative evidence coming to us leaves us with no alternative but to believe that some teachers (too many of them) are doubt sowers. Teachers of this sort must immediately mend their ways, or leave the service. It is neither bright nor smart nor sound psychology nor pedagogy to sow doubt about elemental truth. On the contrary, every fact, every argument, every reason that can be found must be used to support Church doctrines — the Gospel — not to question them. . . .

Finally, the Lord's work has always required courage physical, moral, intellectual. . . . We are under no obligation to teach the things that will command the respect of men unless they be true. It would be cowardly in the extreme to fashion our doctrines to suit others; it would drop us into deserved contempt.⁵⁶

Mediated through Commissioner West and the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees, a call was made for Brigham Young University to reexamine all of its courses in religion and the whole organizational structure of the newly formed Division of Religion. Summarizing the views of the First Presidency, West wrote, "In a general way, they said that we should use our own terminology and avoid as far as we can the terminology used by the sectarian churches. It was suggested that the . . . 'Department of Sacred Scripture' might be called the 'Department of Latter-day Scripture'; that the 'Department of Practical Christianity' be called 'Department of Church Organization and Activities.' "⁵⁷

In May 1940 the First Presidency asked Commissioner West to remind administrators of Church schools of the First Presidency's stand on the payment of tithing by employees of

56. Ibid.

57. Franklin L. West to J. Wyley Sessions, 29 March 1940, box 89, Religion folder, Harris Presidential Papers.

the Church. West accordingly wrote Acting President Christen Jensen,

It is expected that every person drawing compensation from the Church or from Church Institutions will pay a full one-tenth of what he receives as such compensation as tithing thereon. All such persons will, of course, wish to tithe any additional income which they may receive.

Any person who does not feel that he can meet this requirement will, of course, realize the situation and will not wish to continue to receive Church compensation. The same principle must apply to any person who is not willing to attend to his ordinary ward duties and to observe the rules incident to living the Gospel as taught by the Latter-day Saints.

West said the First Presidency was deeply concerned “over the kind of instruction that is given to our young people. We must insist that all sectarianism — and this shows a tendency constantly to infiltrate itself into our studies — shall be kept eliminated. The Gospel must be taught in its purity and simplicity.”⁵⁸

Joseph F. Merrill, a member of the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees, expressed support of the First Presidency’s stand on orthodoxy: “I am in full harmony with the efforts that are now being made, and I hope will be perfected, that will keep our classrooms free in our Church school system of those whose faith in the divinity of this work is not sincere and genuine. . . . I know that since the beginning of my service in the Church Department of Education the First Presidency have been much concerned about this matter.” Merrill indicated that he had talked the problem over several times with President Harris and had been frankly surprised “that in recent years the University has retained . . . teachers who have seemed to be unwilling to accept wholeheartedly the essential teachings of Mormonism, the acceptance being indicated by performance. Of course, if the faith is genuine, all of us feel more or less lenient for conduct

58. West to Jensen, 9 May 1940, UA 536, box 1, folder 7, BYU Archives.

of the past, if there shall be a wholehearted desire to make amends for failures as indicated by conduct from now on. Enough said.”⁵⁹

As a part of the effort to promote faithfulness to the Church among Church school employees, Commissioner West instructed Christen Jensen that BYU faculty members who had not paid a full tithing in 1939 could not receive a salary increase for the next school year. President Jensen and Kiefer B. Sauls checked the list of tithepayers on the Brigham Young University faculty furnished them by the Presiding Bishop's Office and informed Commissioner West that, “In view of the new ruling that employees must be full tithepayers in order to be eligible for any increase in salary . . . practically all members whom we intended to give a small increase cannot qualify under this new requirement.”⁶⁰

Acting President Jensen notified the faculty of the attitude of the Board, including the fact that he had received an account of the tithing paid by each faculty member during 1939. Certain faculty members resented Jensen's news that salary increases would not be granted those who did not pay a full tithing in 1939. Some asserted they had been tithepayers their entire lives except during one or two years of financial distress during the Depression. Others insisted they had discussed the matter with their respective bishops who, under the circumstances, had tolerated their nonpayment for a short time. Under these circumstances, they felt they could not be justifiably denied a raise in pay. Some protested directly to the General Authorities. The situation resulted in a ruling that no regular teacher would be engaged to serve at BYU who was not in full faith and fellowship in the Church. By making this new rule, Commissioner West said the Church could avoid the impression that the payment of tithing was being forced on anyone.

In 1942 the First Presidency issued a policy statement on

59. Joseph F. Merrill to Christen Jensen, 28 May 1940, box 78, folder L-M, Harris Presidential Papers.

60. Christen Jensen to Franklin L. West, 18 March 1940, box 78, folder T-Z, Harris Presidential Papers.

“Principles Controlling Church-Paid Service” which culminated ten years of concern over the fact that some Church educators were not paying a full tithe. The policy statement has endured as an important guide in the Church’s dealings with faculty members at Brigham Young University. The statement asserted that three major principles govern Church-paid service: first, the chief compensatory element is the opportunity of working for the cause of the Church; second, there is a permanency and security of tenure in Church-paid service; and third, financial sacrifice is always expected of one in Church-paid service. After the statement was issued, all prospective teachers at BYU were to be interviewed by the Executive Committee of the Church Board of Education. The First Presidency would have no teacher employed who did not have a firm testimony of the gospel,

a testimony of the personality of God, the Messiahship of Jesus Christ as the Only Begotten of the Father according to the flesh, the Holy Ghost, the divinity of the mission of Joseph Smith with the reality of the First Vision, and the restoration of the priesthood. Every teacher shall understand and have knowledge of the doctrine pertaining to the Fall, the Atonement, the antemortal existence, the resurrection, and the postmortal existence, eternal progression, and the fundamental principles of faith, repentance, baptism by immersion, and the laying on of hands for the reception of the Holy Ghost. He must believe in and pay his tithing, keep the Word of Wisdom, be loyal to Church authority, and be active in Church work.

These qualities were “indispensable qualifications.” No teacher was to be employed unless he accepted these teachings and adhered to them in practice. This placed Church school employees in a different position from the ordinary tithepayers who received no compensation from the Church. Since Church educators were paid from tithing funds, the First Presidency felt justified in expecting employees of the Church to pay their tithing.⁶¹

61. First Presidency to General Church Board of Education, 21 April 1942, First Presidency Papers, Church Historical Department.

Despite the significance of these statements for BYU faculty members, the new policy which had the most bearing on BYU as an academic institution was that "The secular scholarship possessed by the person proposed [as a Church school employee] is of secondary importance, and the possession or lack of it should never be a determining factor in reaching a conclusion to use or not to use any given person."⁶² Due to World War II, many of the ramifications of this new policy had little effect in the last three years of the Harris period. Very few new faculty members were hired, while many left the school to pursue greater economic opportunities or to serve in the U.S. Armed Forces. Thus, the full effects of this policy statement were not felt until the McDonald and the Wilkinson years.

Larger Budget Appropriations

One of the main reasons President Harris welcomed the change of personnel on the Board of Trustees was he felt that it would put the school "closer to our source of revenue." In fortunate contrast to the depression years, the budget appropriation from the General Church Board of Education rose every year except one from 1939 to 1945. From an appropriation of \$320,000 in 1939, the budget rose to \$433,252 in 1945. Church appropriations, tuition, and other revenue enabled the University to effectively cope with the problems of the war years, especially since enrollment steadily decreased after 1941.

Adjusting the Academic Program to Wartime Conditions

University administrators accurately sensed that World War II would have an important effect on BYU life. When the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor on 7 December 1941, President Harris was on a train to California to participate in a series of conferences at the Institute of World Affairs at Riverside. He wrote in his diary, "On the way we received word of an attack by Japan on Pearl Harbor and other places

62. Ibid.

in Hawaii. *This is War*. Japan has been preparing for it for some time. She struck without warning while her representatives were still carrying on peace negotiations in Washington. This is a most treacherous method, which Japan will have to pay for some day.”⁶³

During the 1941-42 school year cries of “national emergency” and “business boom” aroused the faculty and students of Brigham Young University, and President Harris faced the challenge of “fitting BYU into a pattern of worldwide emergency.” He told faculty members, “One aspect of our duty is to give specific facts for solving emergency problems. Another is to see that students are not soured, not warped, in their outlook on life.”⁶⁴ On 17 December 1941, ten days after the attack on Pearl Harbor, President Harris urged students to avoid the hysteria that beckoned them away from their studies. Reporting Harris’s feelings, *Y News* said,

Since this is a technical war rather than a war of mere man power, it was thought that all students who are attending college should endeavor to remain at their studies as long as possible. It is inevitable that there will be a certain amount of hysteria and students will want to rush off and do something different than they are doing at the present time, but certainly this would be unwise. . . . The nation needs our students for years to come and preparation is the key that will unlock the door to real national service.⁶⁵

Nevertheless, enrollment began to decline even before Pearl Harbor and did not begin to climb again until the 1944-45 school year. Prewar enrollment was highest in 1939-40, with 2,375 full-time day students. In 1940-41 there were 2,343 students on campus. Enrollment declined in 1941-42 to 1,824 and then to 1,345 in 1942-43. In 1943-44 enrollment fell to 884 students, lower than any year since 1923-24. There were 1,118 students on campus in the fall of 1944.

63. Diary of Franklin S. Harris, 7 December 1941.

64. “President Harris Addresses Faculty,” *Y News*, 2 October 1941.

65. “Preparation Is Vital in Present Crisis — Dr. Harris,” *Y News*, 18 December 1941.

One month after the beginning of World War II the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees, on recommendation of President Harris, authorized leaves of absence to University staff members called into military service.⁶⁶ Thus, faculty members followed students in the exodus from the University. Every meeting of the Executive Committee of the Board recorded an increasing list of leaves of absence and resignations.⁶⁷ Though there were a few additions to the faculty during the war years, those teachers who remained behind were easily able to handle the smaller student body.⁶⁸

Developing National Leaders

BYU made many changes during the war years to accommodate itself to the country's needs in a national crisis. At the end of 1942 Harris wrote Lowry Nelson, "These war-time rulings are keeping us jumping to keep up to them. . . . I am afraid to be away more than a day at a time, because there are so many new developments in our relations with the Government."⁶⁹ National and regional accrediting agencies encouraged universities and colleges to be of service to the nation. The Association of American Colleges, National Council of Education, and Northwest Association of Secondary and Higher Schools all sent suggestions and held confer-

66. BYU Board Minutes, 16 January 1942.

67. Clarence S. Boyle, A. Smith Pond, H. Grant Ivins, Edwin R. Kimball, Wayne Soffe, Wilbur L. Allen, David Crowton, and Ione Christensen were granted leaves on 21 August 1942 (BYU Board Minutes). Others granted leaves included Carlton Culmsee, Dean A. Anderson, Ernest Reimschissel, Morris Snell, Rodney Kimball (BYU Board Minutes, 24 February 1943); Golden Woolf, Paul Rose, Gladys Kotter, Elden Beck (BYU Board Minutes, 2 July 1943); Alva J. Johanson, Verla Birrell (BYU Board Minutes, 14 January 1944); Sanford Bingham, Carl F. Eyring, Wayne B. Hales (BYU Board Minutes, 27 April 1944); Harold T. Christensen, Ariel S. Ballif, and Kenneth C. Bullock (BYU Board Minutes, 1 September 1944; *see also* "Y Grants Leaves to 28 Teachers," *Y News*, 26 October 1944).

68. *See* BYU Faculty Meeting Minutes for 27 September 1943 and 25 September 1944 when new faculty members were introduced.

69. Harris to Nelson, 23 December 1942, box 93, folder N-O, Harris Presidential Papers.

ences. BYU fully cooperated with these agencies. President Harris, together with about ten of the leading members of the faculty, worked to set up methods by which the institution could be of most service to the nation.⁷⁰

Curtailment of academic programs affected many traditional events at BYU in 1942. President Harris announced that Leadership Week, the invitational track and field meet and relay carnival, the intermountain journalism conference, the intermountain commercial contest, and the intermountain speech tournament and drama festivals would all be cancelled until after the war.⁷¹ The Alpine Summer School program was also eliminated. Campus classes began one hour later in the morning in November 1942, "in conformance with adjustments recently made by Provo City schools and business houses to aid in the defense effort."⁷² The government urged teachers to give male students who had been called directly into war during the middle of the quarter credit for their work if at all possible. The government also asked the school to allow students nearly finished with their degrees to graduate even though military service kept them from completing their courses.⁷³

The many rapid changes brought unfounded rumors, such as the one circulating in February 1942 that the University would go onto a six-day-a-week schedule and dismiss school at least a month early.⁷⁴ Defense stamps and war bonds became common topics of conversation between faculty members and students. Farewell assemblies were often held for those called into military service.⁷⁵ Even though student enrollment substantially decreased, so did the number of available housing units, and BYU students had trouble obtaining accommoda-

70. Ibid.

71. "Sharp Curtailment Promoted Faculty Decision," *Y News*, 6 November 1942.

72. "War Program Prompts Faculty Decision to Shift Class Schedule Ahead One Hour," *Y News*, 20 November 1942.

73. BYU Faculty Meeting Minutes, 15 March 1943; and University Council Minutes, 22 March 1943.

74. "Let's Watch These Rumors," *Y News*, 6 February 1942.

75. "Affair to Be Held Monday at 9 A.M. in Smith," *Y News*, 8 April 1943.

tions. The opening of the Geneva Steel Works near Provo brought flocks of renters to town, and soldiers occupied much of the regular University housing. Temporary housing had to be set up in Room D of the Education Building, and every available attic was transformed into a sleeping room.

Though the war brought housing difficulties, it also benefitted BYU's Research Division. Utah Copper Company donated \$1,000 and Utah-Idaho Sugar Company \$25,000 for research purposes. Using these endowments and its own research budget, the University was finally prepared to do some research work, fulfilling one of President Harris's long-standing dreams for the school.⁷⁶ On 3 November 1944 President Harris reported to the Board "very satisfactory progress" on the research projects in such areas as the effect of copper on plant growth, the rate of seeding of sugar beets, and the effect of commercial fertilizer on sugar beet yields.⁷⁷

To satisfy wartime curriculum needs, the school focused its courses on the physical sciences and technical areas. In May 1942, "After due discussion of the current war needs," the Deans' Council passed a motion "to the effect that our curriculum for the coming summer quarter and next school year consist of work in Aviation and allied courses to qualify both students and teachers in this field."⁷⁸ Harris recommended to Charles E. Maw, head of the Chemistry Department, that the offerings in chemistry for the school year 1942-43 should add a "technical flavor that would meet the needs of the industrial situation."⁷⁹ Because the school did not have the facilities or the teachers to offer engineering courses, it concentrated its efforts in other areas of the physical sciences. W.H. Snell, head of the Mechanical Arts Department, offered tuition-free courses in drafting during the summer of 1942, with special emphasis on training girls who were not subject to induction

76. BYU Board Minutes, 23 March 1944; and Franklin S. Harris to Clarence S. Boyle, 31 March 1944, box 101, folder B, Harris Presidential Papers.

77. BYU Executive Committee Minutes, 3 November 1944.

78. Deans' Council Minutes, 4 May 1942.

79. Harris to Maw, 25 May 1942, box 90, folder M-Mc, Harris Presidential Papers.

into the U.S. Armed Forces.⁸⁰ The Physics Department offered a course in "Celestial Navigation" for those who might enter the Air Corps.⁸¹

One visible effect of the war on the BYU campus was a group of 300 U.S. Army privates who arrived at the school on 1 July 1942 to complete the Army Specialized Training Program. These men were given a rigorous schedule of work in chemistry, physics, mathematics, English, history, geography, and physical education which totaled twenty-five hours of recitation per week. They were divided into eight groups of twenty-five to forty students for efficient instructional purposes. A term of twelve weeks was extended to a second and third term, upon completion of which graduates were transferred to a university offering advanced engineering courses. From two to three hundred soldiers were on campus from 1 July 1942 to early March 1944 when the program was phased out and the men assigned to active duty. Professor Joseph K. Nicholes supervised this work with assistance from other BYU faculty members.

Paralleling the Army Specialized Training Program (ASTP) was the Civilian Pilot Training Program which began on 13 March 1942 when twenty-eight students enrolled for 240 hours of instruction in ground school and 35 hours of flight training at the Provo and Spanish Fork airports. The ground school included instruction in civil air regulations, meteorology, navigation, service and operation of aircraft, physics, and mathematics. In October 1942 and in February 1943 thirty-five first-year and ten second-year students enrolled in these programs. Upon completion of their courses, the students went into the U.S. Air Force for advanced flight training. Dr. A. C. Lambert served as chairman of the Civil Aeronautics Administration program on campus. Dr. Wayne B. Hales coordinated the ground school with the assistance of other faculty members. During spring quarter of 1942 the

80. Jensen et al., "History of BYU," p. 88.

81. BYU Executive Committee Minutes, 16 January 1942.



Army Special Training Program cadets descending the southwest entrance to upper campus during World War II.

school conducted a training program in radio engineering for about thirty students. Ninety-eight hours of class and laboratory instruction were given by Dr. Milton Marshall and Dr. Wayne B. Hales.⁸²

The cadets created some social dilemmas on campus. BYU girls, who outnumbered men students by at least three to one, were anxious to include the cadets in campus social events. After one year of consideration, Dean Wesley Lloyd announced in October 1943 that strict rules had been revised to permit "certain of the Student Army Trainees to participate in order to alleviate the shortage of men students in the civilian enrollment."⁸³ The Army students were grateful for the new ruling, and Major Charles E. Powell, in charge of the Army Student Training Program on campus, "expressed the desire to cooperate with us in having the men under his jurisdiction maintain the usual high ethical standards expected of the civilian personnel."⁸⁴ The cadets cooperated quite willingly with BYU regulations, though many of them persisted in their habit of smoking on campus.

To provide BYU with needed space for training cadets and students, Provo City allowed the University to use the National Youth Administration Building, located several hundred yards east of the Joseph Smith Building. The National Youth Administration had conducted trade courses there until the classes were discontinued. The building then reverted to Provo City and was sold to BYU for \$15,000.⁸⁵ The NYA Building, which has been remodeled several times, was the central core of what eventually became Knight Mangum Hall. Money became available for the purchase of this building because of the savings in the school budget made when the U.S. Government paid salaries of many BYU faculty members for teaching cadets on campus.⁸⁶

82. See Wayne B. Hales, "History of the College of Physical Sciences," p. 62.

83. BYU Faculty Meeting Minutes, 11 October 1943.

84. BYU Faculty Meeting Minutes, 29 November 1943.

85. BYU Board Minutes, 14 January 1944.

86. BYU Board Minutes, 24 March 1944.



Participants in a 1942 Deans' Council meeting in the Maeser Building:
(standing, left to right) Herald R. Clark, Wesley P. Lloyd, Carl F. Eyring, Wyley Sessions, Kiefer B. Sauls; (sitting, left to right) Thomas L. Martin, Christen Jensen, Franklin S. Harris, A. C. Lambert, Amos N. Merrill, Nettie Neff Smart, John E. Hayes, Gerrit de Jong, and Thomas Broadbent.

Contemplating a Doctoral Program

In May 1944 the University made plans to offer its first doctoral program. In a faculty meeting held May 1, "President Harris reported that the Board of Trustees at a recent meeting suggested that preparations be made looking toward the creating of courses in the Department of Religion leading to the conferring of the Ph.D. degree, with plans to start such a program beginning with the school year 1945-46."⁸⁷ The faculty established committees to consider requirements of standard universities for the doctor's degree, graduate courses in religion, language requirements, library needs, and thesis requirements.⁸⁸ Preparations continued, with definite plans being made in Deans' Council meetings.⁸⁹ However, the Board of Trustees informed the faculty in May 1945 that the program would have to be postponed until the 1946-47 school year.⁹⁰

Cost of Living and Salaries

After the hard times of the Great Depression, President Harris attempted to raise faculty salaries. However, salaries remained low.⁹¹ In May 1942 BYU was compensating faculty members according to the following yearly scale:

	Low	High
Deans	\$2,800	\$4,000
Professors	2,300	3,300
Associate Professors	2,100	2,900
Assistant Professors	1,800	2,600
Instructors	1,200	2,000 ⁹²

87. BYU Faculty Meeting Minutes, 1 May 1944.

88. BYU Faculty Meeting Minutes, 19 June 1944.

89. *See* Deans' Council Minutes for 6 and 20 November 1944 and 4 December 1944.

90. BYU Faculty Meeting Minutes, 7 May 1945.

91. *See* Franklin S. Harris to Franklin L. West, 29 December 1941, box 88, folder WXYZ, Harris Presidential Papers.

92. Franklin S. Harris to Grant H. Calder, secretary to the president of the University of Utah, 16 May 1942, box 101, folder C, Harris Presidential Papers.

The first relief from the increase in the cost of living and tax increases brought by the war came in October 1942 in the form of a salary bonus authorized by the Church Department of Education. The bonus was \$100 for those making under \$2,000 a year and \$160 for those making over \$2,000.⁹³ Nearly a year later a special committee composed of Stephen L. Richards, John A. Widtsoe, and Joseph F. Merrill was appointed by the Board of Trustees to consider further salary advances at BYU in consultation with the First Presidency of the Church.⁹⁴ After months of deliberation, the Board authorized \$17,000 to be used for salary increases.⁹⁵

By 1945 BYU faculty salaries had risen considerably, though they were still between \$500 and \$600 lower than faculty salaries at other colleges in Utah. The 1945 faculty pay scale was as follows:

	Low	High
Deans	\$3,615	\$4,560
Professors	2,560	3,700
Associate Professors	2,540	3,000
Assistant Professor	1,950	2,795
Instructors	1,720	2,480 ⁹⁶

Improvement of Faculty Scholastic Standing

Despite low salaries and depression conditions, the BYU faculty made remarkable progress in increasing its academic qualifications during the twenty-four years of the Harris Administration. When Harris became president of BYU in 1921, sixteen of his faculty members held no academic degree at all. In the closing year of his administration only eight faculty members had no formal academic degree, and most of those eight had comparable experience in their fields of specialization. In 1921 only three faculty members held doctor's degrees; by the time Harris resigned forty faculty members had

93. BYU Board Minutes, 7 October 1942.

94. BYU Board Minutes, 3 September 1943.

95. BYU Faculty Meeting Minutes, 29 November 1943.

96. Box 1, folder 7, Franklin L. West Papers, BYU Archives.

doctorates. Four faculty members held master of arts degrees in 1921. In 1945 there were twenty-seven faculty members with that degree. In 1921 six faculty members held the B.Pd. (bachelor of pedagogy), recognized only within the Church Educational System. By the close of the Harris Administration, only one person with no training beyond the bachelor of pedagogy degree remained on the faculty. Two faculty members held the master of science degree in 1921, in contrast to seventeen in 1945. Faculty academic progress was one of Franklin S. Harris's most important accomplishments at BYU.⁹⁷

Resignation of Franklin S. Harris

On 27 November 1944 President Harris informed his faculty that he had accepted the position of president of Utah State Agricultural College to be effective 1 July 1945. He recorded in his diary for that day, "It was a very sad meeting with a few tears in evidence."⁹⁸ Letters, telegrams, and telephone calls poured in from all over the country, congratulating him on his new position. Silent negotiations leading to this appointment had been going on for a month. On 28 October 1944 C. G. Adney, non-Mormon president of the Board of Trustees of Utah State Agricultural College, told Harris that his Board of Trustees wanted him "to become the next president of the College to succeed Pres. E. G. Peterson."⁹⁹ On November 20 a member of USAC's Board of Trustees phoned Harris to inform him that the Board had voted unanimously "to offer me the presidency of the College."¹⁰⁰

On November 23 C. G. Adney officially extended the offer to Dr. Harris. Later that same day Harris conferred with President J. Reuben Clark, Jr., and Dr. John A. Widtsoe "regarding the offer to go to Logan."¹⁰¹ Harris spent the next

97. See appendices for a list of BYU faculty members in 1921 and 1945, including comparative academic qualifications.

98. Diary of Franklin S. Harris, 27 November 1944.

99. Ibid., 28 October 1944.

100. Ibid., 20 November 1944.

101. Ibid., 23 November 1944.

day in conference with authorities of the Church and members of the BYU Board of Trustees. He recorded, "They showed a very fine spirit. They said how much they would regret our leaving the BYU, but they could see the unusual opportunity to serve the state needs at the A. C. The decision was left to me and I finally decided that the challenge offered at the A. C. was reason for making the change in spite of the fact that we are so perfectly happy at BYU."¹⁰² On November 25 Harris met with the USAC Board of Trustees, "at which time they elected me as President of the College, and I accepted."¹⁰³ On November 27 he officially resigned from the presidency of Brigham Young University, explaining in his letter of resignation, "I am sure that I shall never find any place where I shall be so completely happy as in the present position; but when all things were considered, the call of duty seemed to point to the new assignment."¹⁰⁴

This was not the first time Harris had considered the chance to become president of another university. After June commencement in 1942, Heber J. Grant wrote him,

I may be mistaken, but I rather thought if you could have succeeded Dr. Thomas as President of the University of Utah, you would have rejoiced in securing that honor. I cannot help but believe after the Commencement exercises on Wednesday, that if you had been given your choice to remain where you are or go to the University of Utah, you would have chosen to stay in Provo. To be engaged in trying to encourage and bless and educate young Latter-day Saints to obtain a testimony of the Gospel of Jesus Christ in their hearts is much more than just presiding over our greatest University, in size only, in my opinion.¹⁰⁵

Harris informed President Grant that he had been approached by several members of the Board of Regents of the

102. *Ibid.*, 24 November 1944.

103. *Ibid.*, 25 November 1944.

104. BYU Board Minutes, 15 January 1945.

105. Grant to Harris, 17 June 1942, box 90, folder F-G, Harris Presidential Papers.

University of Utah who practically offered him the position of president of that institution:

But in every case I told them I should much prefer to remain in my present position at Brigham Young University because I considered there was greater opportunity to do good here. I asked that my name should not be presented as a candidate for that position.

I am very sincere in my belief that Brigham Young University offers the best educational opportunities found in any school of the nation. We have here a student body coming from the finest people of the land. They are actuated by the high ideals of our Church and most of them respond very well to the situation. We have just enough exceptions to prove the rule . . .

The doctrines and practices of the Church are so superior to anything else found in the world and the quality of the young people who grow in up the Church is so fine that when you get this combination with the right kind of education, we are sure to get some of the leadership which the world needs so much just now.¹⁰⁶

Several things influenced President Harris to accept an offer in 1944 after rejecting a similar offer just a few years earlier. In the first place, Harris was somewhat uncertain of the role of the president of BYU. He desired to report directly to the Church Board of Education, but there was still a possibility that he would have to work through the Church commissioner of education. In fact, on 10 December 1940 Commissioner Franklin L. West submitted a recommendation to J. Reuben Clark, Jr., which had been approved by the Executive Committee of the BYU Board of Trustees that would place Brigham Young University "in the same category as Ricks College, LDS Business College and other units as far as the Commissioner's responsibility is concerned."¹⁰⁷ On 8 January 1941 the General Church Board of Education approved an

106. Harris to Grant, 22 June 1942, box 90, folder F-G, Harris Presidential Papers.

107. West to Clark, 10 December 1940, box 1, folder 7, Franklin L. West Papers, BYU Archives.

Administrative Code which placed BYU under the supervision of the General Board of Education and authorized the commissioner of education, as its “chief executive officer,” to “enforce, by personal inspection and consultation with the various institutional heads . . . the policies and actions of the Board.”¹⁰⁸

On 19 February 1943, at a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees, the special order of business was the

relations of the BYU Board of Trustees to the Church Board of Education. After listening to explanations from Commissioner West and President Harris as to the points in the relationships between the Boards and their executive officers, which were not clear, a motion was adopted by a unanimous vote, that the Executive Committee of the Church Board of Education, in executive session, prepare a statement for presentation to both boards defining more exactly the relationship between the BYU Board of Trustees, the Church Board of Education, the Commissioner of Education, and the President of the Brigham Young University.¹⁰⁹

In the Executive Committee meeting of the General Board of Education held on 18 June 1943, “Elder Widtsoe . . . reported on the matter of clarifying the relation of the President of the BYU and the Commissioner of Education, formulating the following statement which received the approval of the other Committee members: ‘As Executive Officer, in respect to the BYU as well as in any other section of the entire Church School System, it is the duty of the Commissioner of Education to see that the will and policies of the General Board of Education are being executed by supervising and inspecting these units.’ ”¹¹⁰ This statement merely reiterated the provisions of the *Administrative Code* of 8 January 1941. Less than a month later Commissioner West notified President Harris

108. General Board Minutes, 8 January 1941.

109. BYU Executive Committee Minutes, 19 February 1943.

110. General Board Executive Committee Minutes, 18 June 1943.

that BYU was not following the salary formula adopted by the General Board. He instructed Harris that, "Inasmuch as the General Board, after considerable discussion, adopted the formula earlier given to you for the establishing of salaries, it becomes mandatory that we conform to the same."¹¹¹

By March 1944 the jurisdictional problem had still not been resolved. Stephen L. Richards wrote President J. Reuben Clark, Jr., from California to suggest that the supervisory role of the commissioner of education in BYU affairs be limited to two general areas: first, to make recommendations on the school's budget, and, second, to inspect the institution's religious education program.¹¹²

Finally, on 21 February 1945 the First Presidency clarified the situation by deciding that it would not be wise to place the entire Church Educational System under the "direction of one man, he being answerable to the Church Board of Education." Rather, they felt it wise "that the individual units of the Church school system — the Brigham Young University, the Ricks College, the LDS Business College, the Juarez Stake Academy, and the Institutes and Seminaries (the latter two constituting one unit) — should each be operated under a head and teaching staff that shall be independent of each and all of the others, and with supervision only from the Church Board of Education. . . . Obviously, at the head stands the President of the Church, the Prophet, Seer, and Revelator of this dispensation."¹¹³ This decision left the position of the president of BYU autonomous under the President of the Church and reduced the role of the commissioner of education to that of executive secretary to the General Board of Education. The decision also called for the establishment of two subcommittees of the Executive Committee of the General Board, one to deal with curriculum problems and the

111. West to Harris, 14 July 1943, box 99, folder W, Harris Presidential Papers.

112. Richards to Clark, 16 March 1944, First Presidency Papers, Church Historical Department.

113. First Presidency to General Board Executive Committee, 21 February 1945, CR 102, Church Historical Department.

other to deal with personnel in Church schools.¹¹⁴ The autonomy of Brigham Young University in the Church Education System was thus preserved, but the decision came after Harris had accepted the presidency of Utah State Agricultural College.

Given his uncertainty about the role of the president of BYU, Harris was attracted to several aspects of his opportunity to serve in Logan. He was trained in agriculture, and the new position offered him an opportunity to preside over the state agricultural college. Harris exemplified his conviction of the importance of agriculture in society and his dedication to the pursuit of academic excellence in these lines from his inaugural address as president of Utah State Agricultural College:

If a person is to become free intellectually he must have the point of view of the investigator. In the same way, spiritual understanding can be achieved only by the open, seeking mind. The Master said, "Seek and ye shall find." In that first garden of which we have record man was enjoined to subdue the earth and to have dominion over it. How can this injunction be followed without a knowledge of the materials of the earth and the laws that govern them, and how can this knowledge be obtained without investigating these things? In scientific research man has the best known technique for discovering the real truth concerning his environment — the truth that will make him free indeed. . . . I fervently hope that He [the Father of us all] will give us the wisdom that will lead us to discover the truth, and that we may use this truth for the welfare of mankind.¹¹⁵

Another important factor in Harris's decision was the support he received from the General Authorities of the LDS Church. Though they did not want to see him leave BYU, they were happy to see such a qualified person become president of the state's agricultural college. John A. Widtsoe, former

114. Ibid.

115. A copy of Harris's inaugural address is on file in BYU Archives.

president of USAC and one of Harris's closest personal friends, told Harris that, because of his great expertise in agriculture, his work at Logan would provide a fitting climax to a distinguished career.¹¹⁶ With this advice, Harris was probably inclined to believe that he could render a greater service at USAC than he could by staying longer in Provo.

From December 1944 through June 1945 Harris was virtually president of two universities. On 29 June 1945 he wrote in his diary, "Finished a few items at the office. Said goodbye to the office staff. At 3 P.M. we drove off from the campus to make our home at the Utah Agricultural College in Logan. The twenty-four years we have been at Brigham Young University have been most happy. It is with heavy hearts that we depart from the grand old school from which we and our family have received so much."¹¹⁷

Harris's Philosophy of Education

Harris believed that everyone could profit from education, that the farm boy and laborer were entitled to the same opportunities for education as the son of a banker or of a wealthy industrialist. This broad outlook led to his belief that education should not be confined to philosophy or the classics, but that it should include agriculture, domestic science, and the realities of everyday life. Harris freely shared his vibrant personality and exuberance for learning with his students and fellow faculty members.

According to Dean Gerrit de Jong, Harris felt that the first and most important reason for an education

was to become personally educated and well informed, and to acquire culture and good taste; and that the second was the necessity of developing a specialty (major) through which the individual might make his personal and particular contribution to the welfare of the world, and thereby "make his living." Making a living, ac-

116. James R. Clark interview with Dean A. Peterson, who was Harris's personal secretary at the time.

117. Diary of Franklin S. Harris, 29 June 1945.

cumulating wealth, being a success in the popularly accepted meaning of that term, should never be a major concern of one who pursues higher education, according to President Harris. The idea that a student should perhaps learn to “make a good living” without learning how “to live” was abhorrent to him. He looked upon the so-called finer things of life, *not* as luxuries, but as necessities for all cultivated men and women. When he spoke of “culture” he did not have unnecessary ornamentation or artificialities in mind, but the capacity to live the full life, the abundant life, so indispensable to any human being no matter what his profession. Dr. Harris grasped vividly the connection between academic training and its importance in the everyday affairs of a person’s activities.¹¹⁸

Harris’s Appraisal of His Own Administration

Standing on the campus where, as a country boy from Benjamin, Utah, he had dreamed of the future, President Franklin Stewart Harris said on Founders Day, 1923, “Behold the greatest university campus in all the world — in embryo. . . . Of course, with the material growth, the school will also grow. More students will come, the faculty will be enlarged, new colleges will be added, and there is no end to the improvements which can be made. Truly the campus is the setting of what will undoubtedly be the greatest university in the world, a place to train for leaders.”¹¹⁹

In 1953, after twenty-four years as president of Brigham Young University and five years as president of Utah State Agricultural College, Harris, a mature, experienced educator with international reputation, wrote the following summary of the accomplishments of Brigham Young University during his administration:

Recognition: During the period from 1921 to 1945,

118. Gerrit de Jong, Jr., “President Franklin S. Harris: Twenty-Four Years at Brigham Young University,” BYU Archives, p. 12.

119. “President Harris Outlines Future Plans for Young,” *Y News*, 24 October 1923.

BYU was recognized as an accredited college by all the leading college accrediting agencies of the nation. In order to bring this about, much improvement had to be made in the staff and the facilities of the institution.

New Colleges: During this period new colleges were organized. The College of Fine Arts included the departments of Art, Music, and Speech. The College of Applied Science included the departments of Agronomy, Animal Husbandry, Horticulture, Landscape Architecture, Home Economics, and various branches of engineering and mechanic arts. The Extension Service and Research Division, each with a director, were launched as definite entities during the school year 1921-22.

Land Purchase: During the period from 1921 to 1945 all the land on the hill except Raymond Park and the tip of the hill was purchased. This was done from contributions of alumni and friends, from earnings of the bookstore, and from other sources of funds which the University was able to secure. . . . Hundreds of purchases of small tracts of land had to be made to consolidate the large acreage which is now available for University growth. Very few institutions in the land are so fortunate as BYU in its location and in the ample acreage of its campus.¹²⁰

Buildings: The following buildings were erected during the period from 1921 to 1945:

1. Heber J. Grant Library
2. George H. Brimhall Building (completed)
3. Joseph Smith Building
4. Allen Hall, Men's Dormitory
5. Amanda Knight Hall, Women's Dormitory
6. First building of dormitories on hill.

Several residences used as dormitories.

7. Stadium House
8. Stadium
9. President's Residence

120. Harris's secretary, Dean A. Peterson, asked him one day why he was purchasing so much land for the University. Harris responded, "I can never purchase enough land to provide for the future growth and development of this campus" (Ernest L. Wilkinson conference with Dean A. Peterson, 26 September 1974).



Franklin S. Harris turning the keys to his office over to Dean Christen Jensen in 1945.

Art Collections: During the period between 1921 and 1945 about 700 paintings were acquired for the University. This gave it one of the finest collections of art of any educational institution in the country.

Scientific Collections: Much attention was given to improving the scientific equipment and collections of the institution. The acquisition of the old Deseret Museum of Salt Lake from the Church gave a foundation of material in geology, zoology, and botany that was most unusual. All scientific departments were given support in building up equipment and collections.¹²¹

Sabbatical Leaves and Retirement System: It was during this period that the University established a regular system of sabbatical leaves which enabled the members of the faculty to secure at regular periods leaves for study and travel during which part of their regular salaries was paid and their academic rank maintained. A system of retirement for faculty members was also established in cooperation with the Teachers Annuity and Retirement Association of America. . . .

Social Unit System: In order to obtain the advantages of social organizations for students, and at the same time avoid as many as possible of the disadvantages usually found in the ordinary college fraternities and sororities, a system of social units was set up. This worked well while the student body remained at less than about 2,500, but it had its limitations when the number of students was greatly increased.

Contributions: There was never a year when contributions were not of importance to the University. For the purchase of the Athletic Field and the erection of the Stadium, more than 3,000 persons made personal contributions. The largest contribution to this fund was made by John Firmage. The Jesse Knight Family made

121. Harris not only supported the research work in the scientific departments, but he was also anxious to see the University recognized in the field of scientific publications. Accordingly, in 1939 when Dr. Vasco M. Tanner, head of the Zoology Department, suggested that Brigham Young University should have its own scientific journal, Harris gave enthusiastic support, and *The Great Basin Naturalist* was launched. The journal is now edited by Dr. Stephen L. Wood, a world authority on bark beetles.

large contributions throughout the period, the largest being the Endowment Fund. . . . President and Mrs. Thomas N. Taylor, through the years, made many substantial contributions for the purchase of expensive pianos. During the years thousands of donors have made contributions of cash, books, or other things to assist the work of BYU.¹²²

Views of the Faculty

Most faculty members have been very warm in their praise of the work of Franklin S. Harris as president of Brigham Young University. In surveys conducted independently in 1945, 1960, 1965, and 1973, BYU faculty members pointed out that Harris achieved the following during his tenure at BYU:

1. He upgraded the faculty and the curriculum, obtaining accreditation for the University.
2. He took a great personal interest in his faculty and in the students as individuals.
3. He was always available to talk about faculty or student problems. This included frequent personal visits to faculty offices and classrooms.
4. He successfully promoted the growth of the University on an extremely meager budget.
5. He was an efficient and effective administrator.
6. He enhanced the prestige of the University throughout the Church and the world.
7. He purchased property for the future expansion of the University, demonstrating his vision of the destiny of the institution.
8. He had a keen appreciation for all fields taught at the University. He was as interested in the fine arts as he was in his own scientific specialty.
9. He was loyal to the doctrines of the Church which supported the University and expected every faculty member to be the same.¹²³

122. Franklin S. Harris to LaVieve H. Earl in connection with Alumni Day, 1953.

123. Centennial History Research Staff Survey, 1973, on file in Centennial History Papers, BYU Archives.

Dr. Wayne B. Hales, long-time BYU faculty member and former president of Snow College, wrote, "As President of Snow College, 1921 to 1924, I was conscious of a profound new leadership that permeated the whole Church school system when Dr. Harris was made president of Brigham Young University. . . . There resulted an upgrading in faculty and student scholarship, curricula, accreditation, and greater and better community services and relationships."¹²⁴ Dr. Hales further noted that Harris

brought to the Church education system, and to the Intermountain States, a spirit of youth and enthusiasm and wholesome professionalism that motivated higher education for good in our state. Some say he did more to encourage higher education and advanced degrees than any other person in his professional generation. He had a high sense of public responsibility. He often said he would rather have a graduate of Brigham Young University have a dedicated feeling of public service and responsibility than to know his differential equations or the theories of science.¹²⁵

Dr. Parley A. Christensen, chairman of the English Department for eighteen years, described the personality, friendliness, and professional strength of President Harris:

To associate with Franklin Stewart Harris was to feel the vitality, the dynamics that made his whole life a growing and a becoming, not a having and a resting. To be near him was to feel a tremendous zest for life, for life more abundant. In him knowledge was always increasing, interests were always widening, understanding, appreciation, and sympathy were always deepening. He was a divinely restless Ulysses dreaming of lands beyond the horizons, and eager to set sail. To us [faculty] he was always a gentleman and a friend.¹²⁶

124. Wayne B. Hales to James R. Clark, 9 January 1973, Centennial History Papers, BYU Archives.

125. Hales, "History of the College of Physical Sciences," p. 64.

126. Parley A. Christensen in "Vignettes from the Life of Franklin Stewart Harris," BYU Archives, p. 13.

Dean Gerrit de Jong, Jr., who served as dean of the College of Fine Arts throughout the Harris Administration and beyond, wrote of Harris's "Twenty-Four Years at Brigham Young University": "His expressions and example of firm faith in Brigham Young's importance at that time and in its future greatness inspired the entire staff to work, to struggle if necessary, toward laying permanent foundations for a truly great university."¹²⁷

Of Harris's international travels, Ernest L. Wilkinson wrote,

Of all the presidents of Brigham Young University during its first 100 years of existence, Harris, by all measurements, was more of an internationalist and the greatest traveler. Of those preceding Harris, Dusenberry did no traveling abroad; Maeser, although he came from Germany, never left the United States after his naturalization except for his mission to Germany; Cluff, after he became president, confined his international travels to Mexico, the Northern part of South America, and Hawaii, where he represented the Government in connection with certain annexation problems; Brimhall, except for rehabilitating from illness in Canada, never set foot on foreign soil. Some of us who succeeded Harris traveled to foreign soil largely to take care of University business. But none of these foreign trips were of anywhere near the importance of the Harris trips around the world to scores of universities and educational systems and to Russia, Iran, Japan, and Mexico for extended service to the world community. These trips and investigations added immeasurably to the status and prestige of the University.¹²⁸

127. De Jong, "Twenty-Four Years at BYU," p. 28. At the time of Harris's resignation, an extensive collection of appraisals and tributes was made by the Alumni Association. The collection is on file in the Harris biographical folder in BYU Archives.

128. Ernest L. Wilkinson to Centennial History Staff, 11 July 1974, Centennial History Papers, BYU Archives. Wilkinson himself visited Europe a number of times to evaluate tours of BYU troupes, such as the International Folk Dancers, and BYU educational centers, such as the one at Salzburg, Austria. He also visited Iran to appraise the

President Harris was also very active in community affairs. All during his career at BYU he was engaged as an industrial consultant. Clayton Jenkins praised Harris's work with the Provo Chamber of Commerce:

He participated with other business and civic leaders in making decisions of first importance that have had a vital and beneficial effect on our community for the past fifty years.

The Utah Valley Hospital was made possible by a large cash contribution from the Commonwealth Fund of New York City after five years of preliminary work by the Chamber. Dr. Harris took an active part in the preliminaries, and, because of his wide acquaintance and popularity with the people of the area and his known ability as an administrator, he was chosen first president of the hospital, thus getting it off to a good start and a long, successful career.

At the time the U.S. Steel plant was nearing completion at Geneva it became apparent that it could not operate successfully unless reduced, competitive freight rates from Provo to market points on the Pacific Coast could be obtained. Dr. Harris, therefore, headed a large delegation of businessmen and other leaders to appear before the United States Interstate Commerce Commission at the Nevada State Capitol in Carson City to plead for a reduction in rates. The request was granted, thus ensuring operation of this great industry.

During most of his twenty-four years at BYU, Harris was also a member of the General Board of the Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association of the LDS Church.

Working with Church Leaders

Franklin S. Harris's success as an administrator at BYU was due in large part to his ability to work effectively with the LDS commissioners of education, the General Church Board of

work of a contingent of BYU faculty members laboring there. He visited BYU archeological teams in Central America and traveled to Vietnam to investigate invitations to supervise the work of certain educational institutions in that country. As president of BYU, Dallin H. Oaks has thus far traveled to Europe and the South Pacific.

Education, and the First Presidency. He consistently obtained for BYU a high percentage of the General Board of Education's budget. While the percentage of the entire Church budget spent for education generally declined during the period from 1921 to 1945, the percentage of the General Church Board of Education budget allocated to Brigham Young University rose from thirteen percent in 1921 to forty-four percent in 1944. As these statistics indicate, Harris successfully negotiated for money to keep BYU growing while many Church schools were being closed.

Despite Harris's success in budgetary matters, some faculty members felt that he bought land and art objects for the University at the expense of faculty salaries. One faculty member said, "He assuredly made the meager amounts of dollars appropriated by the Presidency and the Board of Trustees go a very long way and one reason was that he made the faculty pay for many things the Board should have been paying for." Another faculty member phrased it a bit differently: "President Harris's major problem was budget. His ability to see the importance of land acquisition made it hard for him to be as generous with his faculty as he would have liked to have been."¹²⁹ Though faculty salaries were indeed quite low during his administration, Harris nevertheless consistently spent a high percentage of his budget on faculty salaries. Information taken from the minutes of the Board of Trustees shows that he always allocated at least seventy-two percent of his budget to faculty salaries. In 1934 he used ninety-one percent of his budget to pay faculty members.

In his zeal for improving the scholastic image of the school, which he accomplished with remarkable success, Harris recruited some faculty members who did not entirely adhere to the standards established by Church leaders. Some faculty members did not pay a full tithing, and others did not seem to be orthodox in their views with respect to fundamental doctrines of the LDS Church. President Harris labored with faculty members to persuade them to more fully comply with

129. Seventeen of twenty Harris faculty members responding to a 1973 survey remembered low salaries as the most acute problem they experienced during the Harris era.

the standards of the Church, and in many cases he was successful, but payment of tithing remained a problem with some faculty members.

At times when President Grant sternly raised the question of individual faculty orthodoxy, some Trustees felt that President Harris would unjustifiably come to the defense of the faculty member. Harris thus made himself, in the opinion of some members of the Board, the champion of the faculty rather than giving first allegiance to the Board which hired him and to whom he was responsible for administering the affairs of the University. His failure to take strong action in certain cases caused some members of the Board to believe that Harris placed more emphasis on scholastic attainment than on the building of testimonies or adherence to fundamental Church practices like the payment of tithing. Nevertheless, President Harris's unquestioned personal dedication to the Church enabled him to maintain a warm and healthy relationship with his Board of Trustees.

While he did not see Brigham Young University become the great University that he envisioned in his inaugural address, Franklin S. Harris laid a solid foundation for the accomplishment of this goal. After Harris announced his resignation, Stephen L Richards, who had worked very closely with him as a member of the Board of Trustees, wrote to ask Harris to visit him. He said, "I should advise you in advance that you have a job on your hands to reconcile me to your retirement from the Y, so come prepared but in the assurance that it is hardly conceivable that you could do anything to destroy my admiration for you, my confidence in you and my love and friendship that abound for you and yours."¹³⁰ Writing in his book *In a Sunlit Land*, published just before his death in 1952, Dr. John A. Widtsoe, lifelong friend and educational adviser to President Harris, wrote of the Harris Administration at Brigham Young University: "Under the Presidency of Dr. Franklin S. Harris, the academic standing of the faculty has become comparable to the best in the land, and such has been

130. Stephen L Richards to Franklin S. Harris, 1 February 1945, Harris Presidential Papers.

maintained under succeeding Presidents.”

A fitting climax to this review of the accomplishments of Franklin S. Harris as president of BYU is the letter of appreciation written by Heber J. Grant, President of the LDS Church and of the BYU Board of Trustees, in behalf of the Board of Trustees on the occasion of Harris’s resignation:

We are deeply grateful to you for . . . your long and distinguished incumbency of the Presidency. . . . You have advanced the University to a place among the leading institutions of the nation; you have fostered the attendance so that increasingly more and more of the youth of the Church are taking advantage of the opportunities the University offers; you have, with far vision, added to the acreage of the campus so providing for its growth for years to come; you have inaugurated a plan for dormitories which, in the course of time, will care for the institution in that respect; you have added an upper campus, have secured the erection thereon of splendid buildings, and have projected others under a plan that will make the campus one of the finest and most useful in the country; you have so worked that the secular scholarship and training of the school has been raised to a point where its graduates are recognized as in very fact among the ablest scholars in the nation; you have seen to it that a clean, wholesome, and spiritual atmosphere has always rested on the campus; . . . you have done all this with a minimum of expense that is a marvel to school administrators generally, that has given to the tithepayers of the Church a feeling of gratitude for your careful expenditure of their hard earned funds . . . and that has always afforded the First Presidency and the Board of Trustees a complete confidence in your integrity and honesty in the performance of your duties . . .

We thank you for your devotion, your loyalty, your uprightness, and for your distinct ability as head of the Brigham Young University, which, having both its opportunity and its purpose in view, we appraise as the greatest institution of learning in the world.¹³¹

131. BYU Board of Trustees to Franklin S. Harris, 7 February 1945. Harris Presidential Papers.

23

At the Crossroads: 1946-1947

Howard S. McDonald, Dark Horse Appointment

When Franklin S. Harris resigned as president of BYU, a number of LDS educators either suggested themselves or others as his successor. It seemed to them that the new president would be chosen from the ever-widening circle of LDS scholars outside the state. At least twenty-five educators were considered by the superintendent of Church schools, who did the initial screening.¹ Many friends of the institution made suggestions. Edgar Brossard, president of the Washington, D.C., Stake and chairman of the U.S. Tariff Commission, was anxious to see a spiritual leader as president.² Franklin Harris suggested a scholarly professor on the faculty of another university in the field of business education.³ Two professors from Stanford, one from Princeton, and several from Brigham Young University were also nominated. "Not a few

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1. "Candidates for BYU President," folder 9, Franklin L. West Papers, UA 536, BYU Archives.
 2. Edgar Brossard to Franklin L. West, 11 December 1944, box 1, folder 9, Franklin L. West Papers.
 3. Franklin S. Harris to Franklin L. West, 20 December 1944, box 1, folder 9, Franklin L. West Papers.



Howard Stevenson McDonald, president
of Brigham Young University from 1945
to 1949.

persons, according to various and sundry reports, had been or would be selected as our President,” quipped Dean Carl Eyring.⁴

Though Howard Stevenson McDonald was a prominent public school educator in Salt Lake City, his appointment as president of BYU surprised many observers.⁵ While he lacked the intimate acquaintance with universities which many thought vital for the position, McDonald came to the school with a background of administrative experience in the Church and in education in general. He was well trained in administrative and personnel work.

McDonald's Early Years

Howard Stevenson McDonald, the fifth child and the first son of Francis McDonald and Rozella Stevenson McDonald, was born 18 July 1894 in Salt Lake City. His family, as he recorded in his “Brief Autobiography,” joined the Church in Scotland and immigrated to America aboard a leaking sailship. It sank on the return trip to Europe.⁶ The Stevensons, his mother’s family, were eastern Latter-day Saints, personally acquainted with the Prophet Joseph Smith. Edward Stevenson, McDonald’s grandfather, had served as a member of the First Council of Seventy. McDonald grew up on a farm in the Salt Lake City area. He attended Granite High School and the Granite High School Seminary, the first Church seminary. His teacher was Guy C. Wilson, whose influence he described as “deep and telling.”⁷

After serving a mission to the Eastern States, McDonald met Ella Gibbs of Brigham City and married her in 1917. That same year he matriculated at Utah State Agricultural College in Logan, where he studied agricultural engineering with special emphasis on “irrigation and drainage.” His education

4. “Remarks to Howard S. McDonald on His Leaving BYU,” 19 October 1949, Carl Eyring Papers, UA 507, BYU Archives.

5. See “The BYU Gets a New President,” *Deseret News*, 14 March 1945.

6. Howard S. McDonald, “Brief Autobiography,” unpublished typescript in BYU Archives, p. 9.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 13.

was interrupted in 1918 when he joined the U.S. Army to serve in the 163rd Artillery Brigade from Utah. He was stationed in France.⁸ After the war McDonald resumed his agricultural studies at Utah State. He was a bright student, especially successful in upper-division mathematics. Toward the end of his undergraduate studies, he took courses in psychology and education, indicating an adjustment in his professional plans. Following his graduation in 1924 McDonald taught in the Department of General Science at USAC when A.J. Saxer, department chairman, took sabbatical leave. He taught all the mathematics courses from trigonometry to differential and integral calculus.⁹

During that year, Franklin Harris offered him a position at BYU as head of the Department of Engineering, but McDonald declined.¹⁰ He later recalled, "I was invited to come down [to BYU] early in Harris's administration when [Edward Partridge] died. President Harris . . . offered me \$2,000. . . . I thought it over and . . . talked to E.G. Peterson [of Utah State] about it, and so he offered me \$2,100. . . . I was not qualified to head an engineering department. I needed more training."¹¹ In April he was offered a part-time position as a high school physical education instructor at Mission High School in Northern California. It was the opportunity he was waiting for; the job would enable him to earn a living while attending the University of California at Berkeley.¹²

Studies, Professional Work, and Church Activities in California

McDonald enjoyed his work at the high school, and his

8. For descriptions of McDonald's military activities, see his "Brief Autobiography," pp. 27-33; Earl S. Paul to Eugene Thompson, 15 January 1974, 1919 file, Centennial History Papers; and "Four Soldiers of 1918 Meet Again," *Deseret News*, 18 April 1942.

9. McDonald, "Brief Autobiography," p. 36.

10. Franklin S. Harris, "The New President Howard S. McDonald," *Alumni Association Servicemen's News*, 20 March 1947, BYU Archives.

11. Howard S. McDonald Oral History, 7 August 1973, BYU Library, p. 19.

12. McDonald, "Brief Autobiography," pp. 36-37.

interest in education soon surpassed his interest in agricultural science. He taught physical education (football) and math and became deeply involved in the lives of his students. Though he started teaching part time, within a few weeks his salary was raised to \$2,300 per year, which was more than he earned as a full-time instructor at Utah State Agricultural College. He worked well with youth, spending much of his free time camping and counseling with them.

The religion he taught and lived was simple. He stressed the principles of work, trial, and patience. Like Emerson, he advised his students to "Make the most of yourself for that is all there is to you."¹³ He stressed the Word of Wisdom, the LDS Church health code, and on several occasions urged the members of the Church to support the Constitution.¹⁴ Amicable and open, he soon became a prominent Church leader. A member of the San Francisco Stake High Council, he suggested when the stake was divided that all of the stake officials should be released and replaced by new members qualified to fill the positions.¹⁵ Though not the most tactful way to accomplish his objectives, this was characteristic of McDonald's decisive nature. The change did not lighten his load; McDonald was appointed first counselor in the new stake presidency.¹⁶ In a meeting of priesthood leaders held in 1934 he acknowledged, "Since coming to San Francisco, I have tried to evade Church duties, but it appears I am in them deeper today than I have ever been."¹⁷

McDonald's life was characterized more by energetic activity than by introspection. His young daughter referred to him as "that man who sleeps here Saturdays and Sundays."¹⁸ McDonald progressed rapidly in his career as an educator. In 1928 he was vice-principal and dean of boys at Balboa High

13. San Francisco Stake Historical Record, 27 October 1935, 3 November 1935, 19 January 1936, 11 October 1936, and 26 October 1936, Church Historical Department.

14. *Ibid.*, 16 April 1936, 11 October 1936, and 8 November 1936.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 188.

16. *Ibid.*, 2 December 1934.

17. *Ibid.*, 16 December 1934.

18. McDonald, "Brief Autobiography," p. 41.

School. From 1935 to 1936 he was director of personnel in the San Francisco School District under Superintendent Edwin Lee, who thought highly of his diligence and friendly personality.¹⁹ McDonald was soon promoted to the position of deputy superintendent of the San Francisco School District. During this time he worked on his doctor's dissertation, attempting to establish a system for evaluating the qualifications and predicting performance of prospective teachers. In 1941 McDonald was called as stake president of the East Bay San Francisco Stake.²⁰ George F. Richards of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles set him apart. McDonald served until October 1943, when he asked to be released because his Church duties had "compelled him to abandon his doctoral work."²¹

Moving to Utah

After obtaining his doctorate in May 1944, McDonald interviewed with the Salt Lake City Board of Education for the position of superintendent of schools, which was available because of the death of L. John Nuttall, Jr. In part because of his salary demands, McDonald was confident that he would not obtain the position, and he returned with his wife to California, "happy with our present position in San Francisco."²² However, the Board of Education met in a special session, authorized a higher salary, and offered McDonald the position. Although he regretted leaving California, he entered Salt Lake City with great enthusiasm. Lorin Wheelwright, one of his colleagues who later became dean of the College of Fine Arts at BYU, remembered that "Howard had expansionist ideas for the town. He put himself right into the problem. Boy, did they know he was in town. He was not about to be told, 'Look, you can't do that,' and he got

19. Edwin Lee, speech at inauguration of Howard S. McDonald as president of BYU, transcript of inauguration services, McDonald biographical file, BYU Archives.

20. San Francisco Stake Historical Record, 22 March 1941.

21. *Ibid.*, 16 October 1943.

22. McDonald, "Brief Autobiography," p. 51.

support — he said some things they didn't like, but he was doing the job."²³

In his opening address to the Salt Lake Board of Education, McDonald outlined his basic philosophy of administering public schools: "You are laymen and not educational people. You are a policy-making body and I think businessmen are a better policy-making body than are educational men. Twelve men can make policies for the Board of Education better than one man; one competent, well-trained person can administer those policies more efficiently than can twelve men."²⁴ At the same time he posed a number of questions concerning budget, salary increases, new policy to be established, half-day sessions among elementary school children, and postwar employment of veterans. McDonald was successful in reinstituting the twelve-year system in the city schools, and it wasn't long until his influence had spread throughout the entire state school system.²⁵ He urged teachers "to teach pupils how to read, but more important, teach them to comprehend. Teach them the three R's, but, above all, teach them to use their knowledge in life that they may apply it, may become better citizens."²⁶

During the course of his year as superintendent, McDonald headed a campaign for greater tax support for education in Salt Lake City. In the struggle to win this support for what he considered the badly underfinanced schools, he gained the reputation of being an indomitable fighter. When opposition faced him, he proclaimed, "If we lose this fight, we will start another."²⁷ His commitment to a cause occasionally proved stronger than his sense of decorum. While a bill was being discussed in the state senate, "Somebody said something against the bill which McDonald didn't like. Up he stood, hand

23. Eugene Thompson personal interview with Lorin Wheelwright, 28 January 1974.

24. Salt Lake City Board of Education Minutes, 11 July 1944, Office of the Board of Education, Salt Lake City.

25. *Salt Lake Tribune*, 22 November 1944 and 30 November 1944.

26. "Increased Duties Seen for Schools," *Deseret News*, 5 September 1944.

27. "BYU Gets a New President," *Deseret News*, 15 March 1945.

in the air. 'I beg to differ,' he said. We couldn't get him to sit down."²⁸ As Lorin Wheelwright said, "That was the kind of man he was; when he got an idea that something was right, he went right ahead."²⁹ The president of the senate held his gavel until McDonald had finished his speech, then brought it down with a sharp reminder that the superintendent was out of order. Speaking on the senate floor was reserved for senators. Nevertheless, the Salt Lake schools got a major increase in tax support. With the help of the Board of Education, McDonald achieved a great deal in a short time, placing the cause of education ahead of party affiliations and other political considerations.

Accepting the Call to Move to BYU

McDonald recalled that, "About the first part of March, 1945, President J. Reuben Clark of the First Presidency invited me to his office the following Saturday."³⁰ McDonald "wondered all weekend about what in the sam hill he wanted me for."³¹ President McKay and President Clark had been highly impressed with McDonald's educational work, and President Grant approved their recommendation to ask McDonald to become president of BYU.³² President Clark informed McDonald "that the First Presidency was looking for a man to take the presidency of the Brigham Young University that had been vacated by the resignation of Franklin S. Harris who had accepted the presidency of the Utah State Agricultural College at Logan. He asked me to accept the position."³³

McDonald's reaction to the appointment was mixed. While

28. Eugene Thompson personal interview with Lorin Wheelwright, 28 January 1974. Wheelwright was then director of music for the Salt Lake City schools.

29. Ibid.

30. McDonald, "Brief Autobiography," p. 57.

31. Howard S. McDonald Oral History, p. 21.

32. See J. Reuben Clark, Jr., desk calendar entries for 4, 5, and 11 February 1945, BYU Archives.

33. McDonald, "Brief Autobiography," p. 57.

in California, he had mentioned to George F. Richards, a member of the Quorum of the Twelve, that he would some day like to be president of Brigham Young University.³⁴ But when the opportunity came, he hesitated.³⁵ He explained his deficiencies to President Clark and then asked for a week to make a decision. With the encouragement of Elder Clark, he visited the Provo campus to talk with educators and think over the matter. After some careful thinking, McDonald told his wife, "We've been called by the First Presidency. Let's go and do it."³⁶

President Clark's desk calendar entry for 12 March 1945 recorded the First Presidency's enthusiastic approval of the new president of BYU:

Howard McDonald: Came in said he would take job as is — displayed a splendid spirit — but asked if we could not do a little better by him — up to \$7,000 — We agreed we would make it up and that his auto expenses on school business would be paid. Also agreed that we would help in furnishing house. He asked if it would be all right if he went to Stake Conferences to talk up the school. We said yes.³⁷

On 1 July 1945 Howard S. McDonald moved his family to Provo and took over the presidency of Brigham Young University.³⁸

Receiving the Navigating Orders

Though McDonald was not a university professor, the Board felt he could give the University the leadership it needed at that time. The Board thought that he, a former stake president and a man of mature faith, could bring a

34. Richards to McDonald, 14 April 1945, box 1, folder 1, Howard S. McDonald Presidential Papers, BYU Archives.

35. Howard S. McDonald to Governor Herbert Maw, 27 March 1945, box 1, folder 2, McDonald Presidential Papers.

36. Howard S. McDonald Oral History, pp. 21-22.

37. J. Reuben Clark, Jr., desk calendar entry, 12 March 1945, BYU Archives.

38. McDonald, "Brief Autobiography," p. 59.

strong religious emphasis to the school. His spiritual attitude and dedication were primarily responsible for his appointment. In a statement to the Church Board of Education only a few days before McDonald's appointment, the First Presidency affirmed that the Church schools "must be brought under the intimate control of the General Authorities of the Church, since from them only can come the authoritative determinations and pronouncements that must guide and control all spiritual instructions given in the system."³⁹ McDonald clearly understood the religious and moral responsibilities of his office. President Clark specifically outlined the characteristics which the First Presidency had sought in filling the presidency of BYU, characteristics they considered McDonald possessed: "We have felt, having in mind the school and its character, that we should have a man of spirituality who is converted and concerning whom there is no question. Then we wanted to find, if we could, someone who was an administrator with a fine personality, with as much experience as he could have, and with proper scholastic attainments."⁴⁰

President Clark emphasized the ascendancy of "spiritual truths" over "secular truths." He called upon McDonald to catch the vision of his spiritual responsibilities:

These, President McDonald, are your navigating orders. They are not sealed; they are open to the world. The world will expect you to follow them.

We shall expect you to build into the minds and hearts of the youth and the mature who come here all the Christian virtues. We shall expect you to teach the students to follow the commandments of God, for God never demands obedience to error.

We shall expect you to recognize that science and worldly knowledge must question every demonstration, every experiment, every conclusion, every phenomenon

39. First Presidency to Executive Committee of the General Church Board of Education, 21 February 1945, CR 102, Church Historical Department.

40. General Board Minutes, p. 340.

that seems a fact, for only by this method may the truths of the natural law become known to us, save by specific revelation.

But we shall also expect you to know that in matters pertaining to our spiritual lives, God's revealed will, his laws, his commandments, declared not only directly by himself, but by and through his servants, must be taken unquestioned, because they are the ultimate truths that shape and control our destinies.

We look confidently forward to an increased spirituality in this school, for spiritually we move onward or we recede; we never stand still. We must go forward every day, becoming a little stronger, a little more certain, a little nearer perfection.⁴¹

McDonald saw in this charge of "increased spirituality" a credo for future administrative action. He felt a need to shape students' personal and social lives as well as their intellectual development. Of President Clark's speech he said, "If faculty and students grasp the significance of these great aims and strive to accomplish them, this University will grow into a mighty institution of learning."⁴²

Working with the Board

Though his ecclesiastical qualifications and his simple and hardy faith were applauded by the General Authorities, McDonald's work with the Church Board of Education and the Board of Trustees presented new challenges. He had long found it convenient to work with a public board that was unanimously in support of him and content to make policy, leaving the more detailed administrative matters to him. This was reflected in his approach to boards of education in California and Salt Lake City. One of the conditions upon which he accepted the presidency of BYU was that the school would function in a similar manner. Having learned that the president of BYU had often been required to work through

41. "Charge Given by President Clark," *Deseret News*, 14 November 1945.

42. Howard S. McDonald, "The Future of Brigham Young University," undated manuscript, UA 90, BYU Archives.

the commissioner of Church schools, McDonald insisted that he be allowed to bypass that officer and work directly with the Board of Trustees.⁴³ The First Presidency generously accommodated him in this, giving him direct access to the committees which decided on his proposals. Such a policy was actually in keeping with a decision which had been made shortly before President McDonald's appointment (*see* chapter 22).

Though President McDonald was able to bypass the Church commissioner of education, the Board of Trustees insisted on having an active role in the administration of the University. Some of them had a background in educational matters almost as extensive as his own. Of more importance, economic policy, which ultimately decided the fate of scholastic programs, was administered by a number of Church committees, all of whom were sensitive to total Church needs and very concerned about the expenditure of Church funds. All financial appropriations by the Board of Trustees were reviewed by the Committee on the Expenditure of Tithes. In all, the task of moving within such profound and deliberate circles was new to McDonald. J. Edward Johnson, a friend from California, wrote, "Your life's work is laid out for you. What a job you'll have on your hands," but added assuringly, "In principle, it won't be different from the one you carried through in straightening up our Berkeley Branch [boy scouts] back there in 1928 or so."⁴⁴ Johnson's letter quippingly referred to what he saw as McDonald's chief problem — working with the Board of Trustees — and his perception proved to be correct.

Deciding the Fate of the School

McDonald faced the common perplexities that would confront any new university president. In his case, his relative inexperience with matters of university administration compounded the difficulty. In the summer of 1945 he traveled to other universities, attempting to acquaint himself with the

43. Howard S. McDonald Oral History, p. 1.

44. Johnson to McDonald, 20 March 1945, McDonald Presidential Papers.

basic difficulties and obstacles to face him in the fall. One of his major interests on these visits was consideration of effective administrative organization of student personnel services. Besides other matters, McDonald had to worry about the survival of the school. The First Presidency was apparently still considering whether or not Brigham Young University ought to continue as a university, for in his first interview with President Clark, the latter questioned "whether BYU should go on or not. They were going to establish institutes at the various universities and colleges, where LDS students were sufficient to justify it. BYU was on the road out. They asked me at the first interview to go down to the BYU and look it over and come back with a recommendation."⁴⁵ To one who was about to become president of BYU, this must have been a frightening assignment. It was probably fortunate for McDonald that he did not know how this question had tortured Brimhall and Harris. After profound attention to the matter, he recommended that the University should continue.⁴⁶

The Postwar Boom

The college daytime enrollment at BYU for the last quarter of the 1944-45 school year was a little over 1,500. With the war over, more than 2,700 students reported for the first day of class in the fall of 1945. Almost overnight BYU changed from a dormant wartime campus, dominated by women, to a busy school bustling with veterans. Students seemed to be everywhere. B.F. Cummings, chairman of the Committee on Housing, reported on September 4, "Regardless of the general understanding throughout the country that all dormitory space at Brigham Young University is taken for the year, there continues a constant stream of requests for reservations."⁴⁷ He added that over 400 applications had been

45. Howard S. McDonald Oral History, pp. 9-10.

46. *Ibid.* McDonald must have reported orally, for there seems to be no written documentation of his recommendations.

47. Cummings to McDonald, 4 September 1945, box 2, folder 1, McDonald Presidential Papers.

turned down at that time. President McDonald remarked that, "With this influx of students came the bulging of classrooms, the bulging of laboratories. Every facility for instruction was inadequate."⁴⁸ Enrollment by veterans climbed from 134 in the autumn quarter to 946 in the spring.⁴⁹ The *Y News* editor complained, "Our rooms are crowded. . . . Our little hill is filled to the brim with cars and people, students can't get seats (in assemblies), dances are so packed you can't dance; no parking places, not enough reserve books (to go around), no seats in the library."⁵⁰ Students were sleeping in makeshift quarters and unheated garages and even coal bins.

Few perceived the serious problems attending the boom. An administrator working closely with President McDonald observed, "I sometimes think that it is difficult for the faculty, the Provo community, and the Church as a whole to realize what a healthy, expanding university we have on our hands. Older methods and physical equipment just will not work."⁵¹ It was difficult to assess in advance what the students would be like or even how many of them there would be. Some faculty members were anxious about the impact of the great war and had misgivings about the general reaction of the veterans. Some were suspicious of the effects of army training and the implications of government aid to education through the G.I. Bill. Others were hopeful, contemplating the beginning of a new era of expansion for the University. Thus, the future suddenly became the vital focus of administrative thought and activity.

Expanding Services for the Students

While other schools were reevaluating their curriculum, McDonald chose to learn more about the capacity of the student and his needs outside the classroom, centering his

48. Howard S. McDonald Oral History, p. 6.

49. "Number of College Students Registered, 1945-46," box 4, folder 4, McDonald Presidential Papers.

50. *Y News*, 21 February 1946.

51. Harold Glen Clark to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 18 December 1946, box 6, folder 2, McDonald Presidential Papers.



BYU coeds enjoying Y Day activities
around 1945.

“new plan for higher education in a study of the student and his needs.”⁵² His decisions demonstrated his professional orientation and acquaintance with research being done in the field of educational psychology and university administration.⁵³ In anticipation of the enrollment boom, McDonald announced a sweeping reorganization of student affairs in the summer of 1945:

During the past few weeks I have made rather thoughtful study in regard to the organization of student activities. While in California, I also studied the organization and proposed organization of student affairs on the various university campuses. I feel that all student activities and special services . . . should be organized under a definite head known as the Dean of Students and Director of Special Services. . . . At the present time, other universities are interested in what we are planning to do and are most anxious to see our plan put into operation.⁵⁴

McDonald selected Professor Wesley P. Lloyd of the Education Department as his dean of students.⁵⁵ Lloyd suggested that the dean’s control be extended beyond student activities into a number of extracurricular academic areas that had previously been controlled by faculty committees. This innovative idea had been tried by only a few universities.⁵⁶ The plan was adopted by President McDonald, placing Dean Lloyd in charge of a number of activities not ordinarily supervised by a dean of students. Called special services, they included admissions and credits, athletics, attendance and scholarship, awards and scholarships, orientation, public services,

52. Wesley P. Lloyd, “Administration of Student Personnel Services,” *Association of American Colleges Bulletin* 32 (December 1946): 511.

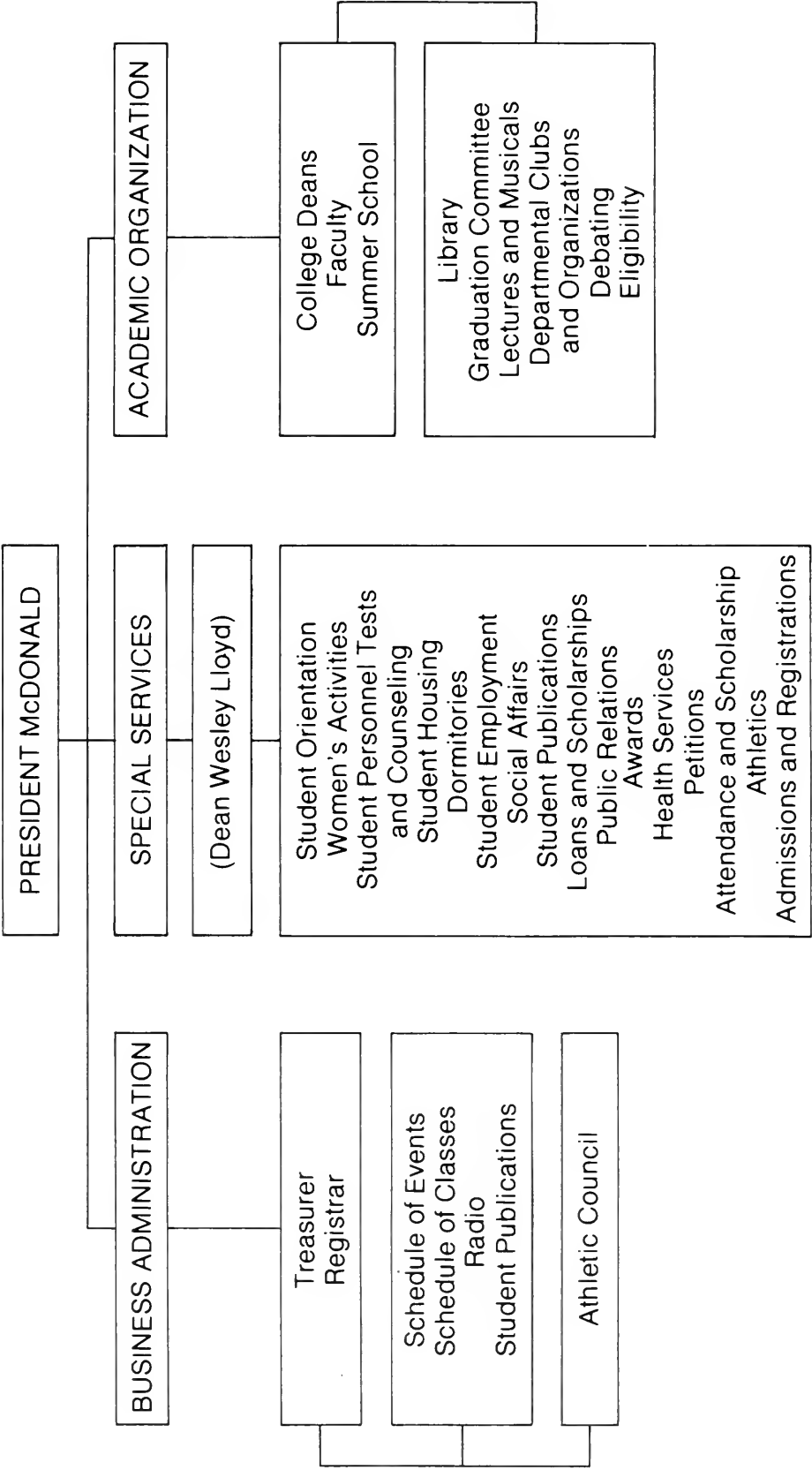
53. The Department of Education Psychology at the University of Minnesota was conducting an extensive study of the administrative organization of universities. See Edmund Williamson, “Student Personnel Work at the University of Minnesota,” *Student Personnel Services in Colleges and Universities*.

54. Howard S. McDonald to BYU faculty members, 6 September 1945, *BYU Faculty Bulletin*.

55. BYU Board Minutes, 12 September 1945.

56. Lloyd, “Administration of Student Personnel Services,” p. 511.

Administrative Organization of BYU during the McDonald Years



student employment, student health services, student housing, student loans, student organizations and publications, student personnel testing and counseling, women's activities, and veterans' education. Sixteen faculty committees were abolished and new committees organized under the dean of students.⁵⁷ Administrative assignments were broken into three areas: business administration, special services, and academic organization (*see* accompanying chart). Lloyd's organization included some professional personnel and several special faculty committees selected by the dean of students because of business or counseling skills, along with some professional personnel.⁵⁸ These assignments tended to move some faculty members into administrative positions, at the same time freeing others to pursue scholarly work.

The growth of the administrative organization with its resultant coordination and reorganization of committees, programs, budgets, and policies was perhaps the most evident change from the Harris to the McDonald period. In addition, the employee benefits program was strengthened to deal with postwar inflation, and there were a number of lesser developments, such as a cooperative mercantile association⁵⁹ and a faculty housing program⁶⁰ established, or at least seriously considered, to meet current problems.

Planning for the Future

To McDonald, the most urgent needs of the campus were physical. Academic programs and student activities could do nothing unless the inadequate physical plant could be expanded to meet the needs of the growing student body. These needs were made more manifest by the avalanche of students, but even before the fall of 1945 he wrote an associate, "I think

57. McDonald to faculty, 6 September 1945, *BYU Faculty Bulletin*.

58. For a list of the people appointed to serve under Lloyd, *see* a memo from Lloyd to McDonald, 3 June 1946, President McDonald File, Wesley P. Lloyd Papers, BYU Archives.

59. Howard S. McDonald to H.T. Christensen, 18 May 1946, box 3, folder 1, McDonald Presidential Papers.

60. Howard S. McDonald to Alvin C. Eurich, 18 September 1946, box 5, folder 4, McDonald Presidential Papers.

now is the time to go after the building program, not only just after the student union, but more dormitories, physical education and recreational facilities and various educational buildings." He confided that he was "most hopeful."⁶¹

When McDonald came to BYU, Temple Hill, long envisioned as the site for a new university campus, contained only four academic buildings: the Maeser Memorial, the Heber J. Grant Library, the Brimhall Building, and the Joseph Smith Building. Some local citizens considered the hill as a spot hallowed for a temple, but McDonald hoped to see the area become a temple of learning studded with real university buildings.⁶² He held a special meeting with the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees on campus, showing the Trustees through existing facilities.⁶³ By the early part of September he had conceived a general plan of building expansion which he reported to Clayton Jenkins, executive secretary of the Provo Chamber of Commerce. It was an assessment of what he expected to have for the first year, which included two residence halls, each to house 500 students; a student union, financed by the Alumni Association at a cost of \$250,000; a science building, costing about \$300,000; and facilities for physical education and recreation to cost around \$300,000. He added tentatively, "I hope this building program will be approved by the Board of Trustees."⁶⁴

Like his predecessor, McDonald had extensive plans for the campus at the beginning of his administration. Besides the buildings listed above, he told the Board of Trustees of his plans for a fine arts building, a library addition, a training school, a dairy farm, an education building, and the renovation of lower campus.⁶⁵ In September 1945 the Executive

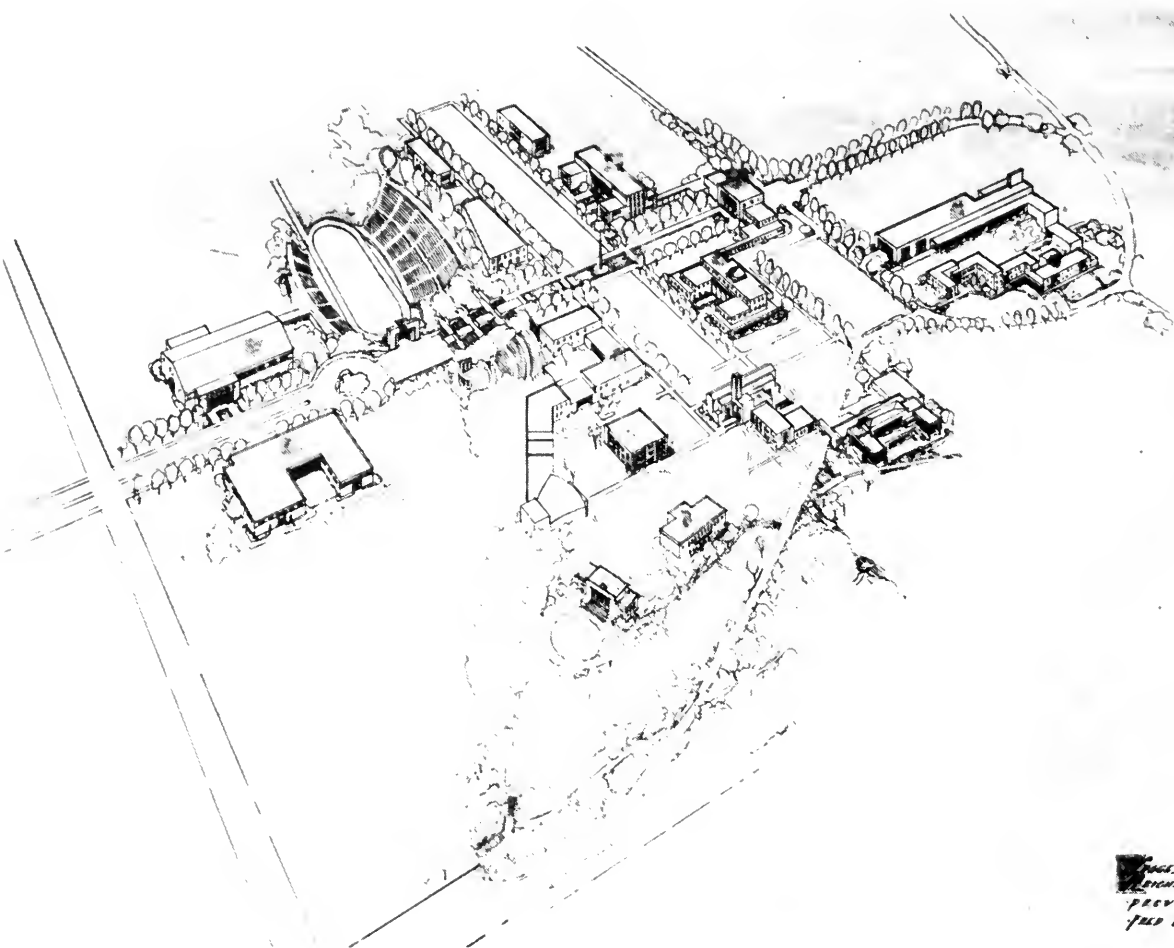
61. Howard S. McDonald to L.W. Oaks, 18 August 1945, box 2, folder 4, McDonald Presidential Papers.

62. Howard S. McDonald Oral History, p. 15.

63. Ibid., p. 6; and Howard S. McDonald to First Presidency, 25 August 1945, box 2, folder 5, McDonald Presidential Papers.

64. McDonald to Jenkins, 11 September 1945, box 2, folder 3, McDonald Presidential Papers.

65. BYU Executive Committee Minutes, 5 September 1945; and agenda for same meeting, box 1, folder 5, McDonald Presidential Papers.



PROPOSED CAMPUS DEVELOPMENT
 BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY
 PROVO - UTAH JUNE 8
 FRED L. MARKHAM ARCHT.

Master plan for the BYU campus
 prepared by Fred L. Markham under
 the direction of Howard S. McDonald in
 1946.

Committee appointed a special campus planning committee.⁶⁶ The committee commissioned Fred Markham to prepare a master plan which was published in the spring of the 1945-46 school year (*see* accompanying diagram).⁶⁷ McDonald took the plan with him on trips in order to show the people he visited how the University was beginning to take shape.⁶⁸

Starting the Science Center

McDonald submitted to the Board of Trustees a request for a badly needed science building to house the departments of Chemistry, Physics, and Geology. The proposed building, with 214 rooms, had more floor space than the five biggest academic buildings on campus combined. It could hold as many as 2,500 students at a time.⁶⁹ McDonald assured the Board that "the building is planned for the teaching of the sciences and non-laboratory type of courses and not as a research building."⁷⁰ Dean Carl F. Eyring explained that "Classroom and office space in the building will be available to other departments at first, but ultimately the building will be used entirely by the science departments."⁷¹

McDonald insisted on a building of the highest quality.⁷² Plans were drawn only after Dean Eyring had extensively researched the design of science buildings throughout the country. The building combined special lecture rooms and centralized demonstration areas with commodious

66. BYU Executive Committee Minutes, 5 September 1945; and Howard S. McDonald to Joseph Fielding Smith, 13 September 1945, box 2, folder 5, McDonald Presidential Papers.

67. Howard S. McDonald to Joseph Fielding Smith, 1 October 1945, box 2, folder 1, McDonald Presidential Papers; BYU Executive Committee Minutes, 8 October 1945; Fred Markham Oral History, 1 November 1973, BYU Archives, p. 3; and *Y News*, 23 May 1946.

68. McDonald gave credit to Harris for his early outline of the building program, as did Fred Markham (Fred Markham Oral History, p. 3).

69. *BYU Universe*, 17 October 1950.

70. BYU Board Minutes, 26 February 1947.

71. *Y News*, 26 February 1947.

72. Howard S. McDonald Oral History, p. 7.



Carl F. Eyring Physical Science Center,
named for the man who was dean of the
BYU College of Arts and Sciences for
nearly thirty years.

laboratories into the school's first real university classroom and research facility. The science center was one of McDonald's most controversial and ambitious proposals. Some Board members resisted the construction of the building, but Elder Joseph Fielding Smith, then chairman of the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees, made a strong appeal on behalf of McDonald's proposal for the building. His influence aided in the approval of the project.⁷³

In 1945 the costs of the new building had been projected at between \$250,000 and \$300,000.⁷⁴ In June 1946 the Board approved \$950,000 for the building.⁷⁵ The center was "to be the finest of its size in the country."⁷⁶ Before the science center was completed, building costs rose to almost two million dollars.

Though some of his building projects stalled, McDonald's aggressive program for the first year was quite successful. Administrative reorganization made coordination of student activities more effective, and faculty members appreciated his open and approachable manner. His greatest trials came in sessions with the Board of Trustees, where the need for his programs had to be lucidly demonstrated and tactfully defended. The necessity of moving within such deliberate spheres of influence was different from dealing with secular boards of education which left details of management to the superintendent, and McDonald had difficulty adapting himself to this new procedure.

Filling Faculty Ranks

BYU could not offer impressive salaries or lavish research facilities, but McDonald persuaded a number of distinguished scholars to join the faculty. Over twenty new teachers joined in 1946, with many more to follow. Ten of the new professors

73. Ibid., p. 10; and BYU Board Minutes, 23 January 1946.

74. "Budget Estimate for the Physical Science Center," 1945, BYU Archives.

75. BYU Board Minutes, 28 June 1946.

76. "McDonald Tells Expansion Plans for University," *Provo Herald*, 3 July 1946.

held doctor's degrees. Hugh Nibley, whom John A. Widtsoe termed "a bookworm of the first order," came from California with extensive training in ancient history and religion.⁷⁷ Widtsoe also recommended Dr. Wells Jakeman, an archeologist trained at the University of California at Berkeley. Jakeman was the school's first archeologist. Reed Bradford, a sociologist who had received a degree from Harvard, and Harold Glenn Clark, competent administrator and educator from Washington, D.C., were recruited by McDonald on his eastern trips. H. Smith Broadbent, Raymond Farnsworth, Henry J. Nicholes, Mark Allen, LeRoy Bishop, and Briant Jacobs strengthened the Chemistry, Agronomy, Zoology, Psychology, Education, and English departments. All of these professors were well trained and reputable scholars, and most of them are still with the University.

McDonald also added a number of trained faculty members who lacked doctor's degrees, including Hugh B. Brown, former president of the British Mission of the LDS Church; Alma Burton; Clinton Larson; William E. Berrett; Ray Canning; Clarence Robison; and Dale West. In all, more than eighty teachers joined the faculty during the McDonald Administration. While he hired faculty members without doctorates when necessary, McDonald continued to press for higher salaries that would attract more qualified personnel.

Academic Review

The postwar interest in science affected BYU's entire curriculum. Carl Eyring explained that nuclear research had not led BYU to a curriculum revision, but "the discussion of nuclear fission has become a part of courses in physics and chemistry. The uranium ore deposits now take on a more significant aspect in the courses of geology and geography."⁷⁸ Teachers of sociology freely discussed the dangers of atomic

77. John A. Widtsoe to Howard S. McDonald, 14 March 1946, box 3, folder 7, McDonald Presidential Papers.

78. Carl F. Eyring to John D. Russell, 19 October 1948, box 14, folder 2, McDonald Presidential Papers.

warfare and the probable effects of nuclear energy on our social structure. Biologists introduced into courses in heredity the possible effects of radioactive products of nuclear fission on germ plasma, and teachers of human physiology outlined the use of radioactive materials in the study of body functions.

McDonald and his associates attempted to alleviate congestion in the Education Building by moving some of the departments housed there to the Brimhall Building. KBYU, the student radio station, began daily broadcasts at the end of October 1946, beginning the school's serious commitment to the use of mass communications. In 1946 McDonald wrote a number of letters to reputable LDS scholars, asking for suggestions in the organization of an LDS institute of scientific research. He received several enthusiastic replies, but could not crystallize an actual research program because the school had a very limited research budget.

Open and amicable, McDonald often visited faculty members in their offices to discuss their problems, seek counsel, or receive special requests, which he diligently pursued. For example, the University purchased the William E. Gates collection of Middle American literature for the Archeology Department.⁷⁹ Similarly, writings of Catholic Church fathers were acquired for the religion teachers.

Religion teachers continued an active role in writing for the Church. In addition, they undertook separate scholarly investigations which resulted in publication of studies on the Book of Mormon and the New Testament. Faculty members from the College of Education held a number of round-table discussions treating the various plans for university education in America. Others published articles in educational journals concerning school administration and school counseling. Science professors published monographs in such scholarly journals as *Proceedings of the Utah Academy of Arts, Sciences, and Letters*; *Journal of the American Chemical Society*; *Iowa State College*

79. Howard S. McDonald to First Presidency, 17 August 1946, box 5, folder 5, McDonald Presidential Papers.



Howard S. McDonald, President George
Albert Smith, David Lawrence McKay
(son of David O. McKay), and David O.
McKay at the 1946 BYU Leadership
Week.

Journal of Science; and others. In all, the faculty published more than 150 books and professional articles during the four years of the McDonald Administration. These were notable accomplishments, especially considering that teaching loads often exceeded thirteen hours of coursework per term. Indeed, some teachers taught more than twenty hours of classes per term.

The school's new administrative organization reflected the influence of educators trained in psychological methods. Professor Mark Allen was the psychometrist in the Counseling Department. Headed by Antone Romney, the counseling service was established to give the student "first, a clear picture of his own previous scholastic record"; second, a clear picture of "his abilities and interests"; and third, "a clear picture of his opportunities."⁸⁰ The batteries of aptitude, preference, and intelligence tests developed during the war aided the counselors, who also developed a more efficient procedure for advising. Incoming students registered with counseling services, and each had the opportunity to meet with a personal counselor to discuss his academic program. After a study of his aptitudes and performance, the student selected a major and moved into a corresponding college. Though this removed the younger students from direct contact with advisers in the different colleges, administrators apparently felt that students needed a broad base of experience before they concentrated on a major.

Financial Perplexities

Since McDonald's major concerns for the University revolved around physical problems, his major hopes and exasperations were monetary. When he undertook to expand academic and related programs like the proposed center for scientific research at BYU or an institute for the study of the Book of Mormon, he inevitably encountered financial difficulties. The library, which was confessedly weak in many

80. "Complete Student Counseling Program Set Up for 1946-47," *Y News*, 13 August 1946.

areas, could only be built up with large appropriations. Researchers would not accept positions unless the school had adequate facilities and paid competitive salaries.

The Board of Trustees was inevitably interested in fiscal problems, and the 1946-47 school year was particularly full of financial perplexities. The building program, which McDonald inaugurated after only a few weeks on campus, ran into a number of obstacles. McDonald had hoped that the Church could respond to the University's needs with a number of buildings. Instead, there were delays. Rather than decreasing as McDonald hoped, construction costs continued to increase. Building materials were in short supply, and the increasing building costs dampened the enthusiasm of the Board as they contemplated revisions and modifications. Plans for buildings like the science center, which had already been approved, were closely reviewed to see if construction should be initiated or be put off until prices fell.⁸¹ The amount of paperwork, analysis, and review that was required to get the programs finalized served to perpetuate anxiety. During 1946 McDonald expended a great deal of his time in planning a campus which he felt would answer the needs of a fine University, but throughout the entire 1946-47 school year only a few temporary buildings were erected.⁸² The committee on campus planning had also stopped work.⁸³

McDonald had supported the construction of the science building in preference to other projects. His decision proved especially painful in 1947, when physical education instructors began to resign because of unfavorable working conditions.⁸⁴ In 1947 BYU athletic teams suffered another

81. BYU Board Minutes, 26 February 1947 and 30 June 1947. *See also* Carl Eyring, George H. Hansen, and Joseph K. Nicholes to Howard S. McDonald, 25 April 1947, McDonald Presidential Papers.

82. *See* Kiefer B. Sauls to Frank Evans, 25 April 1947, box 8, folder 7, McDonald Presidential Papers; and Leland Perry, "Consolidated Report of Physical Plant, 1947-57," UA 491, box 3, folder 1, BYU Archives.

83. E.F. Reimschuessel to Howard S. McDonald, 1 July 1948, box 14, folder 6, McDonald Presidential Papers.

84. Lois Ensign to Howard S. McDonald, 27 May 1947, box 3, folder 1,

dismal year, and their losses were universally ascribed to “the inadequate set up.”⁸⁵ The president was pressured to provide better financial support and facilities for athletics. Construction of the fieldhouse, designed to house the BYU basketball team which was playing its games in the Springville High School Gymnasium, was in trouble. Initial cost estimates were low, but they rose drastically with each new study until the future of the project looked uncertain. Some Board members, seeing little utility in supporting an expensive athletic program, called for a reevaluation of BYU’s athletic program.⁸⁶ “Brigham Young University is now at the crossroads,” McDonald reported. “I hope that within the next couple of weeks I can present the problem of athletics before the executive board for their serious consideration.” He confidently added that “the school would continue to participate in college sporting circles.”⁸⁷

Lesser projects, such as the heating plant boilers and equipment, stadium seats, tennis courts, and the remodeling of the National Youth Administration Building, were in the final stages of planning, but the delay between the time the plans were approved and the commencement of construction was frustrating. Delays were expected, but the president’s enthusiasm for a total building program, together with the critical need for increased facilities, resulted in acute disappointments which loomed all the more ominous.

Ernest L. Wilkinson, president of the Alumni Association chapter in Washington, D.C., wrote President McDonald that the University should raise its tuition “a full 100%” in order to support the development of both facilities and faculty. He added,

I appreciate that you may feel some families would have a difficult time paying twice as large a tuition fee as that

McDonald Presidential Papers; and Florence Henrichsen to Howard S. McDonald, 2 June 1947, box 3, folder 1, McDonald Presidential Papers.

85. *Y News*, 4 December 1947.

86. *Y News*, 12 February 1947.

87. *Ibid.*

charged at present. I suggest, however, in the present economic situation the average family will not have anywhere near as difficult a time in paying double the present tuition as they had some twenty-five years ago paying the present tuition. Then, of course, you will realize that you will have a large number of returning veterans who will have their tuition paid by the Government and the Government will, of course, be willing to pay the larger tuition just as readily as the present tuition.⁸⁸

McDonald agreed with Wilkinson, but explained, "I have suggested to the First Presidency that we raise the fees, but at the present time they do not feel we should."⁸⁹ The Board did not grant the tuition increase because it did not wish to burden the students, even though low tuition placed a great deal of stress on the Church's participation in the budget, which had skyrocketed over the previous year. According to McDonald, the presentation of this budget was the occasion of some resistance from the Board: "I presented the 1946-47 [budget]. It jumped from 690 odd thousand dollars to over a million. The Board called me 'the spendthrift from California,' saying, 'We can't spend that money here. Just get that out of your mind.' It kind of weakened my feelings a bit. But we kept on plugging ahead."⁹⁰ The overall increase from 1945-46 was about \$340,000. Church participation was \$82,000 higher. The balance was to be obtained from "anticipated student fees from a greatly increased enrollment."⁹¹

The Board of Trustees was aware of the school's needs and the plans of the president, but they were extremely concerned about the Church's growing financial commitment to BYU. Church participation in the school's budget was rapidly increasing. In 1945-46 the Church paid forty-six percent of the school's total expenditures. In 1946-47 it paid fifty-seven per-

88. Wilkinson to McDonald, 27 February 1946, box 5, folder 2, McDonald Presidential Papers.

89. McDonald to Wilkinson, 4 March 1946, box 5, folder 2, McDonald Presidential Papers.

90. Howard S. McDonald Oral History, p. 6; and BYU Executive Committee Minutes, 21 February 1946.

91. BYU Board Minutes, 21 February 1946.



Knight Mangum Hall, near the southeast entrance to the BYU campus. Originally the National Youth Administration Building, Knight Mangum Hall was built in stages that spanned two decades.

cent. The government provided welcomed assistance to veterans, but that did not diminish the overall expense to the school or the Church. With enrollment continuing to rise,⁹² Board members feared that Church assistance would have to increase even more. Several Board members recommended a cautious analysis and appraisal of the school's direction before committing itself to even larger investments.

As the school became increasingly complex, expenditures per student rose dramatically. During the years from 1938 to 1944 yearly costs to the school for each BYU college student were only \$195. In 1946-47 the cost was \$250 per student. BYU spent less money per student per year than any other college in Utah, but cost trends alarmed Board members. To complicate matters, postwar inflation continued throughout 1947, working great hardships on BYU employees. A.C. Lambert wrote President McDonald in May 1947, "The curve is still up and probably going higher. . . . Do any of the Board eat meat these days?"⁹³ Another teacher, recently returned from doing graduate work at Stanford, wrote feelingly, "I cannot deny my children the Christmas gifts and birthday gifts that other children enjoy. I cannot deny my family all recreation and entertainment. I cannot deny my family proper medical care as I have had to do this month during the illness of my children."⁹⁴ One department chairman complained, "I know from their own lips that six men who have been teaching . . . will listen with great interest to bids from outside unless they receive certain assurances" about salary increases.⁹⁵

The dynamic growth of the faculty had created some inequities in the pay scale, and some of the teachers (especially

92. "National Trends in College Enrollment," *Utah Conference Journal*, 1946; and Kiefer B. Sauls to Frank Evans, 24 March 1947, copy in Centennial History chronological files.

93. Lambert to McDonald, 20 May 1947, box 11, folder 4, McDonald Presidential Papers.

94. R. Max Rogers to Howard S. McDonald, 19 February 1947, box 7, folder 7, McDonald Presidential Papers.

95. B.F. Cummings to Howard S. McDonald, 20 March 1947, box 7, folder 2, McDonald Presidential Papers.

those of longer tenure) felt unjustly treated in their wages. In January 1947 the president obtained a ten percent salary increase for higher living costs, which was not to be considered a raise.⁹⁶ In April of the same year McDonald asked for and received an average yearly increase of \$180 in base salary, but this still was not enough to overcome the effects of inflation.⁹⁷

Conditions worsened during 1947. In November the faculty committee on salaries made a strong appeal to McDonald for higher wages:

Studies of teacher salaries in the school systems generally in this state show that increases have been made this year that run from \$300 per individual to \$1,100 per individual, with the bulk of the increases falling around \$800 or \$900 per year. Many families that do not have two incomes from both the husband and the wife and which do not have independent fortunes, and some of which have unusually critical conditions because of sickness and other uncontrollable causes, are in distress. While this may not be new to you personally, this Committee is compelled by faculty pressure to bring these matters to your attention.⁹⁸

In April 1948 McDonald proposed a general twenty-five percent increase in salaries, but the Board was hesitant, apparently fearful of the impact such an adjustment would have on the entire Church school system.⁹⁹ Teachers in the seminary and institutes program were also requesting higher wages.¹⁰⁰ The Board felt that salary increases for all Church educators would cause too much of a drain on Church resources.

The Question of the Religion Degree

Though BYU was troubled with many matters after the

96. General Board Minutes, 22 January 1947.

97. General Board Executive Committee Minutes, 23 May 1947.

98. A.C. Lambert and Wayne B. Hales to Howard S. McDonald, 26 November 1947, box 11, folder 4, McDonald Presidential Papers.

99. BYU Board Minutes, 29 April 1948.

100. General Board Minutes, 28 May 1947.

war, its Board of Trustees recognized that the school was an invaluable educational resource to the Church. The Church auxiliary organizations relied on BYU to develop effective teaching materials. Leadership Week, featuring dynamic and exciting speeches by BYU faculty members, continued to be popular. These programs were strong under Franklin S. Harris, but Howard McDonald gave them even greater emphasis.

Of all the ways BYU assisted the LDS Church, its program for training seminary and institute teachers was perhaps the most important. No secular university could so effectively train and strengthen Church teachers. To meet the growing need for trained teachers, the Church Board of Education approved the establishment of a doctoral program in religion that was to begin in September 1945. Elder John A. Widtsoe, who first proposed the program, explained that its primary purpose was "to train teachers for the seminaries, institutes and other educational institutions of the Church."¹⁰¹ The program was to be administered by the Division of Religion, drawing courses from several colleges. Preliminary work for the degree was offered in 1945-46, and five students enrolled.¹⁰²

McDonald postponed complete organization of the program for a year in order to give it more careful consideration.¹⁰³ During 1945-46 he studied the plans for the new degree and invited comments from faculty members. Carl Eyring, an articulate defender of the notion that BYU was, above all, a liberal arts university, challenged the new program on the grounds that it would injure other scholastic endeavors. In Eyring's opinion, with the graduate degree in religion as the focal point of the academic program, the school would become "nothing more than a Latter-day Saint Institute or Seminary." If such a degree were established, Eyring

101. General Board Minutes, 28 April 1944.

102. BYU Faculty Meeting Minutes, 4 December 1944.

103. For background on the proposed Graduate School of Religion, *see* a memo of 13 February 1946 in McDonald Presidential Papers. *See also* Heber J. Grant and David O. McKay to Howard S. McDonald, 2 May 1945, Joseph Fielding Smith Papers, Church Historical Department.

added, it must be placed within the setting of a liberal arts program:

Thus, taught in a liberal arts college as at Brigham Young University, religion is in a position to “leaven the lump” of knowledge which the liberal arts college furnishes; and the “secular lump” is there to furnish the “substance” upon which the leaven may operate. As a minimum, therefore, the Church University must consist of a Department of Religion in a college of arts and sciences — both department and college must be the best that the Church can produce.¹⁰⁴

The Division of Religion did not move into a commanding position among the colleges of the University. With its extensive commitments to both theological instruction and religious activities, it was spread too thin to accommodate the rigorous requirements of a doctoral program. According to McDonald, the shortage of manpower in the Religion Department was its greatest disadvantage.¹⁰⁵ Younger teachers who were studying for doctor’s degrees at other schools had not yet returned, leaving gaps to be filled by temporary appointments of faculty members from other disciplines. In addition, the didactic role of the Division of Religion was traditional at BYU. From the school’s early days the theology teachers had administered the school’s ecclesiastical program and had acted in a number of counseling and instructional programs which served a moral rather than intellectual purpose. Though it was given coordinate standing with various colleges, the Division of Religion did not even offer the bachelor’s degree. Objectives set for the Division of Religion in November 1947 perpetuated that role. Of the twelve basic objectives, some were intellectual, but most were still behavioral.¹⁰⁶

104. “Plans for BYU,” memorandum of personal opinions, 1945, box 3, folder 2, McDonald Presidential Papers.

105. Howard S. McDonald to John A. Widtsoe, 23 November 1948, box 13, folder 6, McDonald Presidential Papers.

106. The Religion Committee said that the “desired product” of the Religion Department was “good Latter-day Saints in the finest and

Attempts to intellectualize the study of religion and place it completely within the framework of philosophical or historical analysis often met resistance from within the Division of Religion.¹⁰⁷ Joseph F. Merrill and John A. Widtsoe both suggested that there were fears among some of the presiding Brethren that an overly scholarly Religion Department could create a faction of unorthodox Church intellectuals. Doctoral

broadest sense of the term” and listed the following twelve objectives:

1. To give students such a vision of the Restored Gospel that they may understand clearly and have conviction concerning our concept of God, of man’s relationship to Him, and of man’s place and destiny in the universe.
2. . . . Provoke . . . a contagious enthusiasm, a noble fellowship of the spirit, a dominating idealism, and a faith in those things which are eternal.
3. Acquaint students with the great leaders of our Church and the spiritual leaders and movements of the past. . . .
4. Help shape the spiritual attitudes of students and direct their activities into desirable channels.
5. Induce . . . the spirit of service and sacrifice in behalf of their fellowmen.
6. Stimulate . . . the desire to share the blessings of the gospel with the world. . . .
7. Acquaint the student, on a solid intellectual basis, with the historical method and with the development of religious doctrines and theology.
8. Teach students to deal honestly with the vital religious beliefs of men today, to appreciate and to interpret the questionings of contemporaneous thinking. . . .
9. Provide expert leadership in the field of religion for our Church schools.
10. Furnish expert information and research facilities for the Church.
11. Provide a nucleus of experts in the various branches of religious study, who can cooperate with the regular teachers of the undergraduate and graduate divisions of Brigham Young University. . . .
12. Do worthwhile writing for the benefit of the Church.

(Sidney B. Sperry to Religion Committee, 18 November 1947, box 12, folder 1, McDonald Presidential Papers).

107. Sterling McMurrin, supported by Wyley Sessions on campus, gave a series of well-attended lectures at BYU during the summer of 1947. The lectures were vehemently opposed by certain members of the Division of Religion (Eugene Thompson interview with Sterling McMurrin, 27 February 1974).

studies, in Merrill's view, did not mix well with a religion program:

You may remember that I have previously objected to the BYU giving the Ph.D. in religion. Instead, I have suggested the degree of Doctor of Religious Education. The BYU could give the latter and no one could object because the University would have the right to prescribe its own conditions . . . but it is different with the Ph.D. degree. The standard of this degree has been set and the conditions are well understood in all university circles, but this standard and these conditions cannot be maintained in the BYU in the Division of Religious Education. The reason is that the Board of Directors would be unwilling, I think, to grant the freedom that all writers of Ph.D. degree theses must enjoy.¹⁰⁸

In November of the same year John A. Widtsoe proposed that religious work be instituted fully within the range of the Graduate School, except for a few specialized courses:

As I have pondered the matter, and I have given it serious thought, I have come to the conclusion that to establish a graduate school of religion apart from the regular graduate school of the University would probably not be the wisest course to pursue.

We do not believe in Divinity schools since our people, all of them, are trained in religion from their earliest youth throughout life. We are not untrained in religion. Far from it, but we are not trained for paid positions in the Church. Thank the Lord for that. Therefore, a man who is to become a seminary principal or an institute director and who seeks the training that education can give, and does give, may follow any one of the several disciplines offered by a university. . . . All of this can be done in your regular graduate school and does not need a separate school of religion, which might lead us into any number of difficulties.

We shall need men more and more properly trained to

108. Merrill to McDonald, 18 February 1948, box 15, folder 6, McDonald Presidential Papers.



Howard S. McDonald presenting a master's hood to Don L. Earl in commencement exercises around 1947. Other dignitaries on the stand include Elder Ezra Taft Benson (left), Registrar John E. Hayes, President George Albert Smith, and Dean Christen Jensen (right of lecturn).

assist in our educational work in a field beyond the BYU. As I view it, we are already suffering a little because of the lack of such trained men, and heaven forbid that we shall send our men away again to Divinity schools for training. The experiment, well intentioned, did not work out to the full satisfaction of us all.¹⁰⁹

Church authorities decided that a high-powered religion program would act more to the detriment than to the benefit of the school's moral objective, and the doctoral program in religion was not instituted. In March 1949 the Board of Trustees approved a master of theology degree for BYU. Students of religion were encouraged to take their degrees in secular subjects and supplement this work with courses of religion, or to take the master's degree program and go elsewhere for their doctorate. While this may not have given doctoral candidates the religious instruction they needed, it did relieve BYU of the problems associated with offering a doctor's degree in religion.

109. Widtsoe to McDonald, 19 November 1948, box 13, folder 6, McDonald Presidential Papers.

24

Dilemmas of Growth: 1947-1949

The New Student Body

In the fall of 1945 veterans began to flood the universities and colleges in Utah. By the fall of 1946 the flood became a deluge. More than 3,900 veterans registered at the University of Utah, while smaller schools were similarly inundated. At BYU over 2,200 freshmen students enrolled, amounting to more than one-half of the school's total enrollment. Thirty percent of all BYU college students were veterans. For the first time in years there were more male students than female students at BYU, and more than 1,500 of the students were at BYU for the first time. While three-fourths of the students were still from Utah, out-of-state enrollment was increasing, and BYU was training many Mormon students from California and other Western states, giving the school an ever widening circle of influence.¹

The veterans were the object of national concern. Some feared their lack of academic background. Others worried about the effects of military life on their studies, but, in gen-

1. "University Enrollment Points to Broader Geographical Scope," *Y News*, 26 February 1947.



Dean Wesley P. Lloyd and President
Howard S. McDonald reviewing plans
for campus expansion.

eral, their performance banished misgivings. They were older and more stable than other students. Many were married and had mature vocational objectives. Most were adapted to hard work and seemed vitally interested in getting on with their education. As the BYU freshman class president of 1946, a veteran, proclaimed, "Life is short":

At no other time has there been so determined, yet, in a profound, quiet way, so humble and so appreciative a group searching after the truths of eternity — and these with good cause. We are still in the midst of salvaging what we can from the devastation of the war. . . . Our part in that salvage job is the absorption and organization of the truths presented at this institution. For some of us, progress has slowed to a walk — life has stood still. Now we are freed from those bonds that have held us. . . . Generally, people take their position in life for granted. . . . If you be numbered among them, take another look. If you are still without that determination to utilize to the utmost the tools at hand — then step aside and make room for those who are aware of their responsibilities in life. Life is short. Time is now more precious than ever.²

In 1946 Dean Lloyd announced that the grade-point averages of veterans were above average,³ though grade-point averages had declined dramatically the year before.⁴ Faculty members agreed that veterans were industrious, earnest students, the best they had seen at the University. Over twenty percent of the veterans planned to get their terminal degree. At the same time, only six percent were not planning to graduate from college.⁵ As the *Y News* explained, "A highly commercialized world, making crystal clear the advantages of having a college education," brought them to BYU.⁶

2. "In Appreciation," *Y News*, 10 October 1946.

3. "Grade Averages Show Coeds Best Men in Scholastic Rating at Y," *Y News*, 26 February 1947.

4. "Scholarship and Attendance," undated, UA 183, L2, BYU Archives.

5. Madge Ellertson, "Vets Abhor Segregation, Favor Russia as Ally, Dislike Military, Survey Shows," *Y News*, 14 November 1946.

6. "Y Progresses during '46," *Y News*, 8 January 1947.

During the McDonald years thirty percent of the college graduates were from the College of Arts and Sciences, an increase of five percent over the later Harris years. The new science building, the excitement of the nuclear age, and the vigorous recruiting efforts of Dean Eyring accounted for the increase. Enrollment in the College of Education, which was generally down in the mid forties, suffered a minor drop, but rose again toward the end of the decade. The fine arts and applied sciences programs, though marked by a number of fine achievements, did not increase in enrollment. McDonald's files included several student requests for a full engineering program, something the University did not offer at that time.

Student Activities and Attitudes

Hello week, whistling contests, wiener roasts at the Iona House, student firesides at Allen Hall, and freshman initiation ordeals all demonstrated that student activities were back to normal. In keeping with BYU's reputation as a marriage bureau, 150 students planned weddings for June 1947.⁷ In spite of the school's return to social normalcy, the war had left its mark on BYU students. The editor of the *Wye Magazine* suggested the veterans' "feelings and reactions will determine in a large measure the future of the university, and in a fuller sense, of the nation."⁸ Student publications recorded both the dramatic experiences of the war and the difficulties and opportunities of readjustment to student life. They were concerned about Soviet intrusion into Europe, the socialistic trends in world politics, rising divorces, juvenile delinquency, labor strikes, and the potential devastation of a nuclear war.

Devotional speakers returned to familiar themes. J. Reuben Clark, Jr., entitled his remarks "Seek Ye First the Kingdom of God."⁹ Elder Ezra Taft Benson spoke on "Making Peace with

7. "150 Students at BYU Pair Off in Marriage," *Y News*, 4 June 1947.

8. "Once Ax Service Man," *Wye Magazine*, spring 1946, p. 21. (*Wye Magazine* is the BYU student literary magazine.)

9. "President Clark Tells Students to Seek Kingdom of God," *Y News*, 30 April 1947.



President Howard S. McDonald with "Belle of the Y" finalists around 1948, including (left to right) Louise Hafen, Marie Dean Bybee, Marilyn Oldroyd (chosen "Belle of the Y"), Elizabeth Zundell, and Jean Howard.

God.”¹⁰ Henry D. Moyle discoursed on “The Nature of Eternal Truths.”¹¹ The Division of Religious Instruction offered a special missionary preparation course, while Wells Jakeman and Hugh Nibley offered courses in archeology and early Church history.¹² Of the 215 missionaries who left BYU for the mission field in July 1946, 102 were veterans.¹³ Students were generally convinced that “there is no place where a student may study under the influence of the Gospel except at BYU.”¹⁴

Postwar students generally obeyed the school’s regulations, but they were also anxious to have a voice in the school’s administration. They urged the implementation of the honor code.¹⁵ They called upon the faculty to recognize the tremendous changes wrought by the postwar period and pointed out that BYU was a cosmopolitan school:

Teachers, this is the University of all the saints of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. We come from Utah, true, but also from all over the United States, and the world. We are men, women, and veterans, young and some not so young. Will you henceforth not take so much for granted our backgrounds and opinions to be the same as your own?¹⁶

Interested students used campus publications to editorialize their concerns. “One world or none,” one student writer sloganized: “There will be no second chance. . . . We must go forward with the calling of a world constitutional convention by the governments or the peoples. All else offers war.”¹⁷ Another student editor warned that BYU remained

10. “Elder Benson Tells Youth to Live Eternal Laws,” *Y News*, 4 June 1947.

11. “Elder Moyle Stresses Eternal Truths,” *Y News*, 7 May 1947.

12. “Religion Department Schedules Foreign Mission Courses,” *Y News*, 23 October 1947.

13. “Y Students Leave for Mission,” *Y News*, 11 July 1946.

14. “Looking Up,” *Y News*, 4 June 1947.

15. “On Your Honor,” *Y News*, 20 November 1947.

16. “The Y, a Cosmopolitan School,” undated, box 5, folder 2, McDonald Presidential Papers.

17. “One World or None,” *Y News*, 12 December 1946.

"firmly encroached in the limbo of mediocrity."¹⁸ Another said, "BYU needs additional facilities right now if any good is to come" of the students: "In ten years the school will have already passed the crossroads and will be a 'great' university or merely, as some have accused us of being, 'a graduated seminary.'"¹⁹ Other student writers, such as the talented Edith Russell from England, examined the idiosyncrasies of college-age Americans:

I do like Americans, though they are alarmingly infectious. Their vocabulary — or lack of it — disregards the most stolid British attempts at immunization. . . . It is regarded as a most flagrant superfluity to say "Good Afternoon." . . . and people suspect you of undermining the constitution if you mention "Good Evening." Everyone with great amiability or indifference or perhaps both says "Hi." . . . I suppose all the best democrats prefer everything to be frightfully palsy walsy. My only cause for apprehension lies in the fear that when I return to London I shall probably forget myself and slap the Lord Privy Seal on the back with a chummy "Hi, Herbert."²⁰

Student government was characterized by active concern; over forty percent of the student body voted in the student elections of 1947.²¹ Student groups felt free to request better administrative services, better housing, and more active representation in student government. Few traditions were considered sacrosanct. The University's summer musical festival, for instance, which had long been hailed as one of the finest classical music festivals in the West, was openly criticized by some students who desired to see the festival include popular music.²² When Provo City delayed repairing damage to streets around the University, the student council marched

18. "Building a Great University," *Y News*, 23 October 1947.

19. "Editor's Slushbox," *Y News*, 19 February 1947.

20. "English Coed Lashes Out at Over Usage of 'Cute,'" *Y News*, 23 April 1947.

21. "Vote Today and Tomorrow," *Y News*, 16 April 1947.

22. "We Want Pop," *Y News*, 27 June 1946.

into a city council meeting. When there were further delays, the students threatened to repair the roads themselves.²³ The BYU football team did passably well in 1946, but when both the football and the basketball team were beaten miserably the next year, the student newspaper was deluged with complaints and editorials.

Attempts to Democratize Student Life

The “democratic idea,” as some administrators called it, was reflected in changes in the student social program.²⁴ In 1946 less than sixteen percent of the BYU student body was affiliated with social units.²⁵ Some social units had fallen into practices of student snobbism, selecting only a favored few for membership, disregarding the rest of the student body, and exposing candidates for membership to harsh and dangerous hazing practices. General student body activities were suffocatingly crowded. *Y News* said that “Every seat is filled (in assemblies) and every nook and corner occupied.” In dances, “outside of a few jitter buggers who batter their way through the crowd, the dancers have to be content to rock back and forth in one spot.”²⁶

McDonald appointed a special student coordinator to examine social behavior at the University and submit recommendations. At first, a correlation council was established to integrate the numerous clubs, organizations, and societies on campus. When that measure failed to make social programs more equitable, the committee recommended stronger action, including the complete reorganization of the social and cultural activities on campus, with emphasis on programs to include every student. The committee also felt that students should be able to select the organization they wanted to join rather than being selected by the desired organization. The Activities Council suggested that all students of the University

23. “Road Building Main Topic,” *Y News*, 20 November 1947.

24. “Social and Cultural Life at BYU,” undated, student organization file, UA 183, L13, BYU Archives.

25. *Ibid.*

26. “The Crowd Pinches,” *Y News*, 24 October 1946.

should give consideration to the problem of making BYU the outstanding democratic University in the nation, with social and cultural opportunities for every student.²⁷ Even so, the social units were never completely “democratized” during the McDonald years.

The Activities Committee further suggested that a large student union building would remedy the problem of social disunity. Most activities were being held in the overcrowded Joseph Smith Building and the newly remodeled Social Hall, far too small to accommodate the entire student body. Dean Lloyd regarded social integration as being “as important as classroom lectures” in the lives of BYU students.²⁸ This accorded with McDonald’s philosophy of educating the whole student, and the student union building became a symbol of student reunification and social concern. An architect made preliminary sketches of the building which were published in *Y News*. A number of schemes to raise money were discussed, but the Board opposed several of them on the grounds that they would burden Church members and require Church authorities to participate in fund-raising projects.

New Health Services

In 1946 McDonald set up a new health program which superseded the student health service carried on under President Harris. McDonald believed that the school needed a good medical facility and that “nursing education properly belonged in a collegiate setting.” An energetic supporter of health services, he was “anxious to strengthen the program by expanding it by the training of nurses at the University level. I felt that through cooperation with the LDS Hospital training program a much better health service could be offered the students attending BYU.”²⁹ Though some influential alumni criticized the program on the grounds that it constituted

27. “Our Social Picture,” *Y News*, 22 January 1947.

28. Wesley Lloyd to BYU Alumni, 10 July 1948, box 12, folder 3, McDonald Presidential Papers.

29. Maurine M. Harris, “College of Nursing History,” unpublished typescript, BYU Archives, p. 5.

“socialized medicine,” McDonald successfully instituted the service.³⁰ During the Harris years several doctors had served as consultants for the school; doctors Hardy Carroll, H.G. Merrill, Weston Oaks (uncle of President Dallin Oaks), and Lloyd Cullimore gave health and physical examinations only. McDonald’s program was administered by a committee chaired by Dr. Vasco Tanner under the general supervision of Dean Wesley Lloyd. It employed full-time doctors and nurses, financed by an annual fee of ten dollars collected from each student. Seth Smoot, a qualified medical doctor, was hired to direct the program. The health services were housed in barracks just east of the science center construction site.³¹

Temporary Student Housing

Along with health services, student housing was a major concern to President McDonald. While general campus planning was in process, McDonald pushed for immediate construction of residence halls to house 1,000 students.³² The Board of Trustees immediately approved construction of housing for fifty people,³³ but the Board advised McDonald to wait on construction of major units until building costs lowered and material was more available.³⁴ Meanwhile, McDonald obtained twenty-six buildings from the Ogden Arsenal. The structures, complete with sewage system, utilities, and roads, were soon in place.³⁵ Twenty of the buildings were converted into 200 apartments for married couples, and six were set up as residence halls for 300 men students. These temporary buildings, designated Wymount Village, were in-

30. Howard S. McDonald Oral History, p. 19.

31. The health services moved to a new building named for President McDonald during the Wilkinson Administration.

32. “Proposed Residence Halls for BYU,” undated, box 3, folder 6, McDonald Presidential Papers.

33. BYU Executive Committee Minutes, 18 January 1946.

34. BYU Board Minutes, 18 January 1946.

35. Howard S. McDonald to Irene Mensing, 6 November 1946, box 5, folder 6, McDonald Presidential Papers; and Howard S. McDonald to the First Presidency, 12 September 1946, box 5, folder 5, McDonald Presidential Papers.



Wymount Village housing units,
purchased from the U.S. Government
in 1946 and used to house students at
BYU until the 1960s.

stalled in a gravel pit at the approximate location of the new law school building.³⁶

President McDonald was also successful in obtaining an additional dormitory building from the Ogden Arsenal. It was used for a brief tenure as a girls' residence hall before the completion of Heritage Halls and then as a mens' dormitory, bringing the total number of buildings used by men to seven. Concerning the Government houses, McDonald wrote: "There was an authorization for me to sign contracts . . . with the public housing authority. . . . I said, 'Will you let us do that?' I knew the Church was against federal aid in any shape or form whatsoever. They said, 'yes.' Well, I didn't ask for more authorization; I went ahead."³⁷

Later in the school year the Board authorized funds to remodel the National Youth Administration Building and place in close proximity to it the previously approved "test" dormitory, now expanded to 150 units.³⁸ Cinderblock houses were planned for erection on separate lots.³⁹ These were to be supervised by married students. In the spring of 1946, 350 more government houses were brought in.⁴⁰ Students in Wymount Village formed a nineteen-man community council to supervise housing regulations, grow a tomato garden, and

36. Editor's Note: This Wymount Village should not be confused with Wyview Village, consisting of 150 temporary homes for 150 married couples (35 for faculty and 115 for married students), which were obtained in 1957 during the Wilkinson Administration from Mountain Home Air Force Base in Idaho. They were located in the area of the Marriott Center parking lot. Nor should either of these temporary housing facilities be confused with Wymount Terrace, constructed in 1962 during the Wilkinson Administration as permanent married student housing for 462 couples and located in the northeastern part of campus east of Ninth East. Both Wymount Village and Wyview village were either demolished or sold and moved off campus during the Wilkinson Administration to make way for permanent buildings and parking lots on campus.

37. Howard S. McDonald Oral History, p. 4.

38. BYU Executive Committee Minutes, 21 February 1946.

39. Howard S. McDonald Oral History, p. 3.

40. BYU Executive Committee Minutes, 26 April 1946; and "Housing for 500 Veterans Secured," *Y News*, 25 April 1946.

run a cooperative grocery store.⁴¹

Notwithstanding the additions to student housing facilities, the committee on housing under Wesley Lloyd reported inadequate and sometimes overpriced housing conditions in Provo, increasing President McDonald's desire to have sufficient on-campus housing to accommodate all BYU students. McDonald feared that some of the people of Provo were taking advantage of students, charging them exorbitant prices for poor accommodations. He wanted to be able to house all BYU students on campus.⁴² McDonald wrote Grover C. Dunford of Los Angeles on 15 April 1948, "We have had many discouragements in Provo in the line of student housing and in the treatment we have received in this respect. I sometimes think they must not realize that the University is one of the greatest assets they [the people of Provo] have. Many times I have told them that I believe the people of Southern California would like to have the University taken there."

Through veterans' housing, McDonald had increased campus accommodations from 250 to 1,100 units, and he was hoping that the Church would give him a large appropriation to expand the program.

Student Conduct

Inadequate facilities and overcrowded conditions provided abundant opportunities for students to lose themselves in the rush. Some students had been improperly screened and came to the University unaware or unconcerned about standards of

41. "Wymount Village Organizes with Thomas, President." *Y News*, 28 May 1947.

42. Howard S. McDonald to T. Earl Pardoe, 15 April 1948, box 11, folder 8, McDonald Presidential Papers; and Howard S. McDonald Oral History, pp. 15-16. Not all of the people of Provo were taking advantage of students. Prior to the Harris Administration most out-of-state students roomed at very reasonable prices in the homes of public-spirited citizens who were loyal to the school. But with increased attendance during the Harris Administration and the deluge of students during the McDonald Administration, demand so exceeded the supply of housing that abuses undoubtedly resulted.

conduct. President McDonald was most anxious about standards violators who were damaging the school's reputation for producing wholesome, obedient students. In December 1946 he published an open letter to standards violators:

Many honest and faithful students who desire to maintain this university on a high plane have complained to me about those who do not desire to conform, and who openly use tobacco on and off the campus. Many landlords have complained that students in their homes are using tobacco and various kinds of alcoholic drinks. They have informed me that they are not going to tolerate the practice any longer. The people of Provo came to our aid in the time of home shortages, and many homeowners took students into their homes just to help out in the crisis. Students will be asked to vacate these homes if they persist in smoking, drinking, and coming home at all hours of the night. I, as President of the University, will uphold the homeowners and also will support the students in their desire to clean up the college campus of these practices.

Some students have said that whether they smoke or not is none of my business. As president of this university it is my duty to teach the students that the use of tobacco and liquor is wrong. It is also my duty and my business to say who shall graduate from this institution. If some students do not adhere to the standards and ideals, they may find themselves wanting on the day of graduation. I am most willing to help those who want to be helped, but when such actions are used to defy all rules and regulations, I will not hesitate to ask such persons to leave Brigham Young University.⁴³

Organization of Church Branches

One of the most significant events in McDonald's administration was the establishment of faculty and student-manned branches of the LDS Church on campus in the summer of 1947. It marked the logical culmination of over seventy-two

43. "Open Letter from the President," *Y News*, 12 December 1946.

years of experimenting with ecclesiastical programs. Encountering initial misgivings about establishing a complete ecclesiastical organization on campus, school officials had tried a number of stop-gap programs. For instance, the Domestic Organization, with its home visitors and Sunday organization meetings, was active during the Maeser, Cluff, and Brimhall years. Later, the tight structure enforced during the early years gave way to a more casual organization of Sunday meetings and devotionals, the students being encouraged to attend the wards in which they resided. But the programs fell short of their goals. They were both too demanding to implement and not suited to the intimate supervision of students which both parents and Church authorities deemed necessary.

McDonald also realized that preaching from the pulpit alone could not solve the problem of student discipline. He was sure that an effective Church program would produce more effective results. In the tradition of the Harris Administration, the Division of Religious Instruction had struggled to meet the demands for a Sunday program by operating the BYU Sunday School, administered by a few student leaders and ten or so faculty members. Weekly attendance during 1946 averaged more than 600, which sometimes meant stuffing more than one hundred students into a single classroom. The results were hardly satisfying. The intimacy of a small group was lost, and with such a large gathering of young people the meetings often became gay social events for making dates and showing off new clothes. The local wards complained of the same difficulty; transient students moved in and out of Church services like sightseers, and classrooms were stuffed beyond tolerance.

The Wymount Village project, which consisted mostly of families and mature students eager to involve themselves in Church programs, was chosen to begin the branch organization. With children and married women living in these units, a full branch organization, including Relief Society and Primary, was planned. In June 1947 the organization was approved by the First Presidency, which noted that students preferred to see the leadership of the branch selected from

among their peers. In August of the same year a second branch was organized for single students.⁴⁴ Though the branches were staffed by students, they still functioned within the local stake, and McDonald himself asked to be made a member of the stake high council in order to coordinate the branches' operation with the stake.⁴⁵ Faculty member Golden Woolf was made president of the Provo East Stake, in which the campus wards were established, in order to further communications.⁴⁶

The activities of the young people during the first months of the branches' operation bore out the optimistic hopes of the administration. They proved that students could make a Church organization work without the intervention of faculty advisers as in the previous campus Sunday School organization. Within a short time the branches had the highest attendance records in the stake.⁴⁷ The administration, however, did not see the organization of student branches as a solution to the campus-wide social problem. The whole student body was not systematically divided into small branches until the Wilkinson period.

The successful implementation of student ecclesiastical organizations came at a timely moment, for, as the University requested more funds, Joseph F. Merrill called for an evaluation of the effectiveness of BYU's spiritual program compared with Church seminaries and institutes. Merrill also wished to see a comparison of the performance of LDS graduates from BYU and from non-Mormon institutions.⁴⁸ If the Church was to commit itself to an expensive permanent University, the school had to prove its worth by building faithful and competent members of the Church. Thus, at the

44. *Y News*, 30 October 1947.

45. Howard S. McDonald Oral History, p. 14.

46. *Ibid.*, p. 13.

47. Howard S. McDonald to Reed A. Benson, 17 January 1949, box 16, folder 5, McDonald Presidential Papers.

48. Joseph F. Merrill to Howard S. McDonald, 27 May 1948, box 15, folder 6, McDonald Presidential Papers. *See also* Merrill to McDonald, 19 July 1948, box 13, folder 1, McDonald Presidential Papers.

end of a letter appropriating \$1,600,000 for the construction of the new science building, the administrative action which McDonald said guaranteed BYU's permanent existence,⁴⁹ the First Presidency appended the following charge:

We urge you that you ever keep in mind the maintenance of the lofty and noble ideals which should characterize this great institution, and the building of sturdy character, which has ever been its high purpose. It is not infrequently the case that in the expansion of any organization, a decline in integrity, character and ideals is noticeable. We are confident that these possibilities will not be overlooked, and that you will be constantly watchful to maintain a strict adherence to the principles upon which the University was founded.

The comparative study suggested by Merrill seems not to have been made.

Lapse of Charter and Reincorporation

In July 1946 the Articles of Incorporation expired. The year came and went with no one apparently cognizant of the fact that the school had passed the fifty-year limit set in the 1896 charter and therefore did not legally exist. The press of the building program and the confusion incident to changing the administration all contributed to produce this embarrassing oversight. When the oversight was noticed, the Board asked McDonald to prepare a report on the matter. In the fall of 1948 President Clark received from McDonald a packet of correspondence containing his report and supporting documents. After reviewing the material, Clark wrote McDonald on 17 September 1948, "I am happy to know that it [the charter] is in a better position than I feared it might be."⁵⁰ The drafting of new Articles of Incorporation was assigned to Albert R. Bowen of the law firm of Ray, Quinney, and

49. Eugene Thompson interview with Howard S. McDonald, 15 March 1974.

50. Clark to McDonald, 17 September 1948, box 12, folder 5, McDonald Presidential Papers.

Nebeker. Bowen submitted his draft to Stephen L Richards, Albert E. Bowen (his father), and Frank Evans.⁵¹ After four months without action, Bowen wrote the Board to remind them of the urgency of the matter.⁵² The Board took immediate action, meeting on 29 April 1949 in Salt Lake City to reincorporate the University.

Except for a few minor differences, the new document was essentially identical to the 1896 Articles of Incorporation. The Board of Trustees recommitted themselves to the kind of institution which Brigham Young had established with the 1875 Deed of Trust. Article Four, which specifies the purposes of the University, shows this most clearly:

1896 Articles of Incorporation

The object of this corporation is to establish and maintain a college or school of learning in which the youth of both sexes who are members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints are to be instructed; provided, however, that the trustees of this institution may allow under certain rules and regulations children not belonging to said Church to attend; but this provision shall not be deemed obligatory upon them, nor shall children of other religious denominations other than the above named have an inherent or vested right to enjoy the [benefits] of this trust. And the general [course] of education in the principles to be taught shall be as set forth in the rules, regulations, and by-laws made by the Board of Directors from time to time hereafter, provided that in addition to the usual education given in an institution of like character the Old and New Testament, the Book of Mormon, and the Doctrine and Covenants shall be read and their doctrines inculcated in such college; and the students therein, physical ability permitting, shall be taught some branch of mechanism that shall be suitable to their taste and capacity.

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51. Albert R. Bowen to Stephen L Richards, 3 December 1948, Stephen L Richards Papers, Office of the First Presidency.
 52. Albert R. Bowen to Stephen L Richards, Albert E. Bowen, and Frank Evans, 15 April 1949, Stephen L Richards Papers.

1949 Articles of Incorporation

The principal object and purpose of this corporation is to continue the existence, operation and maintenance of the university which was founded originally by the late President Brigham Young and which is now being maintained and operated as Brigham Young University; to promote, carry on and effectuate the aims and purposes of said founder in providing for an institution of learning in which the youths of both sexes who are members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints may be instructed, provided, however, the Board of Trustees may allow, under rules, regulations or by-laws adopted by it, the attendance of students who are not members of said Church, and said Board of Trustees may change, amend or abrogate at will any rule or regulation which is adopted for the purpose of allowing or promoting the attendance of students who are members of other religious denominations in whom no vested right or interest is or shall be recognized to attend and be instructed as students in said university. The Board of Trustees of this corporation shall determine and fix the general formula of education and curriculum to be pursued in said university, as provided in the rules, regulations or by-laws now in effect or hereafter adopted, modified or changed by it, provided, however, that in addition to the usual education given in institutions of like character, the Old and New Testament, the Book of Mormon, Doctrine and Covenants and Pearl of Great Price shall be read and their doctrines and scriptures inculcated in said university; in addition, students attending said university shall, physical ability permitting, be taught some branch of mechanism that shall be suited to their tastes and capacities.

Though the Articles of Incorporation provided a definition of the school's status as a religious institution, they did not specifically describe the school's academic program, mentioning only that BYU was to provide what would be considered "the usual education given in institutions of like character." This academic uncertainty presented a rather perplexing problem as school administrators considered the scholastic role of the growing University. In January 1947 McDonald

explained that BYU was enlarging graduate work as rapidly as possible, but he “had no intention of duplicating work done by state schools.”⁵³ The school had traditionally been a strong institution for the preparation of teachers. Some desired BYU to expand even more rapidly in this area; others wished to move more in the direction of the school’s achievements in the physical sciences. With the prospective new science building as a research facility, some people were anxious to see BYU established as a school of arts and sciences. Others were interested in BYU’s role as a theological institution, pointing out several aspects of the Mormon religion amenable to scholarly analysis which could be undertaken by no other University.

Defining Educational Objectives

With money allocated for the new campus, many felt it necessary to seek out clearer guidelines for the future. In June 1949, Ernest L. Wilkinson, a prominent attorney from Washington, D.C., and president of the Washington, D.C., branch of the BYU Alumni Association, said at a testimonial dinner for Christen Jensen that there were two basic areas in which BYU ought to excel as a University. The first was the theological area:

This school will become the greatest educational institution in this world if it so trains its students that they will have the desire and the knowledge to take the revealed Gospel of Jesus Christ to all the ends of the earth. Those of us who think of our revealed religion as something separate and apart from our education miss the whole point of this school. Unless the truths which we obtain from this Gospel give us additional [knowledge] to offer mankind, there is no occasion for continuing this school. I think I need say nothing further as to the indispensable reason for placing prime emphasis upon a comprehensive indoctrination of Mormon theology.⁵⁴

Wilkinson also felt that the school should emphasize “what is

53. “Plans for Expansion of Graduate Work Outlined,” *Y News*, 16 January 1947.

54. Ernest L. Wilkinson at Christen Jensen Testimonial, box 1a, folder 1, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

known as history and political science." The Mormon belief in the constitution, the LDS concept of government, and the "Mormon explanation of the rise and fall of governments" were three critical areas in which he felt the school was destined to make contributions.

Shortly after his speech, Wilkinson was invited to communicate his ideas to the First Presidency, other members of the Board of Trustees, and President McDonald.⁵⁵ His comments sparked an immediate reaction. John A. Widtsoe, who had particularly strong interests in the area, answered Wilkinson exuberantly, commending him for his dedication to the destiny of the school:

All friends of the BYU would like, as you do, to have the institution assume leadership in subjects consonant with the great revealed possessions of the Church. Bless you for bearing down on that proposition! It has been my dream for many years. But, frankly, I see no immediate hope. Our time is taken up with the consideration of routine matters. They seem to be so pressing that big matters of policy are laid aside . . .

You argue for instruction in government, after the revealed type. Very good! But, it is not the only one to be considered. For example, five (you may think of others) fields stressed by the Church of world wide need could be established, fed by the various departments of instruction.⁵⁶

In addition to Wilkinson's proposed institute (as Widtsoe called it) of government studies, Widtsoe proposed emphasis in the fields of family relations, nutrition, American archeology, and sacred literature, which he described as "collections of existing information, rather than the complex organizations for experimental work."⁵⁷

McDonald also wrote a reply to Wilkinson's proposal, suggesting that, in addition to areas mentioned by Widtsoe, the

55. Ibid. *See also* Ernest L. Wilkinson to J. Reuben Clark, Jr.; David O. McKay; John A. Widtsoe; and Howard S. McDonald, all on 11 June 1949, box 1a, folder 1, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

56. Widtsoe to Wilkinson, 23 July 1949, box 1a, folder 1, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

57. Ibid.

school should develop its educational work, keeping an eye fixed on what was happening in the secular universities.⁵⁸ In a letter to Wilford W. Richards, director of the LDS institute of religion at Logan who had commended him for his address at the testimonial to Christen Jensen, Wilkinson took limited exception to McDonald's point of view:

For your information, President McDonald is urging a revision of the entire curriculum "in line with what has been done at other great universities in the country." While I am completely in accord that there should be a revision of the curriculum, my own view is that it should not be "in line with what has been done at other great universities in the country." I think that many of our political and economic maladjustments are the result of some extremely bad educational leadership of certain Eastern left-wing institutions.⁵⁹

In July Wilkinson was invited to present a critique of BYU's curriculum before the Board of Trustees,⁶⁰ and the whole issue was discussed at length that same month before the Executive Committee.⁶¹ About the same time, McDonald presided over a faculty-wide evaluation of curriculum. He appointed a special committee to study all of the questions incidental to determining the ultimate purpose of BYU's curriculum. All faculty members were invited to make suggestions. The minutes of the Curriculum Revision Committee meetings reflect the perplexity of educators trying to grapple with the problem of formulating a philosophy of education. President Clark's charge to Howard S. McDonald and Article Four of the Articles of Incorporation constituted the basic documents from which they worked. In the 28 July 1949 meeting,

58. McDonald to Wilkinson, 2 July 1949, box 1a, folder 1, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

59. Wilkinson to Richards, 7 July 1949, box 1a, folder 1, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

60. Ernest L. Wilkinson to William F. Edwards, 7 July 1949, box 1a, folder 1, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

61. BYU Executive Committee Minutes, 26 July 1949.

President McDonald read excerpts from the charter, both in its original form and in the form last approved by the trustees. Power is given to the trustees to determine and fix the general formula of the curriculum, which is to contain a study of the scripture and branches of mechanism which enable students to become prepared for daily living. An abstract of the charge by President Clark to President McDonald at his inauguration was distributed to the committee members, and discussed. . . . Discussion turned to the nature of the absolute or ultimate truths described in the talk. To what extent do we close doors to research when we accept any truth as absolute? What is the relationship between revelation as a source of truth and research as a source of truth?⁶²

By August the committee was still discussing the problem in general terms:

Discussion turned to whether we should begin by recognizing the “givens” in the situation, and build an operating policy around them, or set up ideals and goals without any restrictions. It is still apparent that our minds are not meeting with reference to some of the concepts involved, and we do not have adequate definitions of some of our commonly used terms such as revelation, truths, ultimate, etc.⁶³

With much effort, the committee may have defined some of its objectives compatible with the academic sensibility of its faculty and the spiritual insights of the Board of Trustees, but the project was disrupted in September 1949 when President McDonald unexpectedly announced his resignation as president of BYU.

Resignation of Howard S. McDonald

President McDonald informed the First Presidency that he

62. Curriculum Revision Committee Minutes, 28 July 1949, box 1, folder 6, UA 532, BYU Archives.

63. *Ibid.*, 4 August 1949.

had been offered the position as president of the combined Los Angeles State College and Los Angeles City College in the California state college system. On 27 September 1949 George Albert Smith recorded in his journal,

Joseph Fielding Smith and Howard S. McDonald came in to discuss with me a very important matter. President McDonald has had an offer to become President of the Los Angeles College of Fine Arts, a very splendid position, paying \$15,000. President McDonald had come to get the advice of Brother Joseph Fielding Smith and myself with reference to it. I told him I would like to have some time to think about it and discuss it with my brethren.⁶⁴

President Smith also recorded the discussion that took place the next day at a special meeting of the Church Board of Education:

This was an important meeting at which all the brethren were present, the purpose of it being to consider the offer which has been made to President Howard S. McDonald of the BYU to go to Los Angeles State College of Applied Arts and Sciences at a salary of \$15,000. The matter was considered very seriously by all the brethren and discussed at some length and finally it was directed that a letter should be written to Brother McDonald expressing to him the gratitude of the brethren of the Board for the excellent work done by him as President of the BYU during the past four or five years and saying to him that the decision was his own, but that if he should decide to accept the offer to go to California he could leave with our blessing and our good will.⁶⁵

A letter was accordingly written to McDonald the next day. The press described McDonald's announcement as a "complete surprise,"⁶⁶ but it was not entirely so to the General

64. Journal of George Albert Smith, 27 September 1949, University of Utah Library, Salt Lake City.

65. Ibid., 28 September 1949.

66. *Provo Herald*, 3 October 1949.

Authorities. McDonald had been seeking another position for several months.⁶⁷ As with many other university administrators who had no guarantee of future employment, McDonald had at least listened to offers from other schools,⁶⁸ admitting at the same time that he was happy at BYU.⁶⁹

The professional relationship of an enthusiastic administrator with a Board of Trustees whom he affirmed as prophets, seers, and revelators was a new experience for McDonald. Accustomed as he was to working with secular boards of education but not with ecclesiastical superiors whom he respected and revered, he occasionally found himself and his ambitious plans for the University the object of overwhelming scrutiny. He addressed the faculty for the last time on October 3, explaining that he was soon leaving BYU to become President of the combined Los Angeles State College and Los Angeles City College, whose enrollment at that time exceeded 20,000 students. He said he would always have the best interests of BYU at heart, with utmost faith in its future development into a great and influential institution. He hoped that funds would be made available for more permanent academic buildings and for housing purposes. In conclusion he bore his testimony of the truthfulness of the gospel of Jesus Christ. He also bore personal testimony that, under the leadership of inspired men, BYU was destined to become a great University.⁷⁰

Since McDonald was scheduled to begin in California on the first of November, the time between his announcement of resignation and his departure was brief. He left his best wishes for the progress of the University and a memorandum of advice for the president to succeed him. He departed with the respect of the First Presidency. Some fifteen years later, after

67. Lynn Richards to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 18 June 1949, box 1a, folder 1, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

68. Howard S. McDonald to John Brady, 1 April 1949, box 6, folder 1, Christen Jensen Papers, BYU Archives.

69. Howard S. McDonald to Edith Anderson, 10 April 1947 and 22 April 1947, box 8, folder 1, McDonald Presidential Papers.

70. BYU Faculty Meeting Minutes, 3 October 1949.

his retirement as president of the Los Angeles schools, he was called to be president of the Salt Lake Temple, a position he held from April 1964 to July 1968.

Appraisal of the McDonald Administration

In the inaugural services for Howard S. McDonald, President J. Reuben Clark, Jr., charged him with the responsibility of seeing that students at BYU "live observant of the Christian virtues, that they shall gain testimonies of the truths of the restored Gospel. . . . They shall . . . live as righteous members of the Church and as upright, patriotic citizens of the republic, dedicated to the support and preservation of our divinely inspired Constitution."⁷¹ President McDonald responded to this challenge by saying, "May our Father in Heaven bless me with the spirit of this Institution and help me to lead and direct the future of Brigham Young University with the same integrity that has characterized the leadership of those who have preceded me."⁷² During the four years and four months he served as president of Brigham Young University, McDonald was always conscious of this challenge and his commitment to it, and he directed his best efforts toward its fulfillment. Considering his short tenure, he left a record of great accomplishment.

He recommended the continuance of the University. By this action he averted the last real threat to the school's survival. He made a sweeping reorganization of student affairs. Faculty members, recognizing that the new student services were manned by their own academic colleagues, generally supported his dynamic nonacademic programs. Nevertheless, the intrusion of the dean of student life into areas such as student counseling and freshman orientation, which had formerly been occupied by deans of colleges, created problems. Noticing comparative enrollment drops in their departments, some chairmen said the problem was prejudiced

71. J. Reuben Clark, Jr., "The Mission of Brigham Young University," 14 November 1945, M260, A1, #22, BYU Library.

72. "Dedication Services for Thirteen Buildings," Howard S. McDonald biographical file, BYU Archives, p. 13.

and harmful counsel given by members of the counseling committee. A professor of languages wrote, "I have seen the department grow from 7% of the student body to 33%, reduced this year to 25% concomitant with the new system of counseling. If I stay on two more years I could be there at the obsequies and gently bury the department."⁷³ The administration pointed out that there were more students than ever, that all departments were represented in the counseling service, and that the new system enabled students to independently choose their major. On the other hand, one professor told McDonald that "People not knowing the facts of BYU history might easily get the impression that all things good have their beginning and end in the omnipresence and omnipotence of the new 'dean of students.'"⁷⁴ However, this was a minority view, and most faculty members supported the new organization.

There may have been some merit to the complaint that McDonald slighted the academic program in favor of administrative organization for institutional growth. McDonald himself considered one of his greatest administrative limitations to be his lack of experience with academic programs.⁷⁵ But he cannot be blamed for creating the problem. The entire University experienced a traumatic shock caused by postwar enrollment increases. McDonald acted with vigor and dispatch in handling the most pressing difficulties first. With his attention focused on these problems, academic considerations, of necessity, often received secondary attention.

In order to cope with growing enrollment, McDonald gave more responsibilities to department chairmen, college deans, and administrative assistants. New ideas, practices, and procedures initiated by faculty members were reviewed through department chairmen, cleared by college deans, and then sent to the president. Though not as accessible to faculty members

73. B. F. Cummings to Howard S. McDonald, 20 March 1947, box 7, folder 2, McDonald Presidential Papers.

74. P. A. Christensen to Howard S. McDonald, 20 September 1945, box 3, folder 1, McDonald Presidential Papers.

75. Howard S. McDonald Oral History, p. 19.

as Harris had been, McDonald often met by appointment with professors to discuss problems. Overall, McDonald's policy improved faculty morale because it gave more administrative responsibilities to faculty members within separate departments and colleges.

McDonald effectively provided housing, classroom facilities, and other accommodations for a student body which grew from 1,508 students in 1944-45 to 3,446 in 1945-46; to 5,082 in 1946-47; and to 5,440 in 1947-48. He established a modern facility to care for student health needs. Despite the low salary schedule, he brought well-qualified faculty members to campus to keep pace with growing student enrollment. Under his administration the faculty increased in size from 116 to over 200, while teaching loads actually decreased. He obtained two salary increases for faculty members and continually urged higher wages. He was responsible for persuading the Board of Trustees to arrange with one of the local stakes to have two wards meet in Knight-Mangum Hall where students could attend. He supervised the organization of two student branches which met in temporary facilities on campus.⁷⁶ During his administration BYU instituted a master of theology program.

After a long hiatus in the building program resultant from the depression and other financial problems which affected the entire Church Educational System, McDonald aroused the Board of Trustees to a sharp realization of the need for new permanent buildings. They in turn authorized construction of the Eyring Science Center and the George Albert Smith Fieldhouse. Although these facilities were not completed during his administration, the science center was completed the next year under Acting President Jensen, and architects were planning the fieldhouse when he left. More important than the immediate construction of these buildings, McDonald laid the groundwork for the building expansion program during the Wilkinson Administration.

President McDonald was a man of action in every facet of

76. Transcription of McDonald Tapes, BYU Archives, p. 44.

his administration. When he felt he was right, he was fearless in his efforts to realize his objectives. He demanded quality service from faculty and staff members and quality scholarship and character from the students who graduated from the University. His abrupt demands, such as his proposal for a twenty-five percent increase in salaries, sometimes brought him into conflict with the Board of Trustees. He was accustomed to an environment in which he as administrator made most of the decisions, and he had difficulty adjusting to a situation in which the Board of Trustees took an active part in the administration of the school. He had neither the patience of his predecessor nor the meticulous dedication to preparation for Board meetings of his successor, but he served the University well, preserving the strengths of the school as he found it and leaving the mark of his imagination. After he left BYU, McDonald served capably for fifteen years as president of Los Angeles State College and Los Angeles City College.

When McDonald left BYU, Dean Wesley Lloyd, in charge of the enlarged program of student services, said that McDonald,

like other presidents, knew full well that in a university the primary human element is the student. He set up a student personnel program that included a totally reorganized and enlarged program of campus medical services. Then he turned his attention to the University curriculum, to the addition of faculty personnel, to increased budgets, and to new buildings. Each problem he touched seemed to be a vital and, therefore, a controversial one. Each proposal brought forth its counterproposals.

. . . The years were hectic ones; they took their toll in the physical strength and endurance of the new president. But through it all there was visible a genuine sensitivity to the welfare of faculty members and students and a continuing concern that the University have stature appropriate to the Church which gave it birth.

When it was learned that the President was to leave the University and to preside over another institution of higher learning, the faculty felt that it was losing a true

colleague and a loyal friend. Perhaps it was not until then that this man, completely devoted to his assignment and appropriately sensitive to what others thought of him and his work, had the satisfaction of really knowing that he had found a deep and abiding place in the hearts of his faculty, his fellow administrators, and the student body.⁷⁷

Speaking for the faculty at McDonald's official farewell, Dean Carl F. Eyring admitted there had been early opposition to McDonald's programs: "When you poured new wine in some of the old wineskins, the ferment almost blew some of them up. But with sympathetic understanding and patience you subdued the fermentation." Eyring said that McDonald had met each of his challenges

with understanding, enthusiasm and vigor. You have given of yourself without stint. The results are on record in the form of brick, wood, and stone, increased staff and salaries, improved scholarship, better counseling, more interest in the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and in general, more abundant living. There is also a record in our hearts which no one can gainsay.⁷⁸

The student body also honored President and Mrs. McDonald with a farewell testimonial, and the couple left Provo knowing that they had made a place for themselves in the history of Brigham Young University.

The Calling and Administration of Christen Jensen as Acting President

President George Albert Smith wrote in his journal that Dean Christen Jensen was called as acting president of the University on 10 October 1949:

By arrangement Dr. Christen Jensen, Professor Emeritus of BYU, came to my home at 4:00 and I asked Dr. Jensen if he felt that he could assume temporarily the position of

77. Wesley Lloyd, "Tribute to Howard S. McDonald," Howard S. McDonald biographical file, BYU Archives.

78. "Remarks to Howard S. McDonald from Carl Eyring on Behalf of the Faculty," 19 October 1949, Carl F. Eyring Papers, BYU Archives.



Jim Little, Marilyn Oldroyd, Professor Richard Poll, Elmo Turner, Rosemary Phillips, and Al Choules with Acting President Christen Jensen during the 1950-51 school year.

acting President of the BYU until such time as we would be able to select a permanent President. He was almost dumbfounded but assured me that he would be happy to do whatever he could. I told him I thought it would be well for him to go home and talk to his wife and let us know what his decision would be.⁷⁹

With reluctance, Dr. Jensen accepted the call on the clear stipulation that it was only temporary. President Smith wrote in his journal, "I will feel much relieved when the question of the BYU Presidency is finally resolved. . . . I feel that the BYU is one of our greatest institutions in the Church and a constant change is not a healthy condition nor is it conducive to the best interests of the school."⁸⁰ Jensen's appointment was announced to the faculty on November 7.

Accepting the position of acting president of BYU on the eve of his retirement from teaching, Christen Jensen brought some administrative experience to his new position. In addition to serving as acting president of BYU in 1939-40 while President Harris was on leave of absence in Persia, Jensen had been a professor at the school for thirty-nine years. For much of his academic life, he was dean of the College of Applied Science and served as dean of the Graduate School from 1929 to 1949. He was modest, humble, and well respected by the faculty. Though he was cautious, trying to avoid decisions that would tie the hands of a successor, his brief administration from November 1949 to February 1951 was marked by sincere and confident action. He maintained order on campus and saw the school through a number of pressing circumstances.

The recently adopted Honor Code was a topic of discussion during the autumn quarter of 1949. The Honor Code was a joint attempt by students, faculty, and administrators to place the responsibility for conduct in keeping with gospel principles on the students themselves. School leaders hoped that gospel standards would prevail in classes and in the personal

79. Journal of George Albert Smith, 10 October 1949.

80. Ibid.

lives of the students.⁸¹ Jensen also worked to revise the curriculum. At the Deans' Council meeting of 30 January 1950 he "reported an action of the Board of Trustees Friday, January 20, 1950, which provided that: Beginning with the year 1950-51 a course in American History and Government, properly taught, will be one of the graduation requirements of Brigham Young University." After further study it was decided that a "course numbered 70 or 170 for 5 hours credit . . . will be construed as meeting the requirement."⁸²

When rivalry among certain faculty members became overzealous and the competition threatened faculty unity, Jensen decisively made it plain that he expected cooperation rather than bickering. He said,

A well integrated institution should be the aim of us all. We should avoid personal ambition and self aggrandizement. We should also realize that we possess limited financial income. We must live within our means. For this reason we should carefully analyze our courses of study in the various departments concerned. We should eliminate the least necessary courses. We should study the matter of duplication and overlapping of work. Expansion is not an end in itself.⁸³

In March 1950 the Executive Committee finally authorized the appropriation of money for construction of the fieldhouse, making available one-half of the total cost of \$900,000 for the building. They stipulated that the other half should come from the "Brigham Young University Athletic Department and Alumni and those friends of the institution and the institution's athletes who have so urgently expressed a desire that this Fieldhouse be constructed."⁸⁴ Plans called for an extensive fund-raising project which Dean Wesley Lloyd, with the aid of business stalwarts like Orval Adams and Jack

81. BYU Faculty Meeting Minutes, 5 December 1949.

82. BYU Faculty Meeting Minutes, 30 January and 6 March 1950.

83. Christen Jensen to Deans, 16 January 1950, Christen Jensen Papers, BYU Archives.

84. George Albert Smith and J. Reuben Clark, Jr., to Christen Jensen, 7 March 1950, Christen Jensen Papers; and *Provo Herald*, 25 May 1950.



Acting President Christen Jensen and
two radio announcers observing
President Joseph Fielding Smith break
ground for construction of the George
Albert Smith Fieldhouse.



George Albert Smith Fieldhouse, ready for use in 1951.

Firmage, successfully administered. The Church monies provided for construction were to be repaid from revenues expected to be received from operation of the facility. This policy was in line with the administrative sentiment that tithing money should not fund collegiate sports activities.

On 17 April 1950 the Deans' Council discussed "The magnitude of the task of raising half a million dollars locally toward the cost of the fieldhouse."⁸⁵ Groundbreaking ceremonies for the fieldhouse were held on 24 May 1950 with President Joseph Fielding Smith turning the first shovelful of earth.⁸⁶ By mid-January 1950 Dean Lloyd was able to report that one-half of the funds to be raised locally had been received. However, construction proceeded faster than funds were received, and since the Church had agreed to provide money only on a matching basis, it was necessary for the University to raise additional funds. To do this President Jensen and Treasurer Kiefer Sauls arranged for a \$100,000 loan from Zion's First National Bank. Both men signed the note. Construction then proceeded, and the building was used for commencement exercises in June 1951. The building officially opened on 1 December 1951 at a final construction cost of well over one million dollars.⁸⁷

The most disappointing news announced during Jensen's interregnum came on 24 April 1950 when he was instructed to reduce the budget "for the coming year by twenty percent in line with the general Church policy of financial retrenchment." Jensen remonstrated that a cut of these dimensions (about \$250,000) would have "a crippling effect" on the school.⁸⁸ Nevertheless, the Board of Trustees would not reconsider its decision.

The first faculty meeting of the 1950-51 school year was held on 18 September 1950. President Jensen greeted the

85. BYU Faculty Meeting Minutes, 17 April 1950.

86. BYU Faculty Meeting Minutes, 15 May 1950.

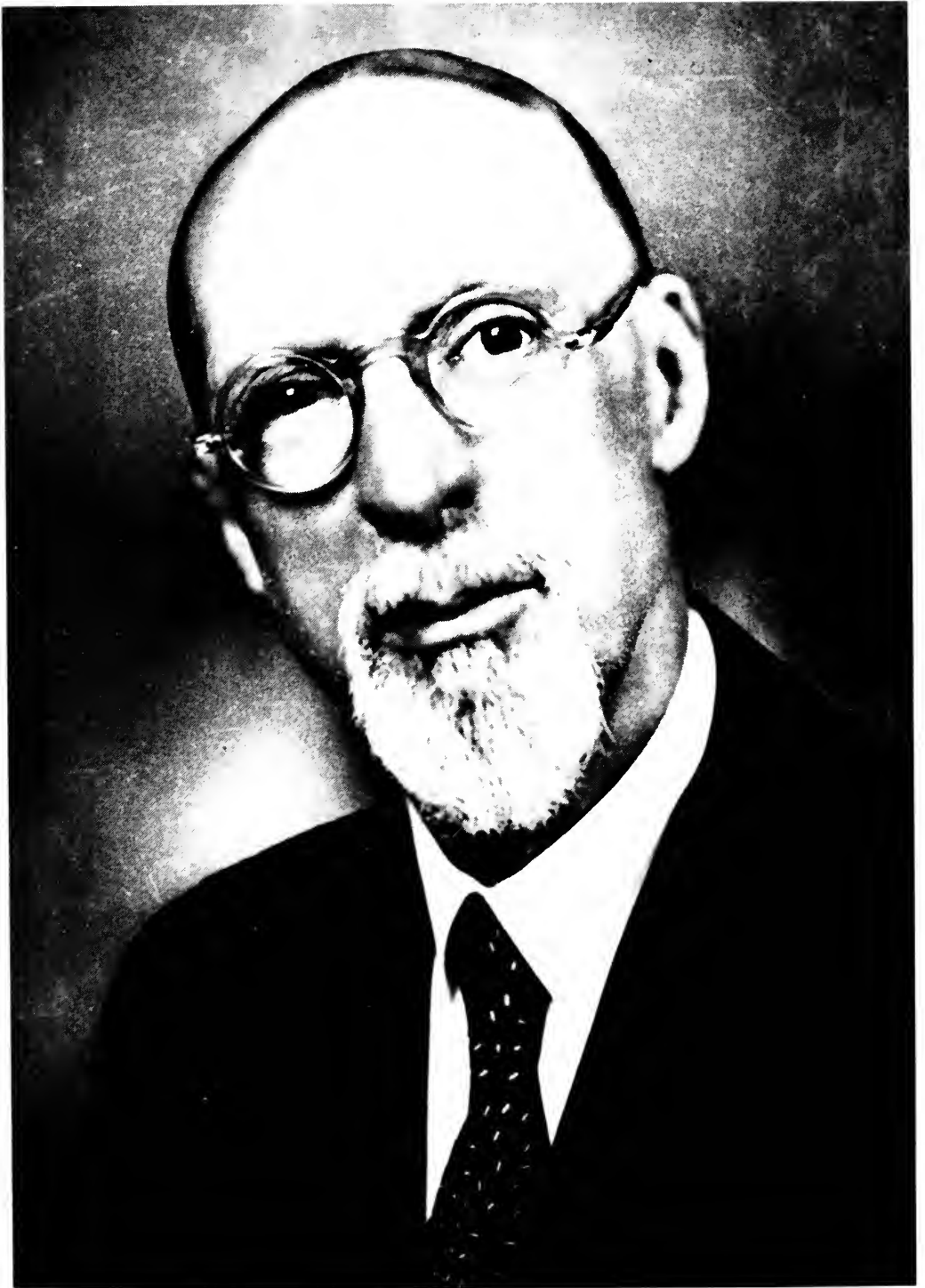
87. "Record-Breaking Crowd Witnesses Opening Fieldhouse Ceremonies," *BYU Universe*, 4 December 1951.

88. Christen Jensen to Albert E. Bowen, 1 May 1950, Christen Jensen Papers.

faculty and acknowledged the presence of President George Albert Smith, who announced that Ernest L. Wilkinson had been appointed president of the University. Wilkinson was to report for duty at the beginning of the winter quarter. Meanwhile, the school celebrated its diamond jubilee on 15 through 20 October 1950. Under the direction of President Jensen, Dr. Wayne B. Hales was in charge of planning the celebration. Over three hundred delegates, representing universities, scientific societies, government agencies, and industrial research laboratories from throughout the country, participated in the jubilee.

During Jensen's administration the BYU chapter of Sigma Xi, the national research society, was inaugurated. President Jensen also officiated at the dedication of the Eyring Science Center in December 1950. Christen Jensen did an admirable job of administering the affairs of Brigham Young University during his two terms as acting president. He knew that his role was to carry on with existing programs and not to commit himself to programs which would bind the hands of his successors. Two instances clearly illustrate Jensen's ability to keep the school at even keel without letting things get out of control. When Harris was in Iran, some people called for his replacement. President Jensen stood his ground well in defense of Harris, and nothing came of the suggestion. The First Presidency was grateful for Jensen's strength and moral courage.⁸⁹ The second incident arose from a letter written in 1950 accusing a young faculty member of unorthodoxy. The letter was signed by several religion teachers and sent to one of the General Authorities of the Church. When President Jensen heard about the letter he rebuked its authors for not taking the matter to him first. He characterized the action as an act of discourtesy and disrespect to the head of the institution and as a direct violation of proper administrative procedure. He wondered whether the authors of the letter had ever read what Saint Paul said about charity and firmly informed the authors that those who teach religion must practice reli-

89. Ernest L. Wilkinson interview with J. Reuben Clark, Jr., in 1951.



George Albert Smith, President of The
Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day
Saints from 1945 to 1951.

gion; that no kind of fanaticism, religious or otherwise, had any place at BYU.⁹⁰ The General Authorities treated the new teacher with kindness and permitted him to stay in the Church school system.

Dr. Jensen continued serving as acting president until February 1951, maintaining correspondence with Dr. Wilkinson in order to understand the administrative desires of the new president. Jensen did not wish to do anything that would tie the new president's hands. He sought no honor for himself, thinking only of the good of the University and maintaining complete loyalty to the man who was to succeed him.

90. BYU Faculty Meeting Minutes, 29 May 1950.

25

Choosing a New President

Keeping Things Rolling

After the resignation of President Howard S. McDonald in 1949 the Board of Trustees of Brigham Young University and the First Presidency of the Church sought a qualified replacement for Acting President Christen Jensen. Church leaders had confidence in Jensen's leadership, but he had already retired and was not a candidate for the position. As President George Albert Smith, an alumnus of BYU, expressed it, "This is one of our most important single activities in the Church and I am extremely anxious that there be as little disruption of the program as possible with reference to that school. . . . I am grateful that Dr. Jensen has accepted a temporary presidency of the school which will give us time to select the right man for the permanent position."¹

The nominating committee, composed of Stephen L. Richards, Joseph F. Merrill, John A. Widtsoe, Albert E. Bowen, and its chairman, Joseph Fielding Smith, Jr., shared President Smith's concern to see a smooth but rapid transition in the school's presidency. Appointed to recommend the most

1. Diary of George Albert Smith, 29 September and 10 October 1949.

suitable candidates, these men, who also formed the Executive Committee of the BYU Board of Trustees, pressed for an early appointment. Aware of the school's "immediate problems" (some of which demanded long-range solutions), they sought to make the temporary administration as brief as possible. Nevertheless, they made a careful investigation before finalizing their recommendations.

Making the Choice

The nominating committee wanted certain criteria to be met: The new president had to be "a loyal good-living orthodox Latter-day Saint" with adequate "scholastic attainments and professional academic experience." He also had to be a man who loved and supported Brigham Young University. The committee desired "an administrator of dynamic personality, of great resourcefulness, sound judgment, dependable loyalty and abundant energy with an adequate equipment of health and vigor."² At least two members of the committee also wanted an administrator who would seek to establish a curriculum in which the United States Constitution would be taught as "a sacred and divinely inspired document in its essence and essentials."³

The committee considered a total of forty men for the presidency, among them some of the best-known and most respected Latter-day Saints in the fields of education, government, business, and law. Only a few of them had made formal application.⁴

Although he was not an applicant, Ernest L. Wilkinson was a prominent name on the list of potential nominees. An alumnus of BYU, he had maintained interest in the school after his graduation in 1921. In addition to his active participation in the Alumni Association in Washington, D. C., he had corresponded with Franklin S. Harris, John A. Widtsoe, J.

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2. Finding Committee to the First Presidency, 14 April 1950, Stephen L. Richards Papers, Office of the First Presidency.
 3. Albert E. Bowen to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 6 February 1950, Wilkinson Presidential Papers, BYU Archives.
 4. Undated listing of "Names Presented," Stephen L. Richards Papers.

Reuben Clark, Jr., and other prominent Church leaders about the operation of the school and its proper objectives. Four months before President McDonald's resignation and Christen Jensen's appointment as acting president of BYU, Wilkinson gave an address at a testimonial held on campus in honor of Dr. Jensen upon his retirement from teaching. Wilkinson told the audience, "This school will become the greatest educational institution in this world if it so trains its students that they will have the desire and the knowledge to take the revealed gospel of Jesus Christ to all the ends of the earth."⁵ After this talk, Elder John A. Widtsoe and Wilkinson carried on correspondence about the future of the school. When McDonald's resignation was later announced, Dr. Wilkinson made it clear that the letters which passed between himself and Dr. Widtsoe should not be interpreted as an application for the position of president; they merely expressed his "anxiety and concern for the school."⁶ As he told one friend, "It would be extremely difficult for me to abandon my law practice."⁷ Nevertheless, men like Dr. William F. Edwards of New York City and Edgar B. Brossard, chairman of the U.S. Tariff Commission in Washington, D. C., wrote Church leaders to recommend Wilkinson.

After months of deliberation, interviewing, and meditation, the nominating committee narrowed the field to seven candidates: Henry Aldous Dixon, president of Weber College; George Albert Smith, Jr., professor of business administration at Harvard University; John T. Wahlquist, professor of education at the University of Utah and later president of San Jose State University in California; Wayne R. Driggs, president of College of Southern Utah; Preston O. Robinson, former professor at New York University and at that time manager of *Deseret News* Press; Asahel D. Woodruff, dean of the Graduate School at Brigham Young University;

5. Lecture given by Ernest L. Wilkinson on 6 June 1949 at Christen Jensen Testimonial, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

6. Wilkinson to Widtsoe, 6 October 1949, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

7. Ernest L. Wilkinson to Kiefer B. Sauls, 19 April 1950, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

and Ernest L. Wilkinson. Very early it became clear that Wilkinson was their choice. On 14 April 1950 the committee wrote the First Presidency about Wilkinson: "He has the indispensable qualification of being a loyal good-living orthodox Latter-day Saint. . . . His scholastic attainments and his professional academic experience seem to be adequate. . . . He has a Doctor's Degree from Harvard, which is considered desirable in such a position. . . . His professional achievements would seem to command the respect of all." The committee also commended Wilkinson for his "high order of intelligence . . . analytical powers, and untiring industry," advising also that his wife seemed "in every way qualified to give the support and perform the duties which are to be expected."⁸

The nominating committee conceded "that his severest test would be in winning the faculty who might feel that a professional educator should be chosen." David O. McKay felt that an educator like Henry Aldous Dixon, president of Weber State College, would be best suited for the position, but the finding committee noted that "It might well be that there would be some real advantage accruing to the University from an administrator not so steeped in academic traditions, thinking, and terminology as some of the professional scholars seem to be." The committee admitted that Wilkinson "does not possess all the qualifications we have been looking for. . . . He would suffer some handicaps." Despite his limited educational administrative experience, however, the committeemen felt that he was "the best prospect for a successful administration of our great school."⁹ John A. Widtsoe, one of the members of the nominating committee who had served as president of both Utah State Agricultural College and the University of Utah, later "made it quite plain that I [Wilkinson] had been asked to take this position because the brethren felt that by coming in from the outside, I would have a fresh view and not be tied down by academic traditions."¹⁰

8. Finding Committee to the First Presidency, 14 April 1950.

9. Ibid.

10. Ernest L. Wilkinson, "Memorandum of Conversation with John A.

After the nominating committee made its recommendations, President George Albert Smith and his two counselors had to make the final decision. On 7 July 1950, at a meeting of the Board of Trustees, Stephen L Richards, with the consent of the First Presidency, presented the recommendation from the Executive Committee that Wilkinson be offered the position of president of the University.¹¹ The Board approved the motion unanimously.¹² On 15 July 1950 President George Albert Smith talked to Ernest L. Wilkinson “concerning the possibility of his becoming the President of the Brigham Young University.” President Smith recorded in his journal that Wilkinson

did not want to know what the salary was but rather wanted to give the matter consideration purely on the basis of the contribution he would be able to make to the Church and to the young people. I stressed the fact to him that we were not calling him on a mission and we did not want to have him sacrifice too greatly. In other words, he did not need to feel that he was obligated to accept the position.¹³

Ten days after that phone conversation, Dr. Wilkinson met privately with the First Presidency at the home of President Smith. After the meeting, David O. McKay, who had previously favored Henry Aldous Dixon, recorded:

There is no doubt but that Ernest Wilkinson has the right viewpoint of the mission of Brigham Young University, especially with regard to its mission and the preaching of the restored gospel of Jesus Christ. He senses clearly the

Widtsoe about 11 May 1951,” Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

11. BYU Board Minutes, 7 July 1950.

12. Albert E. Bowen, who made the motion to appoint Dr. Wilkinson, wrote Wilkinson on Bowen’s honorable release from the Executive Committee in November 1951: “This has been an enjoyable work, a work in which I have had a life-long interest. . . . I can retire with a good deal of satisfaction in the thought that I lasted long enough to have a prominent part in your selection and installation as the President of the University” (Bowen to Wilkinson, 30 November 1951, Wilkinson Presidential Papers).

13. Diary of George Albert Smith, 15 July 1950.

fact that every department in the school should, as he stated, “be impregnated” with the spirit of the gospel, and that the teaching of the principles of the gospel should not be confined to a Theological Department with other departments feeling that they are estranged therefrom.

Brother Wilkinson is a clear thinker; he makes no pretense to having had any experience in school management; he possesses outstanding ability, which I believe he can direct towards a good organization. On the whole I was favorably impressed with him and earnestly hope and pray that he will succeed.¹⁴

On 27 July 1950 Wilkinson was formally offered the position.¹⁵ In his formal letter of acceptance he stated:

I accept in a spirit of humility and with the hope [that] I may be of assistance to the great faculty of that institution in causing the Brigham Young University to fulfill the full measure of its destiny. Because I am convinced that the ills of the world will never be cured by purely political action, whether that action be translated into international pacts, atom bombs, burdensome armaments, or otherwise, I welcome the opportunity of returning to my Alma Mater where chief emphasis is placed on individual responsibility and righteous living — the only keys to personal and international peace.¹⁶

Accepting the Challenge

When he accepted the presidency, Wilkinson set down specific conditions which he felt were necessary for him to effectively administer the school. Among these were “the unqualified support of the [First] Presidency” in making BYU “the greatest educational institution in the world,” active support and help from the Board of Trustees, and permission to

14. Diary of David O. McKay, 25 July 1950, Church Historical Department.

15. Diary of George Albert Smith, 27 July 1950; and Ernest L. Wilkinson to the First Presidency, 29 August 1950, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

16. Wilkinson to the First Presidency, 11 September 1950, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.



Ernest L. Wilkinson, president of Brigham Young University from 1951 to 1971.

“maintain an active contact” with the law and his Washington-based law firm. Perhaps most importantly, the new appointee urged “that there should be no ‘back-door’ diplomacy, by the faculty or others.” He called for the discontinuance of the practice of faculty members or others taking school matters to individual members of the First Presidency or Board of Trustees. President Smith agreed that all school matters “would be directly referred to me [Wilkinson] in order that I might (1) know what is going on, and (2) be able to decide them as President or make recommendations to the Executive Committee.” Complaints against faculty or anyone else at BYU were to go through the president of the school.¹⁷ This insistence that he be completely in control of the school became one of the characteristics of Wilkinson’s administration.

In his letter of acceptance Dr. Wilkinson referred to a very personal and sacred experience he had during the First World War. At the time of his training in the BYU Student Army Training Corps he “suffered an attack of the virulent influenza which swept the country at that time,” killing more Americans than died on the battlefields of Europe: “I then promised my Heavenly Father that if He would spare my life and help me to become successful I would do for the Brigham Young University whatever I was called upon to do. I never had the faintest idea it would ever be that of being President of the institution.”¹⁸ Regretful at never having served a proselyting mission for the LDS Church, Wilkinson looked upon his offer to become president of BYU as the equivalent of a mission call. Despite objections from the First Presidency, he refused to accept a salary for his services. The Lord had been very generous to him, Wilkinson said, for during the last years of his legal practice he had enjoyed a large income.¹⁹

17. Wilkinson to the First Presidency, 9 September 1950, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

18. *Ibid.*

19. Diary of Ernest L. Wilkinson, 18 December 1953, in possession of Ernest L. Wilkinson.

Shadow Boxing

For some reason, the First Presidency preferred to wait until the opening of school in September to announce Wilkinson's appointment. Keeping the appointment confidential was no easy task. The faculty of BYU, the press, educators within and without the state, and a great many other interested bystanders all speculated. Acting President Jensen, who knew of the appointment after July 27, later described his clandestine efforts to keep the secret:

"A number of telephone conversations have been engaged in by us between Washington and here, but I always received those messages over in the President's home and not in my office, and likewise a number of letters have passed back and forth. When I wrote back my letters were addressed to Mrs. Alice L. Wilkinson, and when his letters came here they were addressed to Mrs. Julietta B. Jensen." He said, "I think you will give us credit for doing a pretty fair job under the circumstances due to the fact that we had a faculty of 250 who were trying to find out."²⁰

"Shadow boxing," Jensen called his efforts at maintaining secrecy while carrying on essential correspondence with the new president. Despite all these precautions, the announcement of Wilkinson's appointment by President George Albert Smith at a special meeting of the University faculty was not a complete surprise. Some, who had expressed a preference for other candidates, pledged their support.²¹ Others, to whom

20. Diary of George Albert Smith, 18 September 1950.

21. Dean Asahel D. Woodruff wrote Wilkinson eighteen months later: "With the passing of time and consequent sense of fellowship and belongingness which it produces, I am sure that for many others and me there is no longer the subconscious feeling that we have a greater stake in BYU . . . than you who have come more recently." Many of the faculty had spent years with the school and had a special feeling for their colleagues. Woodruff explained, "I know these subtle feelings and reservations are far more powerful influences in the behavior of a staff than is generally recognized. You are our President now in more than name, for I believe there is a genuine acceptance of

the new appointee was unknown and an outsider who lacked experience as an educational administrator, had private reservations.

The Energetic Builder

The history of Brigham Young University from 1951 until 1971 was very much affected by the personality of its president. While it is true that BYU is greater than any of its presidents, an active, dynamic leader can exercise an important influence on the school because of the powerfully authoritative role of his office. So it was with Wilkinson.

His Early Life

Ernest Wilkinson grew up in the "Hell's Half Acre" outskirts of Ogden, Utah, with the same rugged American drive that is typified in the Horatio Alger archetype; he was individualistic, hardworking, and ambitious in his climb toward success. Of immigrant stock, he was one of seven children for whose support their father held two full-time jobs during most of his working life. Robert Brown Wilkinson had been brought to Ogden as a boy of ten, and he worked with his father and brother to raise the money to send to Scotland for the rest of the large family. His marriage to Annie Cecilia Anderson mingled Danish blood with the Scots in Ernest's veins. Cecilia's grandmother, widow of the king's gardener in Denmark, had forfeited her comfortable social and economic position to emigrate to Utah. That enduring faith in the doctrines of the Mormons passed on to her granddaughter, Ernest's mother, who remained steadfast in her convictions to her death in 1945.²²

Both his father and his mother influenced young Ernest. Twenty-five years a worker for the Southern Pacific

you in the hearts of our faculty members" (Woodruff to Wilkinson, 7 March 1952, Wilkinson Presidential Papers).

22. Biographical material is drawn from Ernest L. Wilkinson, "From My Experiences," 22 September 1966 address to the BYU student body, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

Railroad,²³ Robert Wilkinson was at one time a strong union man, and, according to family tradition, was once Socialist candidate for mayor of Ogden. One of Ernest's memories is of his father taking him to hear Eugene V. Debs, then Socialist candidate for president of the United States. Debs' "remedy for the world's ills was for all of us to join one big union." This philosophy Ernest soon repudiated on the theory that there would be no taxes to support the union. Robert Wilkinson set for his son an example of industry; Wilkinson later said that his father was "the hardest working man I have ever known in my life."

It was Cecilia Wilkinson, however, who essentially raised the children, taught them in gospel ways, and led them toward fulfillment of the ambitions she instilled in them. After the oldest son, Alexander, died in his childhood, Ernest was next in line, and on him she leaned heavily for support and aid. His influence in the family is represented in the naming of several of the younger children, on his suggestion, after some of the heroes of his youth: Elva, after a grade school friend; Glen, after a popular athlete in his school; and Woodrow, after Woodrow Wilson.

In the outskirts area of Ogden, where the Wilkinsons lived, there were few children Ernest's age. His associates were often older boys and men in whose vices he participated to some degree. Cock fighting was a favorite sport among them, and with the money he earned from his *Deseret News* paper route, Ernest bought a few game cocks and went into partnership with an older man who frequented the cockpits.²⁴ The unsavory character of those associates is reflected in the fact that Wilkinson's partner was imprisoned during those years for blackmailing David Eccles, prominent Ogden businessman.

A police crackdown on the cock fighting led young Ernest to seek other friends, this time nearer his own age. Not much improved over the cockpit associates, these new companions "had a hangout where they met every night, played cards,

23. BYU *Daily Universe*, 26 September 1960.

24. Wilkinson, "From My Experiences."

smoked and told sex stories.” Ernest hung back from full participation, largely because of the influence of his mother, who, despite her activities as Primary Association and Relief Society president, seems to have had time for her teenage son. He often drove the horse and buggy for her to visit the poor in the ward where they lived. A strong bond formed between them, and it was on her suggestion that Ernest enrolled at Weber Academy, then a Mormon-operated high school.

Weber Academy was a significant turning point in Ernest Wilkinson’s life, a time of which he later said, “My ideals — my life — what little success I’ve had — all emanate from the teachings I received at Weber Academy.”²⁵ Because of what the school meant to him personally, Wilkinson was “deeply shocked” when the Church decided in 1933 to transfer Weber College to the State of Utah. Acutely aware of what Weber had meant to him, he was eager in his later life to extend a Church college education to as many young Latter-day Saint students as possible.

As a student Wilkinson actively participated in the Church and was appointed assistant superintendent of the Ogden Tenth Ward Sunday School when he was only fifteen years old. With no inclination toward speculative theology, he learned the power of faith and was converted to the fundamental principles of Mormonism. As a young man he very much wanted to serve a mission for the Church and “even suggested the same” to his bishop. But the bishop “was of the old school who thought missions were largely to reform young men and told me that in view of the record I was making in school he would not send me.”²⁶ The bishop probably also felt that Wilkinson’s family needed his help.

Wilkinson enjoyed athletics, serving as captain of a sandlot baseball team one summer, although he never really excelled in sports or in the mechanical or technical trades.

Academically, Wilkinson soon established a reputation of

25. Ernest L. Wilkinson to Hyrum Manwaring, president of Weber College, 13 August 1953, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

26. Wilkinson, “From My Experiences.”

being one of Weber Academy's hardest-working students. Dr. Henry Aldous Dixon, one of his teachers who later became president of Weber College, president of Utah State Agricultural College, and a U.S. Congressman, told of his first meeting with Wilkinson at the Academy in 1914. Together with another teacher, Dixon was assisting the students in building some tennis courts. With teams and shovels they had worked much of the day. Dixon recalled that

Just at dark when everyone was gone, here came a little fellow with a huge gray team and a load of clay. We helped him unload. We sat down on the clay, asked him his name. He said his name was Ernest Wilkinson. He was about this high [indicating about five feet]. . . . We noticed that he worked longer and harder than anyone else around. He was working after all the rest of them had gone. That characterized him all the way through school.²⁷

During the summers, Wilkinson spent his time raising funds to return to school, often working on Merwin Thompson's farm thinning sugarbeets, putting up hay, milking cows, and performing other farm chores. His work with poultry won him a first prize at the county fair for his rose-combed brown leghorns. Wilkinson never lost his fondness of rural life and often expressed a desire to have a farm of his own.²⁸

Even before his high school graduation, Ernest L. Wilkinson exhibited political enthusiasm and a strong point of view. In April 1917, his senior year at Weber Academy, he won the annual Dr. Edward S. Rich oratorical contest in Ogden with an oration on "American Ideals." At the time, the United States had just declared war on Germany and the Axis powers. With patriotic stamina, young Ernest staunchly defended the American Revolution, extolled the sacrifice for freedom by Americans in the War of 1812, justified the Mexican War as a

27. *The Messenger*, November 1951, p. 28.

28. Ernest L. Wilkinson to William F. Edwards, 25 February 1954, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

conflict between Mexican despotism and American democracy, sided with the North in the effort to grant “equality and freedom” to the “toiling Negro,” applauded Theodore Roosevelt and his efforts in Latin America to establish American ideals of democracy and destroy the “unprincipled power of Spain,” and ended in total agreement with President Woodrow Wilson’s declaration of war. Besides reflecting the predominant feelings of the time, the speech demonstrated Wilkinson’s own belief in the greatness of America.²⁹

In 1917, the year of Wilkinson’s graduation from Weber Academy, the school expanded its program to become Weber College, so he continued there. During his five years at Weber Academy he organized the Public Service Bureau, a talent program service for campus and community; was editor of the yearbook; and served as president of the student body for two years. He competed in forensics meets for two years, being a member of a team which won the state championship. He was also the recipient of the Lewis Efficiency Medal, awarded to the student maintaining the highest standards of scholarship and public service, and was valedictorian of his class.³⁰

Upon completion of his freshman year at Weber College in 1918, Wilkinson joined the U.S. Army and became a member of the Student Army Training Corps stationed at Brigham Young University. With the end of World War I late that same year, he returned to Ogden for the rest of the academic year and, among other things, organized the none-too-successful Ogden Transportation Company.

At Brigham Young University

Anxious to further his education, Wilkinson chose to attend Brigham Young University because most of the teachers at Weber Academy who influenced his thinking were BYU

29. “Weber Academy Wins in Oratorical Contest with the High School,” *The Ogden Standard*, 11 April 1917.

30. “Biographical Sketch of Ernest L. Wilkinson,” Wilkinson Presidential Papers, p. 1.

graduates.³¹ At BYU Wilkinson engaged in a host of student activities. In the spring of 1920 he became editor of the weekly student newspaper, *White and Blue*. During his senior year, besides serving as editor of the student newspaper and as president of the senior class, Wilkinson teamed with George S. Ballif and Hyrum Harter to successfully represent BYU in various forensic activities. The trio gained special recognition by defeating the prestigious Princeton debating team that was touring the West. Despite the recognition this victory brought to BYU, Wilkinson's father was not especially impressed with his son's achievement. "What could you expect," he said, "when all the judges were Utahns?"³²

The year 1920 was also a crucial election year in the United States, and campaign fever reached BYU. At the time Wilkinson was president of the Taylor Democratic Club, and he challenged Republican students to debate the merits of the national candidates and issues of the campaign.³³ Never strictly partisan, he managed the student campaign for Herbert Hoover, who won by a wide margin. Eight years later Hoover was elected president as a Republican. Wilkinson never gave up his early fascination for politics, developing

31. Principal James L. Barker, a linguist of international reputation, had been on the faculty of BYU for a number of years. N.L. Nelson, English teacher and philosopher, had been one of the seasoned teachers at BYU. David J. Wilson, Wilkinson's debate coach, to whom he said he owed his intellectual motivation and mental growth more than to any other person and who later became a federal judge, had been president of the student body at BYU for two years. Henry Aldous Dixon, who greatly inspired Wilkinson as a teacher, later became president of Weber College and Utah State Agricultural College and a member of Congress. G. Oscar Russell, who gave Wilkinson personal counsel, had been raised in a Spanish-speaking community in Southern Colorado, later becoming head of the phonetics laboratory at Columbia University, which at that time was one of the foremost in the country. N. Henry Savage later became a surgeon, and John Einar Anderson had been a student body president at BYU. All of these men except James L. Barker were graduates of BYU.

32. Statement of Glen A. Wilkinson at resignation testimonial for Ernest L. Wilkinson, July 1971, BYU Archives.

33. *White and Blue*, 13 October 1920.



Ernest L. Wilkinson as a student at
Brigham Young University in 1920.

early the sharp competitiveness, total dedication to a cause, and crusading energy of a politician.

Along with demonstrating his political metamorphosis, the editorials Wilkinson wrote for the school paper also revealed some of his developing moral and ethical sentiments, many of which resurfaced later in his life. Shortly after the announcement of the infamous Chicago Black Sox World Series baseball scandal that rocked the American sporting world in 1920, Wilkinson editorialized, "These sinners . . . are comparable to the college that pays athletes to attend its schools in order to be on athletic teams."³⁴ Although he was ever a supporter of school athletics, the idea of granting financial aid to a student because of his athletic abilities alone was always repulsive to Wilkinson.³⁵

Perhaps the most significant of Wilkinson's college writings were editorials expressing what he believed to be the mission and destiny of Brigham Young University. In 1920 and 1921, BYU was still a provincial, though highly spirited, small-town school. Its enrollment included only 438 college students. In a January 1921 *White and Blue* Wilkinson editorialized that the Church had not yet caught the vision of what it could do with BYU. He felt the University should be developed and expanded to attract LDS students from all over the Church and to perform a great mission of service and instruction to the Church and its membership:

Brigham Young University should be the great Church laboratory for social and forensic work. The scope of social service work should be enlarged and the entire population of the Church should be influenced directly by what the school is doing. The best teachers in the Church — experts in different lines of work — should be

34. *White and Blue*, 6 October 1920.

35. On a number of occasions Wilkinson stated that to apply the word *scholarship* to an award made solely for athletic achievement was a prostitution of the English language. He insisted that they be referred to as athletic *grants-in-aid*, and on his insistence they are so denominated in the governing documents of the Western Athletic Conference.

brought here to reinforce the now loyal faculty. If the Church wants scientific and authoritative treatises of its social and other problems, it should then submit them to the heads of the various departments for investigation. In this way the Church, as a whole, as well as Y students, would reap direct benefits.³⁶

Discouraged by the reluctance of the Church to invest more funds in the University or to actively attract to the school some of the best college-age Church members, he wrote again, “‘Your old men shall dream dreams, and your young men shall see visions,’ says a proverb, and it is highly probable that the financiers and other influential men of the Church of the morrow shall come from the students now attending the Y. Then the Church will realize, if it does not now, the financial solvency of the BYU.” From the beginning he maintained that future tithing contributions made by BYU alumni would more than compensate the Church for its expenditures in building and maintaining the school. He wrote, “Support of the school today will mean greater support of the Church in the future.” He ended his editorial by urging Church leaders to attract students to BYU from all over the Church.³⁷

After two years at BYU (plus the earlier year at Weber) Wilkinson received his bachelor of arts degree in the spring of 1921 in the last graduating class under President George H. Brimhall.³⁸ He later commented that standards for graduation were “pretty loose”; otherwise, he would never have graduated in three years. At Wilkinson’s graduation Adam S. Bennion, superintendent of LDS schools, offered him the position of superintendent of the LDS schools in Juarez, Mexico, a post he could not accept because he was not married, and marriage was a prerequisite for the position.³⁹

Although Wilkinson did not marry while at the University,

36. *White and Blue*, 5 January 1921.

37. *White and Blue*, 13 April 1921.

38. *White and Blue*, 18 May 1921.

39. “Biographical Sketch of Ernest L. Wilkinson,” BYU Archives. Joseph C. Bentley, president of the Juarez Stake and president of the Juarez Board of Education, also discussed the matter with Wilkinson.

like many BYU students of the day, he did meet his wife there. Alice Valera Ludlow of Spanish Fork, Utah, came from a well-respected pioneer Utah family. She became a popular student on campus and a scholar in her own right, specializing in dramatics. Professor T. Earl Pardoe said she had more talent in dramatics than any of his students up to that time. During Wilkinson's senior year she ran for vice-president of the student government on the same ticket as A. Ray Olpin, candidate for student body president, who later became president of the University of Utah. Ernest L. Wilkinson was their campaign manager. While trying to persuade others to recognize Alice's qualifications, he perceived them himself. Alice Ludlow and Ray Olpin were both elected, and Wilkinson became even more interested in the talented coed. In January 1922 the *Y News* (successor to *White and Blue*) reported that Wilkinson, on a visit to BYU after his graduation, "talked for an hour and fifteen minutes on the eternity of the marriage covenant and the importance of choosing the right mate." He admitted to his listeners that "this was a subject on which he was devoting a good deal of time and attention at present." It was during those years, from 1921 to 1923, while Ernest was on the faculty of Weber College teaching English and speech, that he made frequent excursions to Spanish Fork to visit Miss Ludlow. After two years of courtship, they were married by Elder James E. Talmage in the Salt Lake Temple on 15 August 1923. They became the parents of five children, three boys and two girls. Alice Ludlow Wilkinson proved to be a delightful companion for her husband, complementing him in his public and Church roles as well as in their home. An attractive and intelligent woman, she consistently demonstrated a charming, pleasant personality and gracefully fulfilled her responsibilities as hostess and helpmeet, as well as her roles as companion and mother.

While he served on the faculty of Weber College, Wilkinson took an active part in local politics. He ran on the Democratic ticket for the position of county auditor, but lost. This defeat and the earlier disappointment over the Juarez School District superintendency permitted him to seize what he felt were

more important opportunities. Writing Alonzo Morley in 1952, he confided, "The two greatest disappointments that I had in my life with respect to positions which I at one time desired were disappointments which in the long run were great blessings to me. Had I received either of the two positions I desired, it would have been impossible for me to accomplish other things which turned out to be much more important."⁴⁰

Wilkinson campaigned for Democrat William H. King in his efforts for reelection to the United States Senate in 1923.⁴¹ Recognizing the talent of his young supporter from Weber County, Senator King invited Wilkinson, pending King's reelection, to return to Washington with him as his secretary, equivalent to the present position of administrative assistant. Knowing that he would be able to attend evening classes at George Washington University, Wilkinson accepted Senator King's offer.

At Law School

Wilkinson had struggled within himself for some years trying to decide between teaching, journalism, and law. His

40. Wilkinson to Morley, 15 April 1952, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

41. Editor's Note: At that time the state Democratic convention chose the party candidate. It was generally conceded that William W. Armstrong, a banker from Salt Lake City, would get the nomination, but King and his followers were determined to put up the best fight they could. For political reasons, a prominent Salt Lake citizen was to nominate King. The mayor of Ogden was to give the main seconding speech. Just before the convention convened the mayor left the convention to return to Ogden, ostensibly to attend to labor troubles. In desperation the Weber County delegation asked young Wilkinson, then twenty-four years of age, to take his place, which he did with all the enthusiasm of youth. His speech was popular with the delegates, many of whom, like himself, were relatively young. King himself resorted to another strategy. He shook hands with each delegate as he entered the hall, telling each person that he knew he could not win but that he would appreciate the delegate's vote of confidence on the first ballot in recognition of King's six years of service in the Senate. To the surprise and amazement of practically everyone, Wilkinson's speech and King's strategy turned the tide, and King was nominated on the first ballot.

opportunity to go to Washington with Senator King and his naturally competitive disposition probably influenced him to study law. Wilkinson left Ogden with his new bride in the fall of 1923 to become secretary to Senator King and to study law in evening classes at George Washington University. Arriving in Washington with only \$3.65 left in his pockets (his old Dodge had broken down on the road and required expensive repairs), he reported for service at King's office. King's secretary, a seasoned lawyer whose place Wilkinson thought he was to take, told him that King was in Russia but that the senator had told him to get a job for Wilkinson the moment he arrived. Accordingly, he had arranged for Wilkinson to be assistant architect of the nation's Capitol Building in Washington, D.C. Indignant over this change of plans, and having no architectural inclination whatsoever, Wilkinson found a position as a teacher in a business high school in the capital.⁴² The new arrangement worked well, for he was able to attend law classes in the morning and teach school in the afternoon. Alice also taught for a period in the high schools of the capital city, both before and after the birth of their first son. During the summers Wilkinson served as superintendent and Mrs. Wilkinson as assistant superintendent of Camp Goodwill, operated by the Associated Charities of Washington, D.C., for underprivileged women and children.⁴³ President George H. Brimhall visited them at the camp and expressed amazement that this young man, whom he had once denounced as a "pinhead" because of an editorial favoring the League of Nations, should now be engaged in social work.

After three years in law school, Wilkinson graduated *summa cum laude* from George Washington University in 1926 with a bachelor of laws degree. That same year he took

42. Among other subjects, Wilkinson taught typing and shorthand. He had never taken a class in typing, and he had no proficiency in shorthand. Therefore, besides his burdensome law studies, he worked hard enough on these studies to stay one or two classes ahead of his students.

43. "Biographical Sketch of Ernest L. Wilkinson," Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

the bar examination and was admitted to the Washington, D.C., Bar Association; the following year he was admitted to the Utah Bar; and in 1928, after taking the New York bar examination, he was licensed to practice law in that state. Although he could have entered the legal profession upon his graduation from George Washington University, Wilkinson accepted a scholarship in graduate law studies at Harvard University, thereby receiving further legal training in what was then widely considered the best law school in America.⁴⁴ Harvard Law School had for years offered only the bachelor of laws degree, but, beginning in 1925-26, a master of laws and a doctor of juridical science, designed especially for teachers of the law, were introduced. Five years of teaching experience was considered a prerequisite for admission to the doctoral program. The graduate course was "in some sort a law school in itself, in which the teachers met the students individually more than in large groups and could develop special subjects and individual talents."⁴⁵

With special permission from Roscoe Pound, dean of the law school, Wilkinson enrolled in the doctor of juridical science program, thereby coming under the influence of well-known and highly respected instructors, such as Dean Pound and Felix Frankfurter, later associate justice of the United States Supreme Court. Frankfurter had objected to Wilkinson's admission because he had no legal teaching experience, but Dean Pound overruled the objection because of Wilkinson's scholastic record at George Washington. Wilkinson later found himself, initially to his discomfort, in Frankfurter's class.⁴⁶ In the spring of 1927, after one year of study, Wilkinson graduated with an A average, and Frankfurter, convinced at last, gave him double credit in his class in administrative law. The doctor of juridical science degree, coming fourteen years after his mother had given him the

44. Edgar B. Brossard to Joseph Fielding Smith, 23 November 1949, Stephen L Richards Papers, Office of the First Presidency.

45. Roscoe Pound, "Felix Frankfurter at Harvard," *Felix Frankfurter: A Tribute*, Wallace Mendelson, ed. (New York: Reynal & Co., 1964), p. 142.

46. Ernest L. Wilkinson, "From My Experiences," p. 10.

motivation and inspiration to enroll in school and acquire an education, was Wilkinson's crowning academic achievement.

Teaching and Practicing Law

Upon graduation, Wilkinson wanted to teach law. His doctor of juridical science degree qualified him to do so, and his past experience had prepared him well for a teaching career. He accepted a position as assistant professor of law at the University of California, where he reported for duty in the fall of 1927, but he resigned immediately to accept a more prestigious offer, a full professorship at New Jersey Law School at Newark, then the largest school of law in the country.⁴⁷ Back on the East Coast, Dr. Wilkinson assumed his teaching post at New Jersey and was soon engaged by the prominent New York City firm of Hughes, Schurman, and Dwight on the recommendation of one of his professors at Harvard to assist in solving a difficult tax problem involving Utah Copper Company. Charles Evans Hughes, senior partner of the firm, was appointed chief justice of the United States while Wilkinson was there. Within three months of his initial engagement, Wilkinson was invited to practice law with the firm and became a permanent member of the staff. For the next five years he labored during the day in the law office and for five nights a week taught a two-hour class in the New Jersey Law School. Wilkinson was known as a tough professor. During his first year teaching law he flunked a mature student who was a political leader in northern New Jersey. The man had been responsible for the appointment of a number of the judges who taught part time at the law school. Wilkinson's action did not make him popular, but he was respected. While a member of the staff of the Hughes firm, Wilkinson gained valuable experience in trial work, antitrust law, and corporate reorganization, and was appointed deputy superintendent of insurance of the State of New York to investigate the Long Island Title Company.⁴⁸

47. Ernest L. Wilkinson to John A. Widtsoe, 13 August 1949, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

48. "Biographical Sketch of Ernest L. Wilkinson," p. 3; and "Memoran-

In 1935 Wilkinson moved to Washington and formed his own law partnership with Walter Gladstone Moyle. Moyle was also a native of Utah, originally from Salt Lake City. In 1940 Wilkinson dissolved the partnership and practiced under his own name for eleven years with two assistants. During these years as a practicing attorney he was engaged on relatively minor matters by such clients as Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, Standard Oil Company of California, Fox Film Corporation, Ford Motor Company, Chicago Title and Trust Company, and others. He also became the general counsel for the National Council of Farmer Cooperatives as well as legal consultant to the National Grange, two of the most prominent farm organizations in America. Wilkinson did his share of public service work as a lawyer in Washington, D.C. At the request of Presiding Bishop Joseph L. Wirthlin of the LDS Church, he once took the case of a young soldier who had been sentenced to death by a court martial for his involvement in the involuntary death of a child in a motorcycle accident in Japan. Thinking that the sentence was too severe, Wilkinson, along with Woodruff J. Deem, who is now on the faculty of the J. Reuben Clark Law School at BYU, appeared before a U.S. Army Board of Review in Washington, D.C., and succeeded in having the sentence commuted to the time the soldier had already served. Wilkinson's passion for justice caused him to later comment that he got more satisfaction out of this case for which he received no compensation than out of many cases for which he received substantial compensation. Years later the soldier and his wife visited Wilkinson in Provo and thanked him for saving his life.

Soon after his arrival in Washington, D.C., Wilkinson began what became the most outstanding success of his law career — his work for the Ute Indian tribes in their struggle to gain compensation from the United States Government for land they had conveyed to the United States for which they had never been compensated. Wilkinson's representation of the

dum of Qualifications of Ernest L. Wilkinson for Appointment to the Supreme Court of the United States," 2 June 1969, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.



President Harry S. Truman signing the Indian Claims Commission Bill on 13 August 1946. Onlookers include Ex-Senator Robert L. Owen of Oklahoma; Wesley Robertson, representing the Choctaw Tribe; Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney, chairman of the Senate Committee of Indian Affairs; Ernest L. Wilkinson, attorney for Menominee, Ute, Klamath, Bannock and Shoshone, Western Shoshone, and Blackfoot Indians; Reginald Curry, representing the Umcompahgre Band of Ute Indians; Lawrence Appah, representing the White River Band of Ute Indians; Julius Murray, representing the Uintah Band of Ute Indians; and Oscar Chapman, under secretary of the Interior.

Utes actually began while he was serving as an attorney in the Hughes law firm. Upon his removal to Washington, at the request of the Hughes firm, he continued to represent the Utes, later being engaged directly by them.⁴⁹

The Utes had entered into a treaty in 1880 by which they ceded all of their lands to the United States to be sold for their benefit. When, after fifty years, all of this land had not been sold and the Utes had not been compensated for the part that had been sold, Wilkinson, by a combination of legislative and litigative actions, sought to obtain compensation for the fair value of these lands. In one of the suits which he brought, preparation for which lasted thirteen years, a trial was convened during six days a week for sixteen weeks. After subsequent negotiations which lasted two years, the government agreed to settle the case for approximately \$25,000,000. This judgment, together with negotiated settlements in three other cases involving the same Indians, was then included in a consolidated judgment of \$31,928,473 on 13 July 1950. Up to that time this was the largest judgment ever entered against the United States, and the litigation took its place as one of the outstanding performances in American legal history.⁵⁰

In awarding attorneys' fees, the United States Court of Claims heard the testimony of Seth Richardson, at one time assistant attorney general of the United States who had been in charge of defending suits brought against the government by Indian tribes: "The amount of service and research performed by Wilkinson and his associates almost staggers our imagination. . . . I never saw anything like this in my life. I never expect to again. . . . To me the amount of service rendered here is almost impossible for the ordinary mind to grasp." He felt the case should have been "written as a text

49. Editor's Note: Wilkinson and his law firm came to represent more Indian tribes than any other law firm in the country. Because of their tardiness in arriving at and getting meetings started and because of their slow tempo in transacting business, his Indian friends often tried Wilkinson's patience. Because of his zeal to have them arrive at decisions and get things done, the Blackfoot Indians gave Wilkinson the honorary designation of "Chief Frantic Bear."

50. *Confederated Bands of Ute Indians v. United States*, 117 C. CLS 443.

book to give to young lawyers to show what men can do if they have got sufficient courage and industry and brain.”⁵¹ The court, agreeing in principle with Richardson’s evaluation, awarded \$2,794,606 as attorneys’ fees to Dr. Wilkinson and his associates.

During the progress of the Ute case Wilkinson sought a general act of Congress to permit all Indian tribes whose claims had not been heard to sue the United States. As a result of his presentation, the Indian Claims Commission Act was passed and signed by President Harry S. Truman in 1946, opening the courts to all Indian tribes who had claims within the purview of the act. Under this legislation, a number of suits in behalf of the Ute Indians and other tribes have been successfully prosecuted by the Wilkinson firm, which became the most active firm in the nation in the prosecutions of tribal suits. Because of his success in the legal profession, Wilkinson was invited to speak at an annual meeting of the American Bar Association shortly before he came to BYU. By invitation of the editors, he also wrote an article entitled “The U.S. Court of Claims, Where Uncle Sam Is Always the Defendant” for the journal of the American Bar Association.

After his success, both in litigation and legislation, many saw for Wilkinson a promising political career,⁵² but these opportunities for political and financial advancement were passed up when he became president of Brigham Young

51. 120 Court of Claims, p. 699. The court also heard the testimony of Owen J. Roberts, retired justice of the United States Supreme Court, and Homer Cummings, retired attorney general of the United States. Justice Roberts testified that “at every stage of the proceeding . . . the right course . . . seems to have been chosen despite amazing difficulties”; that Wilkinson handled the case “with all the skill of a great advocate and a great trial lawyer. . . . As I cast the horoscope of these cases, thinking of what I would have done had I been the lawyer . . . I would not have known how to proceed.” Mr. Cummings testified that the main case Wilkinson handled “ought not to be called a case. It is a lifelong adventure. . . . I don’t think any disinterested person can trace the history of this case without doffing his cap to counsel who prevailed against such odds. It is an amazing performance.”

52. At that time, the two United States senators from Oklahoma, Robert Owens and Thomas Gore, had begun their senatorial careers by winning much smaller law suits for Indians in Oklahoma.

University, which many of his Washington friends regarded as an obscure school in the Rocky Mountains. Upon accepting the position at BYU, Wilkinson organized the firm of Wilkinson, Cragun, and Barker. Although he was the senior partner, the real management of the firm was taken over by his partners, including his brother Glen A. Wilkinson, also a graduate of BYU; John W. Cragun of Pleasant View, Utah; and Robert W. Barker of Ogden.⁵³

Church Activity

While establishing his legal reputation, Wilkinson and his family maintained active participation in the LDS Church. During many of these years, Mormons on the East Coast were sparse in numbers. Living in the nation's largest city in the early 1930s, Wilkinson served successively as president of the New York and Queens branches and, once a stake was formed in the city, as bishop of the Queens Ward. His non-Mormon friends in the Hughes law office referred to him as the "Bishop of Wall Street."

The Wilkinsons continued active in the Church after their move to Washington, D.C. With the formation of the Church's third stake east of the Mississippi in 1940, Wilkinson was called as second counselor to Ezra Taft Benson in the Washington Stake Presidency.⁵⁴ From 1944 to 1948 he served as first counselor in the same stake presidency. During most of his stay in Washington, Wilkinson maintained contact with the General Authorities of the Church. He was designated to represent the Church on the General Commission for Chaplains of the Army and Navy and occasionally represented the First Presidency in Washington on legal and other matters.⁵⁵

53. Both Wilkinson's brother Glen and John Cragun graduated with honors from George Washington University Law School. In addition, Cragun had been law clerk to Associate Justice George Sutherland. Barker graduated first in his class at Georgetown University and had been administrative assistant to U.S. Senator Wallace Bennett. In 1975 the firm had a total staff of forty lawyers.

54. *The Washington Post*, 1 July 1940.

55. Edgar B. Brossard to Joseph Fielding Smith, 23 November 1949, Stephen L. Richards Papers, Office of the First Presidency.

Alice Wilkinson was likewise active in the Church, serving as a counselor in the Washington Branch Relief Society Presidency and as a long-time president of that women's organization in the Chevy Chase Ward.⁵⁶ Mrs. Wilkinson was as successful in her home as in her Church and social affairs. Her husband later credited her with being responsible for the religious faithfulness and professional success of their three sons and the motherly devotion of their two daughters.⁵⁷

A Personal Glimpse

An unrelaxed man, ever on the run, Ernest Wilkinson was a busy executive; he seldom took a vacation. As president of the University, Wilkinson "worked in terms of [the] amount of work to do, not time to do it in."⁵⁸ He would set for himself a goal which would almost exceed his grasp, and then he would pursue that objective relentlessly. A number of anecdotes are told by his associates which reveal the drive and determination he possessed. On one occasion, for example, his plane was late arriving at Chicago, thereby causing a very tight connection with a second flight to the East Coast. Before the aircraft had completely stopped its engines, Wilkinson was at the exit door, almost physically taking the objecting stewardess with him. Over her remonstrances, he left the plane and ran across to the waiting plane whose passenger door was already locked. Undaunted, he ran up the ramp and pounded on the closed door. He got in.⁵⁹

Everyone who ever worked for him or was in any way associated with him recognized how diligently he applied himself and how much he expected of his associates and secretaries. He took pride in his work habits, gaining special

56. After moving to Provo, Alice Wilkinson was sustained as the first president of the Relief Society of the first BYU stake, after which she was called to be a member of the Church General Board of the Relief Society, in which capacity she served for fourteen years.

57. Diary of Ernest L. Wilkinson, 4 June 1960.

58. "Recollections of a Secretary to BYU President Ernest L. Wilkinson," written interview with Mrs. John M. Izatt, conducted in April 1968 by Hollis Scott, BYU Archives.

59. Diary of Ernest L. Wilkinson, 4 June 1969.

satisfaction by working on holidays, especially Labor Day. Occasionally, other people's private feelings were secondary to the goals at hand. In a memo to one of his secretaries not long after his coming to BYU, he commented:

I am not unaware of the fact that at times I seem to be unreasonable and unyielding. . . . While many people think that I have boundless energy, the fact is that I often get very tired. But I have learned that mind is superior to matter and that if I will just put my mind to it I can generally overcome my physical fatigue. . . . If I sometimes offend people it is not because I want to, but because I am determined to get something done.⁶⁰

One of his secretaries described a typical working day:

About three out of every eight hours were spent in dictation. However, I have known him to dictate from 8:30 in the morning until 12:30, starting again at 1:30 and not quitting till 6:00, especially on a Saturday. It would take two or three days just to transcribe what he would dictate in one day, and while one secretary was madly transcribing her 150 or 200 letters and memos, the other one would be in taking some more. He would get behind often and this would really annoy him, and then he would spend hours catching up.⁶¹

At times of such pressure, it was best to keep a safe distance.

When supporting a cause to which he was committed, Wilkinson often lashed out at the presumed weaknesses of his adversary's argument. Many who were not acquainted with the rigors of debate and legal conflict interpreted his abruptness as a personal affront. Robert K. Thomas, one of his closest associates, explained,

I think you always feel that it is an adversary relationship as soon as you walk into his office, for the lawyer in him usually takes over. He can't resist putting you a little bit on the defensive. But if you can file a better brief than he

60. Ernest L. Wilkinson to Marjorie Wight, 27 December 1954, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

61. "Recollections of a Secretary." p. 2.

has, you win. He will listen and he will accept it. He is secure enough to change his mind. I haven't found many people who exhibit that kind of security.⁶²

Wilkinson's brusque exterior was perhaps more a preoccupation with his work than a real characteristic, although he recognized that he was "too blunt, not tactful with people, and impatient with other people."⁶³ He could not tolerate inaccuracies, shoddy performances, and unnecessary interruptions. Alluding to his impatience with his visitors and associates, Wilkinson admitted,

I continuously rebel at having to take time to see people who come to see me. I finally grudgingly consent to see them, knowing that in the first place I should happily have seen them. This is, however, because of the many pressures on me. I know also that Mrs. Wilkinson and I have failed to have as many parties for the Faculty as we should. Finally, I have to admit . . . that . . . at times I get so exasperated and tired that I am hardly fit to work with.⁶⁴

Reflecting his desire to be orderly in all things, he wrote in his journal,

Tonight I leave my desk at 10 P.M. . . . I do not mean by that to say that I am up to date with the world, but at least my desk looks partially clean and the balance of it has correspondence, memoranda, etc., stacked in neat piles classified according to subject matter. It is the difference between getting up to give a speech when one does not have his thoughts organized and when he gets up to give a speech with his thoughts well organized. There is all the difference in the world.⁶⁵

Whether speaking, preparing a presentation for the Board of Trustees, or pursuing routine matters, he employed a

62. Comment by Robert K. Thomas in "Inside the Wilkinson Era," 25 May 1971, BYU Archives, p. 15.

63. Diary of Ernest L. Wilkinson, 8 January 1955.

64. Ibid., 1 March 1963.

65. Ibid., 14 June 1962.

methodical approach to all he did. He deplored inactivity and indecision; thoroughness, industry, and preparation were his trademarks.

As an administrator, Wilkinson possessed both strengths and weaknesses. His thorough preparation and keen grasp of the complexities of problems made him equal to most of his challenges. His intentions were honorable and creative and sometimes prompted the commendation of even his most severe critics. His major weakness was probably in the area of dealing with his faculty and staff. As he once admitted, "I probably have much more strength in rewriting legal briefs than I do in my personnel work at the University. It is easier on me and I do it with more effectiveness."⁶⁶ Thus, his total preoccupation with the administration of the school occasionally created barriers between him and some faculty members which were never fully bridged. Many believed that he did not give enough time to a discussion of faculty problems. In 1951 Asahel Woodruff wrote him that many faculty members felt

that there is no time to discuss matters when a contact is made with you. The visitor finds himself outside before he has been able to complete his errand. We get the impression you cannot take time to get to the bottom of things, and that many of our problems are not important enough to receive much time, or that you have made up your mind about some matters before we feel they have been fully aired.⁶⁷

Some felt he was relentless and domineering in his efforts to do what he felt best for the school.

Wilkinson did not always maintain solid lines of communication with individual faculty members, but beneath his gruff administrative exterior, there lay genuine sympathy for others, a feeling of tenderness and fairness that often caused him to reach out to others. One of his secretaries remembered, "There was never anyone more concerned or more

66. Ibid., 25 June 1961.

67. Asahel D. Woodruff to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 14 November 1951, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

interested when one of the staff or students was seriously hurt or ill. He called, kept in constant touch, went to the hospital . . . to see if there was anything he could do.”⁶⁸ Often he took time out to visit, comfort, and bless his sick and hospitalized associates. Students and faculty members often received his anonymous financial assistance in times of need. Wilkinson was ever anxious to insure that students were successful and happy at BYU. He was concerned that many coeds did not have enough dates and that some students could not finish school for want of money. He tried his best to see that the school was fair with the students.

At one point he took Mrs. Wilkinson to dinner at the Cannon Center, a cafeteria servicing the Helaman Halls student housing areas, and, in an attempt to raise the quality and efficiency of the facility, reported to the manager responsible on what he considered to be the slowness of the cafeteria lines: “I would be curious to know,” he added, “who gave you the small samples of pie that you were dispensing.”⁶⁹

Beyond giving of his means individually to those in need, President Wilkinson has been a financial benefactor of his alma mater. In 1951 he contributed \$75,000 to assist in the purchase of a laboratory farm for BYU.⁷⁰ In 1974, three years after his resignation as president, he donated real estate in Park City, Utah, valued at one million dollars. As part of the same gift, an anonymous friend of his contributed another one million dollar gift of similar property.⁷¹

Wilkinson exhibited a pragmatic spirituality. If the ox were in the mire, and he interpreted this liberally, he would often spend much of the Sabbath in his office. Much as he enjoyed general conferences, he felt uncomfortable simply sitting and listening to talks when he could think of many other things to do. He was not of a contemplative nature; he seldom could sit for an extended period of time and read scriptures or any

68. “Recollections of a Secretary,” pp. 3, 8.

69. Ernest L. Wilkinson to Ben E. Lewis, 21 January 1963, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

70. BYU Executive Committee Minutes, 27 September 1951.

71. *BYU Daily Universe*, 8 March 1974.

other book. He was a man of motion rather than of meditation.

Throughout his career, President Wilkinson maintained his sense of humor. He loved to hear or to tell a good joke, and he generally had an interesting anecdote for the occasion.⁷² Because of his strict personal habits, he sometimes found himself in humorous situations. One of his secretaries recalled that

When Brother [Stephen] Covey first came to work for the President, he didn't know that the President *never* ate between meals. *Never*. So one hot summer afternoon, as I was sitting in the President's office taking dictation, Brother Covey [who was administrative assistant] came bursting in with two huge Wilkinson Center special ice cream cones (double dippers). He handed one to the President. The President sputtered something about eating between meals, and Brother Covey laughed and told him that he couldn't eat both of them. Thereupon the President said to give it to me, and I replied that I was on a diet. So finally, and I don't know how, Brother Covey got him to take it. It was drippy and getting soft and the President began eating it and licking it. Brother Covey left smiling, and I sat smiling, and President Wilkinson sat licking and slurping. He was embarrassed beyond reason, and I was trying not to laugh. He thought it was quite beneath him to be eating an ice cream cone. So, with ice cream in hand, he began pacing and dictating. I couldn't understand a word he said between licks and slurps and told him so. Then, with the ice cream cone only half gone, he stuffed the thing into his mouth, looking like a chipmunk, and swallowed and chewed and made the awfulest faces, and I was almost hysterical. Finally, wiping off the sticky mess from his fingers, he mumbled something about "that Covey" and proceeded dictating as though nothing had happened.⁷³

72. When Sam Brewster became a member of the staff, he and Wilkinson became great reciprocal storytellers.

73. "Recollections of a Secretary," pp. 6, 9.

Political Philosophy

Wilkinson was interested in politics from his youth. He believed it was the duty of every citizen to be acquainted with political events and actively participate in our political system, whether as an officeholder, as an officeseeker, or as an ordinary citizen. As a youngster he attended as many political meetings of both parties as his work permitted. He always placed what he considered sound political principles above party regularity.

Though Wilkinson was exposed to socialistic views in his youth, as a student at Weber Academy, Weber College, and BYU he came to accept the Latter-day Saint belief that the American Constitution is a divinely inspired document which does not countenance either socialism or its allied concepts. In an address to the BYU student body, he pointed out that

Joseph Smith categorically declared he did not believe in “socialism” (*History of the Church*, 6:33); President Brigham Young denounced socialism or the welfare state by saying, “It is a poor, unwise and very imbecile people who cannot take care of themselves” (*Journal of Discourses*, 1870, 14:21); President John Taylor described it as a “species of robbery” (John Taylor, *Government of God*, 1852, p. 23); President Heber J. Grant characterized it by saying, “The Spirit that would have us get something for nothing is from the lower regions” (Albert E. Bowen, *The Church Welfare Plan*, 1946, p. 70); and President David O. McKay warned, “It is not the government’s duty to support you” (Church News Section, *Deseret News*, March 14, 1953, pp. 4, 15).⁷⁴

In the same speech, he quoted Elder Harold B. Lee:

I want to say with all the sincerity within my soul that there is more guarantee of security in the intelligent will, initiative and determined independence of the American

74. Edwin J. Butterworth and David H. Yarn, eds., *Earnestly Yours: Selected Addresses of Dr. Ernest L. Wilkinson* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1971), pp. 34-35.

youth today than in all the laws that Congress may make intended to provide us with insurance from the “cradle to the grave.” Men who are dreaming of that kind of a security are not the kind that pioneered this country and explored the unknown. They are not the ones who built the world of today nor will they be the builders of the “new” world of tomorrow of which they speak. They are, as someone has said, “Only tenants in houses of other men’s dreams.”⁷⁵

Wilkinson accepted the statement of the Prophet Joseph Smith that if the people were taught “correct principles” they could “govern themselves.”⁷⁶ As a young man, Wilkinson thought very highly of President Woodrow Wilson and remained one of his great admirers. He interpreted Wilson (the early Wilson at least) as being against expansion of federal government, supportive of local government, and in favor of individual responsibility. He often quoted Wilson’s statements that “The history of liberty is the history of the limitations of governmental power, not the increases of it”; that “The test of a Community or Nation is not what it does under compulsion of law, but what it does of its own volition”; and that “When we resist the concentration of power, we are resisting the powers of death because concentration of power is what always precedes the destruction of human liberties.”⁷⁷ He noted that Wilson, who had been president of Princeton University, “never wanted to see the little red schoolhouse subordinated to the political thinking of Washington; nor did he, in his own language, ‘want a group of experts sitting behind closed doors in Washington, trying to pray Providence’ to the American people.”⁷⁸

During his college days and early years in legal practice, Wilkinson supported the Democratic Party, which he saw as the defender of states’ rights, individual responsibility, and

75. Ibid., p. 35. Harold B. Lee’s quote is from George Sokolsky.

76. John Taylor in *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (London: Latter-day Saints Book Depot, 1855-86), 10:57-58.

77. *Earnestly Yours*, pp. 59-60.

78. Ibid.

limited government. He believed explicitly in the tenth amendment to the Constitution which states that "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people." With the advent of the New Deal in 1933, Wilkinson became increasingly critical of the Democratic Administration to the point that he could no longer see himself as a Democrat. This gradual transfer of political allegiance from the Democratic Party was, in Wilkinson's view, not due to a change in his own philosophy but to what he considered the Democratic Party's abandonment of traditional principles. He could not reconcile the amalgamation of more and more powers in the growing federal bureaucracy with what he believed the United States Constitution specified. Explaining his switch in party allegiance, Wilkinson quoted Winston Churchill, who said, "Some men change principle for party, and some men change party for principle." By 1945 Wilkinson had removed himself totally from the Democratic camp.

Although he knew that government was necessary, he believed that the American government as conceived by its founders did not contemplate the creation of a large federal bureaucracy. In a speech given in Washington, D.C., immediately after the surrender of the Nazis in World War II and six years before he became president of BYU, he called for

the right to order our own lives free from unnecessary interference of government; the right to live under a government of laws which apply alike to all men. . . . In the exercise of governmental functions, the rich have no right to take advantage of the poor, but neither have the poor the right to confiscate the property of the rich. . . . There can be no greater menace to our country than the doctrine preached by some in high places — that our country owes us a living. If that doctrine be accepted by the majority of the people, we are in a great danger as a Nation.⁷⁹

79. *Congressional Record*, 24 May 1945, p. 7. In an address which he gave to

Having these political convictions, Wilkinson was especially critical of what he called Franklin D. Roosevelt's apostasy from the faith of the founding fathers and from the traditional principles of the Democratic Party. He recalled that before Roosevelt became president, he publicly declared, "The Constitution of the United States gives Congress no power to legislate in the matter of a great number of vital problems of government, such as the conduct of public utilities, of banks, of insurance, of business, of agriculture, of education, of social welfare and of a dozen other important features. Washington must never be permitted to interfere in these avenues of our affairs."⁸⁰ Wilkinson pointed out that it was a matter of history that when Roosevelt became president he had Washington interfere in all of these areas.

In like manner, Wilkinson was later very condemnatory of the views of Lyndon B. Johnson, who, in a speech given when running for president, said, "We are going to try to take all of the money we think is unnecessarily being spent, and take it from the 'haves' and give it to the 'have nots' that need it so much."⁸¹ Opposed to this idea, Wilkinson accepted the philosophy of Abraham Lincoln that "Capital is only the fruit of labor" and is as "worthy of protection as any other rights";⁸² and that "As labor is the common burden of our race, so the effort of some to shift their share of the burden on the shoulders of others is the great durable curse of the race."⁸³ Wilkin-

the Chamber of Commerce in Washington, D.C., on 1 May 1961 for which the Freedom Foundation of Valley Forge awarded him the George Washington Medal, Wilkinson explained his views by quoting Thomas Jefferson: "I place economy among the first and most important virtues, and public debt as the greatest of dangers to be feared. . . . To preserve our independence, we must not let our rulers load us with perpetual debt. . . . We must make our choice between *economy* and *liberty*, or *profusion* and *servitude*. . . . If we can prevent the government from *wasting the labors of the people*, under the *pretense of caring for them*, they will be happy" (*Earnestly Yours*, pp. 58-59).

80. *Earnestly Yours*, p. 60.

81. *Ibid.*, p. 39.

82. *Ibid.*, p. 59.

83. H.L. Mencken, *A New Dictionary of Quotations* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1942), p. 643.

son thought that the new philosophy of the Democratic Party was an abandonment of the traditional views the party supported until Franklin D. Roosevelt became president and that the action taken by Roosevelt and the views expressed by Johnson were not, in the language of Joseph Smith, "correct principles."

26

Getting Started

Tying Up Loose Ends

Originally scheduled to assume his responsibilities on 1 January 1951,¹ because of delays incident to a fee determination by the court for obtaining judgments of nearly \$32,000,000 for the Ute Indians,² Ernest L. Wilkinson did not get to BYU until a month later, when he and his wife and three of their children moved into the president's home.³

Nevertheless, during this period Wilkinson was in constant communication by telephone, letters, and in person with the General Authorities. Besides establishing administrative policy, he determined whom he wanted to recruit to assist him. For one, he named William F. Edwards as dean of the College of Commerce. At the time, Edwards was a prominent Wall Street investment official and president of the New York Stake of the LDS Church. Wilkinson envisioned building

1. BYU *Universe*, 4 January 1951.

2. Ernest L. Wilkinson to the First Presidency, 16 December 1950, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

3. Wilkinson's eldest son, Ernest Ludlow, was still pursuing his medical residency at the General Hospital in Salt Lake City; and his eldest daughter, Marian, was serving a mission for the LDS Church in the Texas-Louisiana Mission.



David O. McKay, President of The
Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day
Saints from 1951 to 1970.

around him a strong College of Commerce. Some other men whom Wilkinson recommended early were Dr. Clarence Cottam, a leading zoologist; W. Cleon Skousen, who had sixteen years' experience with the Federal Bureau of Investigation; and Ben E. Lewis, a top executive in J. Willard Marriott's Hot Shoppes organization.⁴ Wilkinson knew all of these men personally from his experiences in New York City and Washington, D. C., and he was eventually successful in attracting all of them to BYU.

The Meaning of It All

In appointing Ernest Wilkinson to the position of president of the Church University, Church authorities expressed the desire to make the University a much greater school than it had ever been before:

President Smith emphasized that it was your [the First Presidency's] desire that the Brigham Young University become the greatest educational institution in the world. I replied that it was only because of that ideal that I had agreed to accept. . . . President Smith agreed I would have the unqualified support of the Presidency on achieving that goal.⁵

Joseph Fielding Smith, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees, expressed the same sentiment. He desired

to see the Brigham Young University grow and become very great, with an expansion that will cover all fields that are of value to the members of the Church, including, of course, the teaching of faith in God and in the mission of our Redeemer and also that of the Prophet Joseph Smith. I can see where this school can become a great power for good, not only to the members of the Church but to all good people throughout the world.⁶

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4. Ben E. Lewis to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 9 October 1951, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.
 5. Wilkinson to the First Presidency, 9 September 1950, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.
 6. Smith to Wilkinson, 4 December 1951, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

Dr. John A. Widtsoe, former president of Utah State Agricultural College and the University of Utah and also former Church commissioner of education, discussed with Dr. Wilkinson some of his aspirations for BYU: "All friends of the BYU would like, as you do, to have the institution assume leadership in subjects consonant with the great revealed possessions of the Church. . . . We could and should assume leadership in certain subjects. We could in a few years become widely recognized and acclaimed for them."⁷ The "certain subjects" in which the University, in Widtsoe's opinion, should excel divided themselves into five academic departments or, as he termed them, "institutes." He felt there should be an Institute of Government in which Christian principles would infuse the concepts of government and political science; an Institute of Family Relationships designed "to build family peace and progress"; an Institute of Nutrition, based on principles outlined in the Word of Wisdom; an Institute of American Archeology, connecting its investigations to the Book of Mormon; and an Institute of Sacred Literature, set up to collect "available information concerning the gospel through the ages." That this last institute should not become a "school of divinity" was clear from Widtsoe's further comment that theological degrees were inappropriate in a church "in which nearly every man holds the priesthood, and many of the leaders are not college trained."⁸ But Widtsoe did, in this early correspondence, advocate graduate programs leading to master's and doctor's degrees in other fields, an innovation which would certainly expand the role of the school. Wilkinson was in clear agreement with Elder Widtsoe on most of these principles and particularly united with Widtsoe in hoping the school would become a great "World University."⁹ The school could fulfill its international destiny by drawing "students from the whole world to seek revealed truth and worthwhile practical knowledge. Its message must be given to

7. Widtsoe to Wilkinson, 23 June 1949, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

8. Ibid.

9. Ernest L. Wilkinson, "Memorandum of Conversation with John A. Widtsoe about 11 May 1951," Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

all people. The BYU must look up to the skies; it must have the courage to challenge, if needs be, the whole world.”¹⁰ That Widtsoe’s thinking had a distinct impact on the Wilkinson Administration, and that many of his suggestions were carried into effect, although not in the exact form that he recommended, will become obvious from the chapters that follow.¹¹

Sensing the place of the school in a rapidly growing Church, and having been promised the support of the First Presidency in increasing the size of the school, Dr. Wilkinson wrote the Church Presidency in September 1950 of his expectation that, before many years, the University would have a regular student enrollment of around 10,000. Half of its students, he pointed out in 1950, came from outside Utah.¹² “Now is the time,” he wrote, “to shape the destiny of that school for the next fifty years.”¹³ “The genius of the BYU,” he further declared, “should consist in our departure from and not adherence to what other educational institutions are doing, although we must maintain a program which will always be recognized as having high academic responsibility.”¹⁴ By departure from prevailing practices he meant that the school should purposefully seek to inculcate religious principles and moral character into the lives of its students, and also, expressing now his conservative philosophy, that it should teach “correct” economic doctrines — “doctrines which would assist in salvaging the American system of free enterprise from threatened extinction.”¹⁵ “It seems to me,” he wrote, “that of all colleges in America, Brigham Young University ought to

10. John A. Widtsoe, *In a Sunlit Land: The Autobiography of John A. Widtsoe* (Salt Lake City: Milton R. Hunter and G. Homer Durham, 1952), p. 96.
11. Diary of Ernest L. Wilkinson, 23 August 1958.
12. Ernest L. Wilkinson to the First Presidency, 11 September 1950, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.
13. Ernest L. Wilkinson to John A. Widtsoe, 13 August 1949, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.
14. Diary of Ernest L. Wilkinson, 8-9 April 1961.
15. Ernest L. Wilkinson to J. Reuben Clark, Jr., and Ernest L. Wilkinson to Howard S. McDonald, 11 June 1949, J. Reuben Clark Church School Papers, Office of the First Presidency.

be the leader in a real crusade for the maintenance of the American system of free enterprise, motivated by Christian restraint and Christian responsibility.”¹⁶ “Americans need to be reconverted,” he said, “to a belief in the divine origin of our Constitution . . . to a belief that no nation, under God, can ever expect to survive when the forces of irreligion take over.”¹⁷ Wilkinson’s emphasis on the importance of preserving America’s system of free enterprise was another dominant characteristic of his administration.

The newly appointed president also intended to continue the policy of promoting BYU as a place where Latter-day Saint students could socialize and marry within their own faith. In a letter to LeGrand Richards of the Presiding Bishopric, he had said, “If the BYU does nothing more than help our young people get the right start in marriage, it is worth all the money it costs the Church.”¹⁸ This was one of his major justifications for expanding the enrollment of the school.

A conviction Wilkinson brought to BYU which definitely appealed to Church leaders was his determination to keep the school’s programs within its budget and to encourage large outside contributions to the University to lessen Church subsidization. Convinced that “there is no mathematical relationship between the amount of money spent on education and the results obtained,”¹⁹ he set a course of fiscal caution with both Church and contributed funds. At the same time he continued to advocate that “those in the Church who are blessed with adequate means should look forward to the day

16. Ernest L. Wilkinson to Howard S. McDonald, 11 June 1949, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

17. Lecture given by Ernest L. Wilkinson on 6 June 1949 at Christen Jensen Testimonial, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

18. Wilkinson to Richards, 15 February 1949, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

19. Ernest L. Wilkinson to John A. Widtsoe, 13 August 1949, Wilkinson Presidential Papers. Wilkinson’s statement was probably an oversimplification of the problem, but throughout his administration he prided himself on the fact that BYU operated more economically than many other institutions of higher learning.

when they can make endowments to the University.”²⁰

Seconding the ideas of John A. Widtsoe, Wilkinson envisioned an Institute of Family Relationships. He said the LDS Church, and thus BYU, had “the best philosophy on which to premise any teachings regarding the family relationship — based on our revealed conception of the eternity of the marriage covenant and of the patriarchal family.”²¹ The appropriateness of BYU as a center for academic study of family relationships thus seemed obvious to him.

He also supported Widtsoe’s concept of a center for the study of American archeology. Beyond that, Wilkinson saw the University as becoming the world center of education for American Indians. This came as no surprise from a man whose law firm represented a larger number of Indian tribes in prosecuting claims against the government than any other law firm in the country. Fully believing that the time would come when there would be “mass conversions of our red brethren,” he felt that the Church and the University should do everything possible to lift their status and “give them the full hand of fellowship and opportunity for work.”²²

Hints of Opposition

While John A. Widtsoe, Joseph Fielding Smith, Ernest L. Wilkinson, and other Church educational leaders wished to develop BYU into a greater institution with graduate work on a much larger scale, some prominent Church leaders had reservations. Elder Joseph F. Merrill, a member of the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees, former dean of the College of Engineering at the University of Utah, and former commissioner of Church schools, had been an outspoken advocate of extending the seminaries and institutes for many years but had never been an enthusiastic supporter of sepa-

20. Ernest L. Wilkinson to Howard S. McDonald, 13 August 1949, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

21. Wilkinson to Widtsoe, 13 August 1949, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

22. Ibid.

rate Church schools.²³ In a letter to the new school president, Merrill wrote, “Apparently, President Wilkinson, you want to make the BYU a great university, great in numbers and great in repute as a graduate school. This is a noble ambition, but under governing conditions is it a wise ambition? Decidedly not, I think.” Merrill felt that the large expenses requisite to operate graduate and research work in many different fields would have “a small proselyting value, if any.” He recalled that when he was appointed commissioner of education in 1928 he was given a policy statement explaining that “a decision had been reached for the Church to withdraw from the field of secular education” in favor of increased expenditures for institutes and seminaries. Merrill did not believe the Church could afford a large-scale graduate university at Provo and at the same time remain firmly committed to the growth of religious education within the seminary and institute program. Merrill agreed that “The Church needs a First Class Teachers College,” but he did not believe it “wise to go beyond this.”²⁴

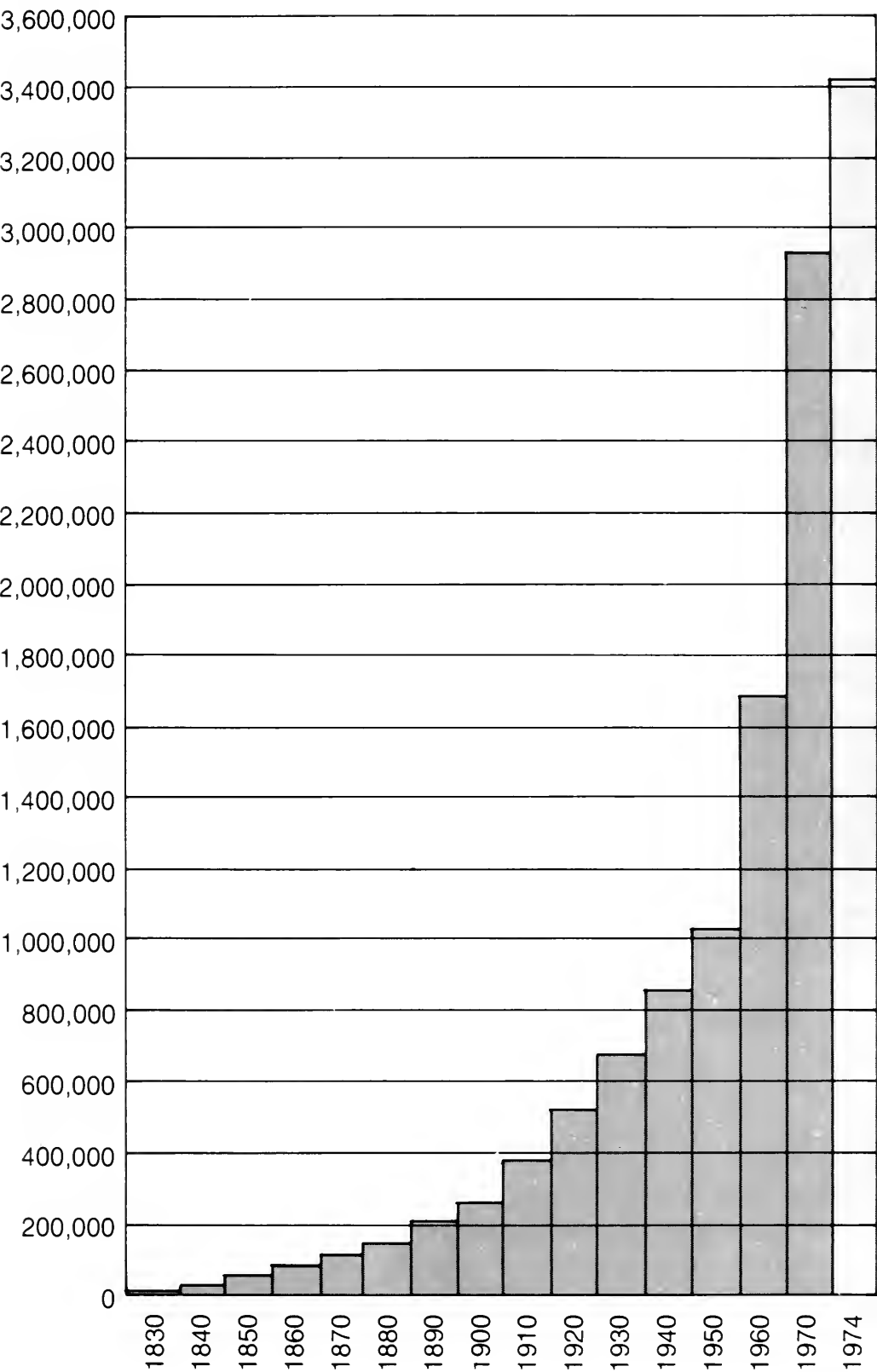
Merrill and others saw BYU as a teachers college designed to equip students with the necessary bachelor’s and master’s degrees to go out and teach all grades of the public school system through the high school, along with seminaries and institutes. If necessary, institute teachers could obtain a “doctor of religious education” degree at the Church University, but Merrill did not feel the school should offer a doctor’s degree in any other field.²⁵ Yet Church membership was growing rapidly, as indicated by the accompanying chart. This growth in Church membership foreshadowed a tidal wave of LDS college students. In addition, the Church was in better financial condition than it had ever been before. In this situation, the prevailing sentiment among Church leaders,

23. As a member of the Granite Stake Presidency in Salt Lake City, Elder Merrill first proposed the establishment of seminaries at Granite High School as early as 1912.

24. Merrill to Wilkinson, 14 November 1951, Stephen L Richards Papers, Office of the First Presidency.

25. Merrill to Wilkinson, 5 July 1951, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

LDS Church Membership 1830 to 1974



reinforced, encouraged, and furthered by the concepts of the new school president, was that of creating a larger university, capable of accommodating many more thousands of young Latter-day Saints who could come to the Church University and be taught secular and religious truths under the canopy of the Church. Under such guidance, degrees, even doctoral degrees, in many disciplines could be awarded to Mormon students who would then go out and become powerful academic, ecclesiastic, and social representatives of the LDS Church.

The Inauguration

His inauguration was not held until President Wilkinson had been officially in charge of affairs at BYU for more than eight months. The activities were planned for 8 October 1951 so that members of the Church attending October General Conference could attend. Christen Jensen conducted an impressive ceremony. The First Presidency and many members of the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees, along with presidents Howard S. McDonald and Franklin S. Harris, participated in the academic procession on a brisk fall morning from the Maeser Memorial Building down the hill to the new George Albert Smith Fieldhouse. In a stirring invocation, Elder Albert E. Bowen, seventy-five-year-old member of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, prayed that

throughout all the days to come Thy influence may permeate all that is done here. Guide and inspire those who preside here, those who teach and instruct, that this may be a center of learning where only those things may be taught that are conducive to perpetual welfare and the continuity and endurance of the great principles of government that have been enunciated as the governing factor of our land, and those that worship here that they may love Thee . . . and . . . that here there may be developed those who will stand forthright for the protection of liberty, the preservation of the ideals under which our commonwealth is established and above all that Thy name may be revered and that men may bow themselves

humbly in Thy presence, giving Thee the honor and the glory.²⁶

After the prayer, David O. McKay, President of the Church since the death of George Albert Smith in April 1951, delivered the introductory remarks in which he enumerated the goals and purposes of BYU. At one point he remarked, "The principal ideal of the school is to inculcate faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, faith in God His father, faith, testimony in the Restored Gospel of Jesus Christ. Out from these halls have gone . . . and will continue to go men and women who will radiate the high ideals to which I have referred." At the end of his address he returned to his major theme: "This institution, unhampered by politics, without fear of criticism from others, can teach in every class the existence of God, the divinity of Jesus Christ, the divinity of the Restoration of the Gospel of Jesus Christ in its fullness, and waken [in students] a desire to spend their lives in the service of their fellow men. God bless you teachers of this faculty, you students, that you may lift this school, if it has not yet attained it, to that height wherein it may be an example to all higher institutions in the world."²⁷

Although under Church organization and procedure David O. McKay, after he became President of the Church early in 1951, could have changed presidents at BYU, he supported Wilkinson from the beginning. Soon after the inauguration he wrote Christen Jensen, "I agree with you that Wilkinson has made a very successful beginning in his new position. He has impressed me most favorably with his clear insight into conditions, and with his intelligent approach to difficult problems. He bids to become a great President."²⁸

Following the address of President McKay, Wilbur La Roe,

26. "Report of Proceedings of the Inauguration of Ernest Leroy Wilkinson," *The Messenger*, November 1951, p. 5. *The Messenger* was a BYU alumni publication. Copies of the November 1951 issue are on file in BYU Archives.

27. *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

28. David O. McKay to Christen Jensen, 3 November 1951, David O. McKay Papers, Church Historical Department. *See also* Jensen to McKay, 25 October 1951, McKay Papers.

Jr., prominent Washington, D. C., attorney, author, former moderator of the Presbyterian Church of America, and friend of Dr. Wilkinson, spoke on "The Sword of the Spirit," calling for a rededication to America's spiritual values. The University also conferred an honorary doctor of humanities degree upon Mr. La Roe.

The charge to the new president was delivered by Stephen L Richards, first counselor in the First Presidency. President Richards outlined traditions of the University, commenting that all teaching at BYU was to be done under the influence of the spirit of the Lord; that BYU should continue "its reputation for intermarriage among its students"; and that BYU should maintain the tradition of not fostering clubs, cliques, and specialized societies. Then President Richards charged Dr. Wilkinson to stimulate "a love and a search for truth," to develop "character in youth," and to help them acquire "faith and spiritual knowledge":

I charge you . . . to be humble before God. . . . I charge you to seek diligently for those precious gifts of the Gospel, discernment and charity and mercy. . . . I charge you never to waver in your advocacy of revealed principles of truth. . . . I charge you to bring honor and reverence to the name and the work of Joseph Smith, the Prophet. . . . I charge you to bring respect to the constituted authority of his [Christ's] Church. . . . I charge you to live and to teach all the Christian virtues. . . . I charge you to implant in youth a deep love of country, and a reverential regard for the Constitution of the United States.

He concluded: "As I lay these charges upon you, President Wilkinson, I predict for your administration an era of great growth and progress for this school."²⁹

To all of the above, President Wilkinson responded with a statement of his hopes for the school. He emphasized basic

29. "Report of Proceedings," p. 16. On 1 October 1951 Richards told Wilkinson that he "could assume that these charges apply to the whole faculty and could be justified in committing them in support of the objectives" (Diary of Stephen L Richards, 1 October 1951, Office of the First Presidency).

Latter-day Saint concepts such as prayer, temple marriage, large families, and missionary work. He alluded to specific administrative decisions soon to be made for the school. He wanted a “single standard” applied to the area of scholarships, advocating that athletes should not receive precedence over other deserving students. He predicted the construction of many fine “new dormitories” to allow proper housing for the growing student body. He anticipated building a much-improved academic atmosphere and a stiffening of “scholastic standards so that everyone will know that a degree from this institution will be the quid pro quo for hard and constant and intelligent work.” He was enthusiastic about the early establishment of a “family institute center.” As to the faculty, he called for a continuation of that spirit of sacrifice and devotion which had characterized them in the past, hoping that they would “continue to make great sacrifices for this school in heavy class schedules, long hours, [and] extracurricular character building activities.” Yet he anticipated a constant maturing in “the academic status of the faculty,” urging that “our scholarship must be second to none.”³⁰

Elder Spencer W. Kimball of the Council of the Twelve (presently President of the LDS Church and of the BYU Board of Trustees) offered the benediction, praying that BYU would “become the leader throughout the entire world in the family of institutions of learning” and that its students would “go into the Church and into the nation and into the various organizations as leaders to bring new and more lofty concepts into the lives of men and women.”³¹

The Wilkinsons received hundreds of felicitations. L. Homer Surbeck, with whom President Wilkinson had practiced law in the firm of Hughes, Schurman, and Dwight in New York City, said, “I should like to issue just a little word of warning to those delegates here representing some of the schools which are, in a sense, competitive with BYU. . . . If as president of this school, he [Wilkinson] does only half as well

30. “Report of Proceedings,” pp. 17-24.

31. *Ibid.*, p. 26.

as he did in the practice of the law, the time will come, and it will be soon, when all of us . . . will be obliged to recognize the superiority of BYU in many, if not all, respects.”³²

Early Administrative Priorities

Wilkinson gave immediate attention to his relationship with the Board of Trustees, sensing the importance of the role of a president of a church college as defined by the Danforth Commission on Church Colleges and Universities:

The role of the president of a college is, of course, crucial. Without an able educator as its chief executive officer, an institution is seriously handicapped in creating or maintaining a quality program. It is normally the president who must provide vision and perspective; he is in the best position to view the institution as a whole and understand its needs in comprehensive terms. It is he who must unify the college, serve as a link between the trustees and the faculty, and correlate the interests of the various groups that provide funds and exercise influence on the institution. The selection and the continuing effectiveness of the president depend, in turn, on a wise and dedicated board of trustees. The president and board, working together, must then obtain adequate financial resources and facilities for the undergirding of the educational program. On them rests the primary responsibility for careful planning of the future of the institution.³³

Dr. Wilkinson recognized that, unlike the boards of many American universities, BYU's Board of Trustees was concerned with every aspect of the school's operation. He knew that all officers in The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints were ultimately responsible to the First Presidency and the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles and that these bodies constituted the Board of Trustees of BYU. He was happy with

32. Ibid., p. 30.

33. Manning M. Pattillo, Jr., and Donald M. Mackenzie, *Eight Hundred Colleges Face the Future: A Preliminary Report of the Danforth Commission on Church Colleges and Universities* (St. Louis: The Danforth Foundation, 1965), pp. 15-16.

this arrangement because it implied that academic activities were as much the concern of the highest councils of the Church as many of the ecclesiastical programs. The situation demanded a close relationship between the president of the University and his Board of Trustees, and Wilkinson welcomed the challenge.

As editor of the school newspaper thirty years before he became president of BYU, Wilkinson had outlined his vision of the potential of Brigham Young University for service to the LDS Church (*see* chapter 25). Now, he believed his first challenge was to persuade the Board of Trustees that BYU should play a more prominent role in the overall program of the Church. He felt this more keenly when he learned that the Board of Trustees had reduced the budget for the 1950-51 school year. Having been cut twenty percent, in line with the general Church policy of financial retrenchment, the new budget was barely sufficient to maintain the University on a status quo level of operation. Acting President Christen Jensen had complained that a quarter of a million dollars could not be cut from the budget "without seriously impairing the efficiency of the institution."³⁴ Before any new programs could be launched by the Wilkinson Administration, this financial impasse had to be resolved.

Furthermore, Wilkinson saw the need of communicating his vision of the role of BYU to stake presidents and bishops throughout the Church. He wanted BYU to acquire a national and eventually an international atmosphere as the result of the cosmopolitan composition of its student body. He was convinced that this would enhance the prestige and reputation of the University. To achieve such goals, Wilkinson envisioned a massive educational campaign to inform stake and ward leaders of the programs, goals, and purposes of BYU.

To realize his other objectives, Wilkinson knew he had to build the stature of the school's administration and faculty by establishing a more efficient organization, recruiting better

34. Christen Jensen to Joseph Fielding Smith, 1 May 1950, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

qualified administrative personnel, and upgrading the professional standing and academic quality of the faculty. Except for these general priorities, Wilkinson had no master plan for the growth of the University. He was confident that if he could accomplish his major objectives everything would fall into place to make Brigham Young University the great school it was destined to become.

A Board of Trustees President

Recognizing that ultimate authority for the administration of BYU rested, not with the school president, nor with the faculty, but with the Board of Trustees, Wilkinson was of the opinion that the transfer of control in 1939 from a local board to a board composed of some of the General Authorities of the Church was "the most important step forward ever taken in making the Brigham Young University the University of the Church."³⁵ Early in September 1950 all members of the Council of the Twelve Apostles were made members of the Board. Besides the First Presidency and Council of the Twelve, Franklin L. West, Church commissioner of education, and Adam S. Bennion, former commissioner of education, were also made members of the Board.³⁶ The President of the Church was president of the Board, and his two counselors were named vice-presidents. The school was, therefore, in Wilkinson's view, "governed after the order of the priesthood, as is the Church, and is administered pursuant to the principles of church government."³⁷

The Board appointed an Executive Committee, usually consisting of approximately five to seven of its members, to make recommendations to the Board and otherwise assist in implementing Board directives. At the time of Wilkinson's appointment, this body was composed of Joseph Fielding Smith, chairman since 1939; Stephen L Richards; John A.

35. Ernest L. Wilkinson to Stephen L Richards, 7 June 1951, Stephen L Richards Papers, Office of the First Presidency.

36. "Church Section," *Deseret News*, 27 September 1950.

37. Ernest L. Wilkinson to members of the Board of Trustees, 29 August 1969, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

Widtsoe; Albert E. Bowen; and Joseph F. Merrill.³⁸

Later in 1951, after President McKay became President of the Church and Stephen L Richards and J. Reuben Clark, Jr., became his counselors, the Executive Committee was reorganized to include Joseph Fielding Smith, chairman; Harold B. Lee; Henry D. Moyle; Marion G. Romney; and Adam S. Bennion. After the role of the Church commissioner of education was clarified during the McDonald years, the president of BYU was not directly subject to his authority. As a result, President Wilkinson had a direct line to the highest Church authorities and was encouraged by them to work out his own plans for the administration of the University.

At the beginning of his administration Wilkinson had a distinct understanding with the Church authorities as to the division of responsibility between the Church officials, the president of BYU, and the school's faculty. The General Authorities were to be the governing and policy-making body; the president of the school was to have the sole responsibility for general administration of the University and for making recommendations to the Board; and the faculty was to be responsible for instruction and research. Faculty members were not to be engaged in administrative activities except as requested by the president. He was "held responsible, subject to the approval of the Board, for the employment and retention of members of the faculty and for administering all affairs of the University," and although he could appoint advisory councils from the staff, faculty, and students, such councils were "advisory in nature and in no way relieve the president of his responsibility to administer the affairs of the university."³⁹ This clear-cut division of authority was unlike that at many other universities where the faculty — either by Board action or because of tradition — shared administrative duties with the president.⁴⁰

38. BYU Executive Committee Minutes, 23 March 1951.

39. Ernest L. Wilkinson to members of the Board of Trustees, 29 August 1969, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

40. This division of responsibility was carried on throughout the Wilkinson Administration, as is evidenced by a memorandum Wilkinson sent to the faculty on 29 February 1968 in which he quoted Dr.

Wilkinson soon developed great skill in working with the Board to bring cohesion and unity of purpose to a group of men not always united on University policies. The Danforth Foundation observed that "much of the secret of developing strong boards lies in the selection process and in the efforts of presidents to give trustees a proper understanding of educational problems. Presidential leadership is critical. The weakness of boards is frequently traceable to a failure to inform trustees on the matters for which they are responsible."⁴¹ Coupled with Wilkinson's conviction that he was solely responsible to his Board was his desire to achieve greater involvement on the part of the Board of Trustees. He never failed to inform his Trustees of significant school matters; rather, he inundated them with facts, programs, and new ideas. When a complaint against the faculty seemed unreasonable, he would argue with tenacity in their behalf, but, at the same time, he was a defender of the Board and of its policies. When occasional Board directives irked the school personnel, Wilkinson bore the brunt of faculty criticism.

Though he sometimes seemed abrasive in his efforts to build the physical plant, secure larger salaries for school personnel, and implement administrative programs, Wilkinson was largely successful in accomplishing his objectives. For one thing, he had a more cooperative Board than ever before in the school's history, and economic times were right to expand the role of BYU in the Church Educational System. He made the most of these opportunities. Upon his urging, leaders of the Church halted financial retrenchment in Church education and devoted more energies and money to the construction of a greater University.

Samuel B. Gould, chancellor of the State University of New York, who said, "The faculty power is the power to recommend. The President has to be the one who decides. What some faculty people forget is the factor of accountability. The faculty isn't really accountable to anyone; if a faculty committee draws up an academic program and it doesn't turn out so well, it's nobody's fault. The President is accountable."

41. *Eight Hundred Colleges Face the Future*, p. 18.

Wilkinson's success with the Board of Trustees probably resulted from his extensive preparation and persuasive presentations. Every conference with his Executive Committee or Board of Trustees was like a day in court with the lawyer-president pleading his case. As President J. Reuben Clark commented to Clyde D. Sandgren after one of the meetings, "Isn't it a pleasure to hear someone with such a fine and logical mind make his presentations?"⁴² Wilkinson thoroughly prepared his argument, anticipating objections in advance. He often elaborated on dozens of charts and distributed volumes of prepared statistical material to each member of the Board. His approach was generally comprehensive and, at times, overwhelming. When, on occasion, he went to a Board or Executive Committee meeting not fully prepared, he was uncomfortable. He did not like to go to his committee with a half-baked presentation.⁴³

The Board appreciated Wilkinson's preparation. In 1955 Marion G. Romney, a member of the Quorum of the Twelve, congratulated him of his "ability to present the matters concerning the Brigham Young University to the Board of Trustees. . . . You are able and earnest in your work, and I am satisfied . . . that your sole interest is for the building of the University."⁴⁴ Ezra Taft Benson, a long-time friend of the school president, wrote Wilkinson on 29 June 1951, "No doubt all of the Brethren were impressed as I was with the splendid presentation made by you and Kiefer [Sauls] yesterday. I have always admired your progressive spirit. At BYU

42. Ernest L. Wilkinson conference with Clyde D. Sandgren, 22 April 1974.

43. One time, after what he described as a hectic meeting with the Executive Committee, Wilkinson wrote his assistants that he would not accept any matters from them for presentation to the Committee unless he got them at least a week in advance so he would have ample time to study the proposals (Wilkinson to Harvey L. Taylor, William E. Berrett, and William F. Edwards, 1 July 1954, Wilkinson Presidential Papers).

44. Romney to Wilkinson, 4 January 1955, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

that kind of leadership is needed, and the challenge is unlimited.”⁴⁵

A second factor behind Wilkinson’s success with the Board was his ability to identify with Board members. Particularly was this true during the first part of his administration when David O. McKay, Stephen L Richards, and J. Reuben Clark, Jr., constituted the First Presidency. These men were all fervent supporters of BYU who appreciated Wilkinson’s efforts to develop the school. David O. McKay had led a life of great service to the cause of education, including six years as teacher and principal at Weber Academy and two years as Church commissioner of education. In addition to his role at Brigham Young University, he had served on the governing boards of Utah State Agricultural College and the University of Utah. He received his bachelor of arts degree from the University of Utah; an honorary master of arts degree from BYU in 1922; and, later in his life, a number of honorary doctorates. Esteemed as a prophet of God by the people over whom he presided, David O. McKay was a powerful speaker, an inspirational leader, and a strong force of good will to Mormons and non-Mormons alike. He gave full support to the upbuilding of Brigham Young University. Even during the years of his increasing incapacity due to age (he died at age ninety-five in 1970), President McKay did his utmost to steer the Church University toward success.

Stephen L Richards, whom President McKay chose as his first counselor in April 1951 and who served in that position until his death in May 1959, was another powerful leader. A lawyer by profession, having received his law degree from the University of Chicago in 1904, President Richards also once served as principal of a public school in Idaho. He became prominent in Salt Lake City business and legal circles, and in 1917 he turned down an opportunity to run for the governorship of Utah in order to accept the call to become an apostle in the LDS Church. He filled that office with honor and distinction until called to the First Presidency in 1951. President

45. Benson to Wilkinson, 29 June 1951, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.



Stephen L Richards, special guest
Wilbur LaRoe, David O. McKay, Ernest
L. Wilkinson, and J. Reuben Clark, Jr.,
at Wilkinson's inauguration as
president of BYU.

Richards was largely responsible for the reorganization of the BYU Board of Trustees in 1939, which changed it from a local board to one composed of the First Presidency and members of the Council of the Twelve Apostles.

J. Reuben Clark, Jr., second counselor to David O. McKay and a member of the First Presidency since 1933, possessed one of the most complex and resourceful minds in the Church. He, too, had served as a school principal (at Heber City High School and at Southern Utah Normal School) and had been a teacher. After graduating from Columbia University Law School in 1906, he was assistant solicitor for the U. S. Department of State from 1906 to 1910. From 1910 to 1913 he was solicitor general for the State Department. Besides teaching law at George Washington University, he was appointed chairman of the American Preparatory Committee to represent the United States on the International Preparatory Committee for the third Hague Conference. He also served as general counsel for the United States before the American-British Claims Commission, as counsel for the Department of State and expert assistant to American commissioners on the Conference of the Limitation of Armaments, as commanding major of the Judge Advocate General's Reserve Corp, and in many other positions. President Calvin Coolidge appointed him Under Secretary of State, in which position he established a reputation for legal scholarship. He later served as United States ambassador to Mexico from 1930 until his call to the First Presidency of the Church in 1933.

As members of the First Presidency, these three men contributed immensely to the improvement of Brigham Young University. President McKay developed a special confidence in the BYU administrator and, with few exceptions, supported Wilkinson in his specific recommendations. The two men often consulted together, exchanging ideas and proposals; indeed, a healthy camaraderie existed between them throughout President McKay's administration.

Wilkinson made recommendations for appointments to the Board of Trustees which were often followed, such as his proposal to enlarge the Board to include the Presiding Bishop

of the Church and the president of the Relief Society of the Church. President Wilkinson wrote President McKay in 1954 that, without President McKay's support,

It would have been impossible for us to make the progress which I believe we have made. . . . I recognize that at times you may have thought I was pressing certain matters a little vigorously or probably proceeding a little fast, but I have done this on the theory that you would very much prefer to tighten the reins than apply the whip. . . . I feel that providence has been exceedingly kind to me, in permitting me to have my present responsibility while you are President of the Church. For, without your educational vision, it would have been impossible for us to make the progress we are making.⁴⁶

No Man Stands Alone

Another reason for the growth of the school during his administration was the group of capable assistants that Wilkinson brought to Brigham Young University. From February 1951 until the beginning of 1953 he had no official assistants. Not accustomed to delegating major responsibilities to others, he initially attempted personally to control everything relating to the administration of the school, relying on the advice of a few unofficial assistants. Perhaps his closest adviser during this time was William F. Edwards, who served as both dean of the College of Commerce and as financial adviser to Wilkinson. Edwards also assisted in academic matters. He had been a counselor to President Wilkinson in the bishopric of the Queens Ward in the New York Stake of the LDS Church. After Wilkinson left New York City, Edwards became president of the New York Stake.

Another close adviser during this period was William E. Berrett. A graduate with a bachelor of arts and a law degree from the University of Utah, Berrett's two loves were teaching and the law. From 1938 until 1943 he was a teacher in the

46. Wilkinson to McKay, 24 December 1954, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.



William F. Edwards, one of Ernest L. Wilkinson's close personal advisers during the first part of his administration.



William E. Berrett, another of Ernest L. Wilkinson's close personal advisers during the first part of his administration.

Church Department of Education where he wrote two textbooks for use in the Church schools, *The Restored Church* and *Doctrines of the Restored Church*. He later wrote other texts and manuals for the Church Educational System. In 1943 he became a special prosecutor for the United States Office of Price Administration, and from 1946 to 1947 he served as assistant United States attorney in Alaska. In the fall of 1948 he was appointed professor of religion at BYU. Berrett assisted in recruiting faculty during Wilkinson's early years, at the same time teaching in the Religion Department and spearheading the implementation of the ROTC program. Wilkinson and Berrett often spent evenings and Saturdays reviewing University programs. Berrett helped Dr. Wilkinson understand the faculty and BYU administrative programs and aided in establishing a smooth transition from one administration to another. Kiefer Sauls, school treasurer, who devoted a lifetime of service to the institution; Ben E. Lewis, assistant treasurer; Dean Wesley P. Lloyd of the Graduate School, who was a spokesman for the faculty; W. Cleon Skousen, head of the Alumni Association and certain public service functions; and later, Clyde D. Sandgren, school legal counsel, all assisted Wilkinson during his early years at BYU.

As the school grew, administration of University programs required more permanent assistance. At the end of 1952 Harvey L. Taylor of Mesa, Arizona, became Wilkinson's first official administrative assistant.⁴⁷ Taylor's responsibility was to work with the faculty, curriculum, and other academic aspects of the school, freeing the president to continue his administrative programs designed to enlarge the physical plant and increase enrollment. A native of Harrisville, Utah, Taylor had obtained a bachelor of science degree from the University of Utah in 1921. He earned his master of arts degree from Columbia University four years later and then taught at Weber College in Ogden. Shortly afterwards, he

47. Taylor's appointment was officially announced on 6 January 1953, but it was actually made two months earlier.



Harvey L. Taylor, appointed Ernest L. Wilkinson's first official administrative assistant in 1952.

accepted a call to become principal of the Church-owned Gila Academy at Thatcher, Arizona. When the Church turned that school over to the state in 1932, the Mesa School Board asked Taylor to be principal of the Mesa Union High School, a position he held from 1933 until 1945. From 1945 until his appointment at BYU, Taylor was superintendent of Mesa Public Schools.⁴⁸ Taylor and Wilkinson had been students together at Weber Academy, and one reason Taylor accepted the lower-paying position at BYU was because he was glad "to be a part of a great thing."⁴⁹ Effectively coordinating academic matters, Taylor became an important part of the school's administration. During his first few weeks at BYU, Taylor had no office in the overcrowded Maeser Memorial Building, which was then the University's administration building; he worked without a secretary at a small desk in the hall.

The appointment of Harvey Taylor came at the end of Wilkinson's initiation to the presidency of BYU. By the spring of 1953 the new president had established a constructive relationship with his Board of Trustees; the Board was involved in school matters and actively supported many of Wilkinson's plans and proposals. Taylor's appointment signaled the first step in the professional extension and diversification of responsibility of the school's administrative network.

Wilkinson's administrative policy was influenced by other groups besides his personal advisers. The Deans' Council, composed of the deans of the various colleges, met frequently to review academic problems, coordinate activities, and recommend alterations and improvements. Wilkinson also convened faculty meetings, generally on a monthly basis, to discuss matters of mutual interest. Neither the Deans' Council nor the faculty assemblies exercised anything like final administrative authority, but they provided many suggestions which the president carried into effect.

48. Harvard S. Heath and Richard E. Bennett interview with Harvey L. Taylor, 9 July 1974.

49. *BYU Universe*, 2 April 1953.

A Peculiar Mission

President David O. McKay, at a preschool faculty workshop in 1954, reiterated what the mission of BYU had been since the days of Karl G. Maeser:

I should like to say a few words regarding fundamental objectives of this great school. I think it well to have in mind for the next few moments our relationship to the boys and girls who are coming here to develop and to achieve their aims in life. I think that that noblest aim is character, notwithstanding what some leading professors say about the special work of a university. What other conceivable purpose is there in making discoveries in science, in delving into marvelous powers hitherto hidden by nature, except for the development of the human soul? . . . I have great respect for the man [Emerson] who is esteemed the wisest American, who said, "Character is higher than intellect. A great soul will be fit to live as well as to think." . . . Leading youth to know God, to have faith in his laws, to have confidence in his fatherhood, and to find solace and peace in his love, this is the greatest privilege, the most sublime opportunity offered the true educator.⁵⁰

Besides emphasizing the importance of character building, BYU leaders had always made a conscious effort to prevent the growth of a secular spirit at the school because they knew that purely academic investigation can be dangerously void of spiritual substance. Benjamin Cluff, Jr., struggled with the problem, and the modernism controversy during the Brimhall Administration offered a good example of what some considered the clash between secular academics and religious orthodoxy. President J. Reuben Clark, Jr., emphasized the concerns of the First Presidency regarding secularism in his speech entitled "The Chartered Course of the Church in Education." He said,

50. Address of David O. McKay at the annual preschool faculty workshop, 17 September 1954, BYU Archives.

The youth of the Church, your students, are in great majority sound in thought and in spirit. The problem primarily is to keep them sound, not to convert them. . . . They are eager to learn the gospel, and they want it straight, undiluted. . . . They want to gain testimonies. . . . They are not now doubters but inquirers, seekers after truth. . . . There is neither reason nor is there excuse for our Church religious teaching and facilities and institutions, unless the youth are to be taught and trained in the principles of the Gospel. . . . The teacher must . . . possess another of the rare and valuable elements of character . . . intellectual courage — the courage to affirm principles, beliefs, and faith that may not always be considered as harmonizing with such knowledge — scientific or otherwise.⁵¹

Accepting the guidelines laid down by presidents McKay and Clark, Dr. Wilkinson told BYU faculty members in their annual preschool workshop in 1954, "I believe it is just as self-condemnatory for any individual to accept the tithing of this Church for the purpose of teaching doctrine which destroys faith in this Church as it was for Judas to accept 30 pieces of silver to betray the Master. . . . We are not here to teach whatever heretic doctrine we may be susceptible to ourselves."⁵²

Nevertheless, although Church leaders consistently emphasized the importance of religious training at BYU, they did not advocate a dogmatic, pietistic approach to higher education. Some Board members wished to see BYU remain basically an undergraduate school with heavy emphasis on religious instruction, but most Board members, along with BYU administrators, were in favor of seeing BYU become a leader in secular fields as well. They believed the injunctions to maintain a religious atmosphere at BYU were not disavowals of the importance of academic programs, but admonitions

51. J. Reuben Clark, Jr., "The Chartered Course of the Church in Education," 8 August 1938, BYU Archives. *See also* chapter 19 herein.

52. Address of Ernest L. Wilkinson at the annual preschool faculty workshop, 17 September 1954, BYU Archives.

to maintain proper educational priorities and perspectives. Church leaders felt that the Church University could, if the administrators and faculty were properly oriented, teach religious ideals in conjunction with scientific principles and assist students in harmonizing the two rather than experiencing intellectual dilemmas or religious alienation.

27

Steps toward Unification

Contemplating Unification

Besides Brigham Young University, by the early 1950s the Mormon Church operated a large and expanding system of institutes and seminaries. Though the Church gave up all of its junior colleges and academies in the 1920s and the 1930s except Ricks College in Rexburg, Idaho, and Juarez Academy in Mexico, it continued to stress its program of providing religious education in high school seminaries and institutes of religion adjacent to various university campuses. While a president administered BYU, the Church commissioner of education administered the seminary and institute program and was responsible to the Church Board of Education, whose membership was the same as the Board of Trustees of BYU.

The concept of combining both systems under one administrator was considered as early as 1938. In 1942 and 1943 Dr. Franklin L. West, then commissioner of education, prepared a plan for the appointment of a chancellor in order to unify LDS education. The plan was actually authorized, but at the last moment it was not approved by the General Authorities, apparently because of the opposition of President Harris and others. Both Franklin S. Harris and Howard S. McDonald

opposed the appointment of a chancellor who would be over both the president of Brigham Young University and the administrative officers of the institutes and seminaries, probably because this arrangement would have deprived them of direct access to the General Authorities. In fact, when President McDonald took charge at Brigham Young University, it was with the distinct understanding that he would not be under a chancellor.¹ After President McDonald resigned, the General Authorities began to consider unification again. In 1949 Ezra Taft Benson wrote to Ernest L. Wilkinson in Washington, D.C., "This may be a good time to give consideration to the employment of a chancellor of education to have general supervision of all of our educational program, including the seminary and institute work under the direction of the Board of Education. Such a man would need to be, first of all, an outstanding administrator and executive." Hinting at an expanded network of Church schools, Benson continued, "It may be possible to move the office of the Department of Education to the campus of the Y and have a supervisor of seminaries and institutes and also a president of the university, as well as presidents of other Church schools, who would work under the immediate direction of the chancellor as executive of the Board."²

When Ernest L. Wilkinson became president of BYU, he supported the idea of unification.³ In response to a request from members of the Board of Trustees, he compiled an impressive brief in support of unification. His proposal was to make Brigham Young University the focal point of the Church Educational System. In his opinion, "It would strengthen and make more efficient the educational system of the Church." A single administrator could coordinate all Church educational policy. Uniformity of religious courses

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1. "Memorandum on Institutes," prepared after a conference between Ernest L. Wilkinson and William E. Berrett, 27 October 1952, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.
 2. Benson to Wilkinson, 3 October 1949, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.
 3. Ernest L. Wilkinson to Adam S. Bennion, 15 November 1952, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

and faculty hiring and retirement would eliminate the rivalry among BYU, Church institutes, and Ricks College over enrollment and other issues. The administrator would have to resolve most differences of opinion within the system.

At the same time, unification would permit the development of a long-range Church educational program which could be more expeditiously planned and carried out by one head rather than by two or three. Wilkinson felt unification "would strengthen both the BYU and the institutes and seminaries." The University would be benefited as the central training facility for seminary teachers. Because of its position at the head of a large educational system, the University would have the first opportunity to recruit the LDS teachers it especially needed. In addition, bringing seminary and institute teachers to campus for special seminars would strengthen BYU's summer school program. Unification would also enable the University's Extension Division to utilize institute teachers to carry its programs to all areas of the Church. Wilkinson believed that unification would assist BYU in becoming a stronger University. He also argued that the seminaries and institutes stood to benefit from unification by having the directing assistance of a well-integrated Department of Religious Instruction, by having the same courses as those in the BYU Religion Department, and by exchanging teachers with BYU.

Wilkinson also contended that unification would be an economically sound program for the Church. He said it would result in certain economies by having the executive staffs of the seminaries housed at BYU and many administrative duties fused in the same administrative officers. Uniform textbooks could be used by the University and the institutes, thereby reducing printing costs substantially. It would also save money because a uniform accounting system could be set up to check on comparative costs. Wilkinson maintained that BYU could be of substantial assistance to the institutes in the preparation and publication of religious teaching aids. This assistance would not be limited to printed materials alone. He also felt that the Church University could develop radio and

television programs and motion pictures to assist religion teachers. He emphasized that unification would enable BYU to fulfill its role of providing service for the entire Church membership.⁴

Wilkinson's sweeping proposals encountered some objections. Some Church leaders saw unification as a step toward building an educational empire with BYU controlling the entire Church Educational System. Others feared the institutes would be neglected by a chancellor whose major concern would be the administration of the Church University. Still others feared that the institutes "would lose some of their . . . academic liberty"⁵ and that schools like the University of Utah and Utah State Agricultural College (Utah State University) might resent having LDS institutes that were administered by a rival university adjoining their campuses.

After carefully considering the problem, the First Presidency decided to consolidate all Church schools under one administrator, Ernest L. Wilkinson. Because Dr. Franklin West retired from his position of commissioner of education in 1953, the transition to the new program was quite simple. Furthermore, Wilkinson's success during the first two years of his administration influenced the decision. Even so, he was taken by surprise by the move. Wilkinson's appointment as administrator of Church schools was officially confirmed by the Board of Trustees on 26 June 1953, but public announcement was delayed for a week.⁶

As administrator, Wilkinson accepted the challenge of supervising the affairs of Ricks College; LDS Business College; the McCune School of Music; the Juarez Academy in Mexico; seventeen institutes with an enrollment of 4,555; and 193 seminaries with a combined enrollment of 40,247; in addition to his duties as president of BYU. On 3 July 1953 he

4. "Unification of LDS Educational Institutions," copy of memo prepared for Henry D. Moyle included with a letter from Ernest L. Wilkinson to Marion G. Romney, 9 January 1953, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

5. Ibid.

6. BYU Board Minutes, 26 June 1953.

wrote LeGrand Richards,

I have been informed . . . that in addition to my duties as President of Brigham Young University, [the] Board now desires me to assume the responsibility of the Administrator of the Church Department of Education. It has taken all of my "waking time" to administer the affairs, even in a partially diligent manner, of Brigham Young University, and I wonder how I am going to have time to administer to the affairs of all the other educational institutions. I feel very humbled.⁷

The Vision and the Dream

In May 1953 President Wilkinson proposed naming the entire unified system the University of Deseret. The difficulty with the proposed title of "Church Educational System," he said, was that while it meant a great deal to members of the Church, it would be meaningless to nonmembers. "Furthermore," he added, "it does not have the connotation of the entire system being a part of a great University."⁸ Wilkinson envisioned the Brigham Young campus of the University of Deseret as the hub of the Church educational wheel.⁹

This envisioned system was reminiscent of the network of schools Karl G. Maeser attempted to establish and of the ideals which the founders of the original University of Deseret had envisioned for that institution. It was proposed that the different campuses in the unified system would be named after presidents of the Church. The Provo campus would be called the Brigham Young campus, Ricks College would be renamed after a Church president, and if Snow College were deeded back to the Church (as many legislators in the early 1950s were suggesting), that campus would already be named after a

7. Wilkinson to Richards, 3 July 1953, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

8. Ernest L. Wilkinson to Joseph Fielding Smith, 18 May 1953, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

9. Ernest L. Wilkinson to Adam S. Bennion, 10 April 1953, Wilkinson Presidential Papers. Other possible names for the system, such as Joseph Smith University and Latter-day Saints University, were also discussed.

Church president.¹⁰

On 26 June 1953 the Executive Committee recommended to the Board of Trustees that the newly created University of Deseret, "comprising the educational system of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints," be administered by the president of Brigham Young University.¹¹ With President Wilkinson acting as its spokesman, the Executive Committee charted its suggested organization, showing Brigham Young University under the direction of the University of Deseret, with a vice-president in charge of religious education, under whom would be the head of the Department of Religious Education at BYU, principals of Latter-day Saint seminaries, heads of religious educational departments at LDS junior colleges, and directors of LDS institutes. The chart also showed a vice-president of finances and business administration.¹² For almost a week the First Presidency deliberated on the Executive Committee recommendations. They approved the plan in principle but agreed that no change would be made in the nomenclature, adding that, if it were decided to make a change, that could be done later.¹³ Some felt that calling the entire system the University of Deseret relegated BYU to the position of the largest appendage of an expansive, unwieldy university. Others felt that the proposed name was the property of the University of Utah since it had initially been given that appellation, even though that university had abandoned it. Many wanted the historical name of Brigham Young University to be maintained.

Although the name Wilkinson proposed was not accepted, the First Presidency supported the unification plan and placed BYU, Ricks College, and the institutes and seminaries under one administrator with the implied ascendancy of BYU over other Church schools: the university would remain autonomous with jurisdiction over all other Church educational institutions. The contemplated system included a ring of satel-

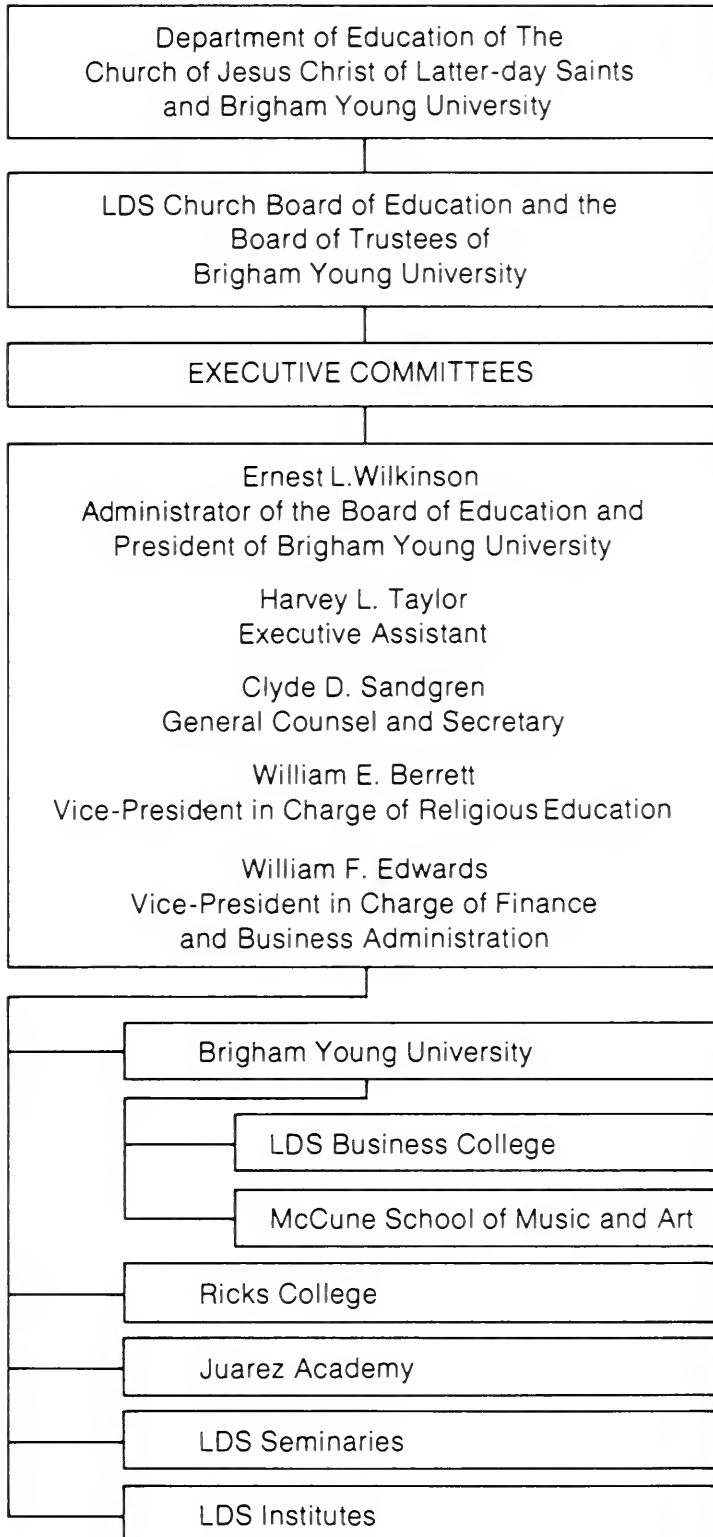
10. "Memorandum on Institutes."

11. BYU Board Minutes, 26 June 1953.

12. Diary of David O. McKay, 26 June 1953.

13. *Ibid.*, 1 July 1953.

Organization of the LDS Department of Education after Unification in 1953



lite junior colleges which the Church might reacquire from the State of Utah, as well as those it might build in other places.

With Careful Delegation

Under the direction of the Board, the new Church administrator gathered around him an able team of assistants (*see* accompanying chart).¹⁴ Harvey L. Taylor continued as administrative assistant directly in charge of instruction, faculty, curriculum, and other academic matters at BYU, Ricks College, LDS Business College, the McCune School of Music, and Juarez Academy. Wilkinson selected two vice-presidents to round out the administrative structure. William F. Edwards, who was to remain as dean of the College of Commerce at BYU, also became vice-president of the LDS Department of Education and of BYU in charge of finance and business administration for the unified system. Edwards had proven competent in financial affairs and a wise counselor in budgeting, expenditure, and investment matters. The other vice-president was William E. Berrett, who had served for many years in the Church commissioner of education's office and who was then serving as professor of religion at BYU. His specific assignment was to supervise and coordinate all religious education in the Church schools and to be directly in charge of the institutes and seminaries.¹⁵ On 30 October 1953 Clyde D. Sandgren, a prominent alumnus of BYU, an experienced court reporter, and a Provo attorney who had practiced law in New York and Utah, was appointed secretary to the

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14. Elder Spencer W. Kimball had written President Wilkinson on 20 July 1953, "You must take care of yourself and not permit yourself to break under this tremendous load. But I am sure [that] with careful delegation and if you will continually strive to do fewer details and to save your precious energy and ability to administer and organize and direct, you could even reduce the expenditure of energy, and the entire program could have the benefit of your vision and power" (Wilkinson Presidential Papers).
 15. By the time the program went into effect, the Church schools in the Pacific Ocean were removed from the unified system. For reasons not entirely clear, they were placed under a separate jurisdiction and administered by the Pacific Board of Education.

joint Board of Education of the Church school system and Board of Trustees of Brigham Young University. He also served as general counsel to the system.¹⁶

In a letter to Vice-President Edwards, President Wilkinson said,

I do not want you or the other administrative officers to be "yes men." I shall expect you . . . to express yourself freely in our councils and deliberations. . . . In this respect I should add that the two Vice-Presidents, the Administrative Assistant, and I will operate largely as a Stake Presidency. The Brethren have made it plain that I will be held responsible for both the Department of Education and the Brigham Young University. . . . Ultimate policies will be my responsibility and . . . your decisions must in turn be reviewed by me.¹⁷

Retaining his powers of decision, then, Wilkinson set up an organization much like the Church system where the bishop or stake president makes final decisions on his own after reviewing the recommendations of his counselors.

The Junior Colleges of Utah

The establishment of a junior college program was an integral part of Wilkinson's plan for unification. At the time of consolidation it was contemplated that there would eventually be a number of Church junior colleges. President McKay favored the idea. As Wilkinson explained in a letter to his predecessor, Howard S. McDonald, "The new plan of unification of the LDS Church schools . . . contemplates that when we get a student body of around 12,000 at this University, which at our present rate of growth could be in five years, that we will eventually have junior colleges throughout the West. My thinking is that we ought to have one in Los Angeles."¹⁸ Junior colleges could be obtained in two ways. First, new ones

16. Ernest L. Wilkinson to the First Presidency, 13 March 1954, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

17. Wilkinson to Edwards, 7 July 1953, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

18. Wilkinson to McDonald, 26 July 1953, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

could be established, and second, there was, at that time, a good chance that the Church junior colleges which had previously been transferred to the state would be returned. Snow College in Ephraim, Utah; Dixie College in St. George, Utah; and Weber College in Ogden, Utah, had all been originally established and operated by the LDS Church. Snow College was transferred to the state in 1932, Dixie and Weber colleges in 1933. All of these conveyances had been made with the express stipulation that if the state ever ceased to operate the schools as junior colleges, they would all revert back to the Church.

On 15 February 1951, Governor J. Bracken Lee caused a bill to be introduced in the Utah State Senate that would, if enacted into law, turn the state-owned Weber, Snow, and Dixie colleges back to the Church.¹⁹ This move was in large measure a part of the governor's highly-publicized economy program to relieve the state of undue financial burdens. Referring to the three colleges, President McKay stated the position of the Church on this delicate matter in a diary entry for 16 February 1951:

The Church has answered the Governor that if and when these properties so revert to the Church, the latter will accept them without commitments as to future policies, excepting that they be used undoubtedly for the educational interests of the communities involved. . . . The Church has no objection to the State's turning the Snow College over as a Branch of the USAC [Utah State Agricultural College.]²⁰

Because of heated opposition, no definite action was taken on the junior college issue until 1953 and 1954. During this interim, Utahns expressed their opinions on the possible transfer. Generally, people in Ephraim and St. George favored returning Snow and Dixie colleges to the Church.²¹ But

19. "Governor Lee Proposes Return of Three Colleges to Church," *BYU Universe*, 20 February 1951.

20. Diary of David O. McKay, 16 February 1951.

21. Ernest L. Wilkinson to the First Presidency, 9 February 1953, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

the complexion of public sentiment was quite different in Ogden. Many powerful factions in that community opposed the proposal, including Henry Aldous Dixon and other leading LDS figures, although most people who opposed it were non-LDS. Opposition became so intense that Governor Lee temporarily removed Weber from the transfer package, leaving only Dixie and Snow colleges to revert to the Church.²² However, President McKay insisted that if the schools were to be returned, then Weber must be included. The Church did not ask for the return of these schools, and it would not take back Dixie and Snow without Weber College. Weber was a bigger school, served a larger population, and would be a most vital link in the contemplated junior college program.²³

In December 1953 Governor Lee sponsored legislation authorizing the Utah State Board of Examiners (composed of the governor, secretary of state, and attorney general) to transfer all three institutions back to the LDS Church. Opposition was intense, and rumors circulated that pressure tactics were being employed to influence legislators in their voting. The stand of the Mormon Church on the transfer question, as it had been in 1951, was that it would welcome the repossession of these former Church schools, but would not campaign for their transfer. President McKay told two state senators on 14 December 1953 that the responsibility of closing the colleges as state schools rested upon the state legislature.²⁴ A special statement of the First Presidency repeating President McKay's sentiments appeared in the Salt Lake City papers on 8 January 1954.

As the time approached for the signing of the bill, opposition forces in Ogden became more vocal. Many citizens complained that Ogden had not received sufficient warning of the

22. Ernest L. Wilkinson, "Statement to Faculty on Legislation of Transfer of Junior Colleges," 7 January 1954, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

23. Ibid. David O. McKay told a close associate, "When the state is ready to turn the schools back to us, we are ready to receive them. However, we do not care to be put into the position of asking for them" (Diary of David O. McKay, 7 December 1953).

24. Dairy of David O. McKay, 14 December 1953.

proposal. They wanted the state to delay the transfer of Weber College. Some felt that the governor had not considered the prevailing sentiment in Ogden that the school should continue under state control. They feared that, as in the 1920s and 1930s, the Church would not give Weber College the necessary financial support for it to be a healthy institution. Telegrams and letters poured into both the governor's office and the office of the First Presidency, urging a reconsideration or at least a postponement. In this situation, Church leaders informed the governor that it would be "satisfactory" if the matter "was postponed" since the issue was "creating a great deal of trouble."²⁵ In fact, the Church was willing to have the issue submitted to the people for a vote if the governor wished. Church leaders continued to make it clear that it was not the Church that was initiating the movement, even though it would welcome the return of the schools.²⁶ Amid this atmosphere of division and debate, the bill for transference of the schools was passed by the state legislature and signed by Governor J. Bracken Lee on 21 December 1953.

The three junior colleges greatly enhanced the unified Church school system. Wilkinson recognized that

this transfer of Weber College imposes a most sacred and serious responsibility on those concerned with the Administration of our Church School System. We approach the task before us not with any feeling of elation, but with a need for all the help we can obtain. My own feeling at the moment is that we ought to probably wait a short period to let some of the heat which has been generated, cool, and that then we probably ought to have a very large community meeting to which all of the stake presidents, bishops, and community leaders [in Ogden] are invited, at which we pledge ourselves to the maintenance of a very high-class junior college.²⁷

25. Ibid., 16 December 1953.

26. Ibid.

27. Ernest L. Wilkinson to William J. Critchlow, Jr., 19 December 1953, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

But the heat did not subside. Rather, it intensified. Opponents of the transfer obtained enough names on a petition, mostly from Weber County, to force a referendum vote on the issue to be included on the November 1954 ballot. Feelings ran high on both sides. The referendum campaign was one of the hottest, most intense, and most divisive in Utah politics in recent years. During the campaign, the Church continued to maintain a position of strict neutrality. About the only one speaking in favor of the transfer was Governor Lee. He favored the transfer because he felt the state at that time could not afford to operate the schools. In a radio broadcast he urged that the state needed the money for its burgeoning public school program: "Already the taxpayers of this State are required to pay a greater portion of their personal income for education than do taxpayers in other states," he said. On the other hand, he claimed that the Church was in a position financially to operate the schools, "in a first-class manner scholastically and otherwise." He pointed out that "historically the very heart of higher education in America has been the private and church colleges." Citing the national ratio of twice as many private colleges to public colleges, Lee pointed out that Utah, with seventy-four percent LDS population, had but three private colleges, only one of them Mormon, and seven public ones. Reacting to the opposition concentrated around the Weber College exchange, he noted that Weber was located midway between the University of Utah and Utah State Agricultural College, less than fifty miles from either, "certainly not a prohibitive distance to expect a mature student to go for a higher education."²⁸

The referendum motion to transfer was soundly defeated by a margin of 120,683 to 79,955 votes, or 60.2 percent against with only 39.8 percent of the voting populace in favor (*see* appendices for a county-by-county summary of the voting). Although fifteen of the twenty-nine Utah counties favored the proposition, the large counties, including Salt Lake,

28. Radio address delivered in October 1954 on file in the office of J. Bracken Lee.

Weber, Utah, Cache, and Box Elder, voted against it. The voting in Weber, Carbon, and Salt Lake counties was especially strong against the proposal. The voters in the Dixie and Snow College areas supported the transfer.

Many factors contributed to the defeat of the proposal. The non-LDS population in Utah generally opposed the replacement of state schools with Church institutions which would emphasize LDS theology and standards. Many Latter-day Saints believed that Weber College as a state institution was a good combination of Mormon and non-Mormon interests. A larger number of Ogdenites, with hometown pride, saw little future in a Weber Junior College which would probably always remain at the junior college level and be but a branch of Brigham Young University.

One of the most important objections to the transfer arose from the widespread allegation that for a number of years before the earlier transfer to the state the Church support of the junior colleges had been so meager that they could barely function. Many believed that the schools would be more richly financed under state auspices using compulsory public taxes than if they were Church operated with voluntary tithing funds.²⁹ Newspapers, especially the influential *Ogden Standard-Examiner* and *Salt Lake Tribune* (both of non-Mormon ownership) vigorously opposed the transfer.

Many thought that President McKay unwittingly contributed to the referendum defeat. A few days before the election, representatives of the Ogden Chamber of Commerce went to Los Angeles to interview President McKay. They quizzed him concerning a question-and-answer pamphlet which was beginning to be distributed by some Church officials which supported the transfer. President McKay asserted that such circulation was unauthorized and, in an effort to maintain complete neutrality, was quoted as saying, "The Church is not campaigning for the colleges. Every voter is free

29. Since more people in Utah paid taxes than paid tithing, it was natural to assume that the junior colleges would have a broader base of support if operated by the state.

to cast his vote for state retention of the colleges. This election is to determine whether the people of the state of Utah desire the state to continue to support the junior colleges. Only if they determine not to will the Church be willing to take over and continue the colleges.”³⁰ The manner in which this statement was reported in the newspapers caused many to believe the Church was not anxious to receive the colleges but would take over the responsibility of operating them only as a last resort. It undoubtedly had a real influence on the election.

Certainly, neither the Church nor any other group mounted an active campaign in support of the transfer. Even the *Deseret News*, the Church newspaper, was silent on the issue. After the referendum vote a disappointed Governor Lee commented, “Any time you have great efforts being made to put over one side of an argument without anyone taking the other side, it is almost a cinch to go over. I think if the junior college issue had been fought through from both sides the results might have been different.”³¹

The outcome of the referendum was significant to the Unified Church School System. Had the transfer been approved, BYU would have realized the return of three ready-built junior colleges, and the junior college concept would have received a powerful impetus. With the defeat of the transfer in Utah, Church officials and Administrator Wilkinson gave attention to purchasing sites for other Church junior college campuses. As early as September 1953 the First Presidency was studying the matter of purchasing a site in Los Angeles for the location of a junior college.³² That same fall, Wilkinson also raised the question of the desirability of the purchase of land between Phoenix and Tempe, Arizona, for the same use.³³ No action was taken on these recommenda-

30. “McKay Denies LDS Drive for Colleges,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, 29 October 1954.

31. “Utah Voters Defeat Three Ballot Issues,” *Deseret News*, 3 November 1954.

32. Ernest L. Wilkinson to the First Presidency, 9 September 1953, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

33. BYU Executive Committee Minutes, 1 October 1953.

tions at the time, although these properties and others were later acquired. During the years 1950 through 1956 the construction of a junior college in Hawaii was the only step taken toward implementation of the junior college program.

The Church College of Hawaii

The establishment of a Church junior college in the Hawaiian Islands became a reality during the early years of the Unified Church School System. As early as 1921, on his trip to missions around the world, David O. McKay had envisioned a school at Laie for the cultural and spiritual development of the members of the Church in the Pacific.³⁴ Matthew Cowley, president of the South Seas Mission from 1938 to 1945 and a member of the Council of the Twelve after 1945, kept the dream alive. In 1947 he appointed four members of the Oahu Stake High Council to assess the situation,³⁵ and further studies were later made under the direction of President Ralph E. Woolley of the Oahu Stake. Out of these studies came a strong recommendation that a junior college, not a high school, be established, with emphasis on vocational training for the islanders. No official action was taken until June 1951 when the First Presidency called Frank McGhie to go to Hawaii to take preliminary steps toward the establishment of a junior college at Laie. A local Board of Education was established to assist McGhie in his work. Perceptive observers believed that such a college "would fulfill a great need in getting [the] native membership on the way to a better standard of agricultural and vocational competence as well as a raised cultural standard."³⁶

Various sites were considered for the location of the new school. Edward L. Clissold, newly appointed Oahu Stake president, was influential in locating the school at Laie on a

34. Reuben D. Law, *The Founding and Early Development of the Church College of Hawaii* (St George, Utah: Dixie College Press, 1972), p. 29.

35. Alonzo Morley to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 16 January 1951, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

36. Ibid.

6,000-acre plantation owned by the LDS Church.³⁷ This decision was also influenced by a feeling on the island that on his trip around the world in 1921 President McKay had promised the islanders a school at Laie.

At first, the Board of Trustees of the Church Board of Education was cool toward the idea of a junior college in Hawaii and suggested in October 1953 that it might be more desirable to establish a large institute at the University of Hawaii.³⁸ President McKay was the dominant force in pushing for a college designed specifically for the Hawaiian and South Pacific peoples. The Church wished to encourage native members in obtaining superior training suited to their own needs. As a result, on 14 July 1954, one year after unification of all Church schools, the First Presidency announced that the decision had been made to establish a junior college in the Hawaiian Islands. On the recommendation of Administrator Wilkinson, Reuben D. Law, dean of the BYU College of Education, was appointed president of the new junior college. Building construction soon began, and the school opened in the fall of 1955.³⁹

The Pacific schools were originally included as a part of the Unified Church School System, but they remained under Administrator Wilkinson's jurisdiction for only about a month. Defined as "missionary operations," they were seen to have links with a branch of the missionary system not yet developed, and so the First Presidency decided in August 1953 that they were "not to be placed immediately under the Church school system."⁴⁰ As of January 1954, these Pacific schools included the LDS College in New Zealand (a high school and junior college, originally built in the 1930s and

37. Law, *The Founding and Early Development of the Church College of Hawaii*, pp. 38-39.

38. BYU Board Minutes, 30 October 1953.

39. Memorandum of Ernest L. Wilkinson, 14 July 1954, Wilkinson Presidential Papers; and "Church Plans New Junior College," *BYU Universe*, 22 July 1954.

40. First Presidency to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 26 August 1953, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

rebuilt at a cost of \$1,500,000 in 1953 after a fire had devastated the original campus), the Liahona College in Tonga for grade and high school students, the Pesage School in British Samoa, the Sauniatu School on the island of Upolu, the Vaiola School on the island of Savali, and the Mesepa School on the island of Tututula.⁴¹ As a result of the realignment of jurisdiction, President Law and future presidents of the Church College of Hawaii until 1974 were responsible directly to the local board of education and not to the administration of the Unified Church School System. Consequently, the Church College of Hawaii did not contribute to the junior college proposal inherent in the unification plan. Nevertheless, supporters of an expanded Church Educational System looked upon the new college as an encouraging sign of Church commitment to an expanded school system.⁴²

Resistance at Rexburg

The inclusion of Ricks College at Rexburg, Idaho, in the new Church school system constituted a major part of the plan for unification. However, this decision was not popular in Rexburg. The school, founded by Thomas E. Ricks, had a proud heritage. Established as the Bannock Stake Academy in 1888 with Jacob Spori as principal, it began as a vital part of the Church system of stake academies. In 1903 the school

41. Harvey L. Taylor to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 23 January 1954, Wilkinson Presidential Papers. In 1957 all Pacific schools were placed under the jurisdiction of the Pacific Board of Education, chaired by Wendell B. Mendenhall. In 1965 they were reunited with the entire Church school system, and in 1974 the Church College of Hawaii was made a branch of Brigham Young University.

42. Wilkinson definitely hoped to see benefits accrue to BYU because of the Pacific schools. In a November 1953 letter to Harold B. Lee he remarked that "it would be a large morale builder to the Brigham Young University if our men on the Faculty who have already taught in the schools in the Pacific or who are now members of our College of Education, be called upon to assist in creating a real school system in the Pacific" (Wilkinson to Lee, 8 November 1953, Wilkinson Presidential Papers). Eight months later Dr. Reuben D. Law, who was dean of the College of Education at BYU, was officially appointed president of the Church College of Hawaii.

became known as Ricks Academy. In 1917 the name was changed to Ricks Normal College, and in 1923 it became Ricks College. Generations of Rexburg townspeople had given strong support to the school. Ricks College was the only LDS junior college in America that survived the movement by the Church Educational Commission in the early 1930s to close all such Church schools. Whereas Weber, Snow, Dixie, and other schools closed their doors as Church-related institutions, Ricks was supported by public-spirited Church leaders in and around Rexburg who, rather than see the school close, financed it themselves for a time. They then appealed to the First Presidency of the Church to resume operation of the school, and the First Presidency agreed.⁴³ Such self help and persistence were at the heart of the school.

From its foundation in 1888, Ricks had operated as a junior college, but in April 1948 the school trustees authorized third- and fourth-year work in education and the right to confer degrees in that field. The purpose was to qualify graduates to become teachers in the school system of Idaho, which had recently raised its standards, requiring school teachers to have bachelor's degrees. Shortly after Ernest L. Wilkinson was named administrator of the Unified Church School System and after reports came to the General Board of Education that Ricks was graduating students in fields other than education, Wilkinson was instructed to ascertain the facts and report back to the Board. After investigation, he reported that Ricks was granting degrees in fields other than education, but that, in his opinion, it was advisable for prospective teachers to be trained in the subject matter of the disciplines in which they expected to teach in addition to courses in pedagogy or teacher training. However, the Board advised him that such had not been its understanding when permission was given to grant degrees in education and that Ricks should therefore probably be cut back to junior college status. No official directive was given to the administrator at that time.

43. Ernest L. Wilkinson to David O. McKay, 28 December 1954, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

It was the original intent of the unification program to make Ricks a leading junior college. This met with the approval of the First Presidency, and in preliminary discussions prior to the announcement of consolidation, Church leaders planned to cut Ricks College back to junior college status at the time of the July 1953 announcement of unification. It was expected that such action would not “discriminate” against Ricks but that the school would almost immediately acquire “many more students” for the freshman and sophomore years than it had previously in all four classes.⁴⁴ When the unification program was announced in July 1953, Ricks was made a part of the Unified Church School System and put directly under the jurisdiction of Administrator Wilkinson, but the school was not restricted to junior college work.

Even without a directive to make Ricks strictly a junior college, many Rexburg residents opposed the idea of unification from the outset. They felt the administrator was more intent on developing BYU than he was Ricks and that Ricks had thus lost its independence. One local citizen wrote Wilkinson in October 1953,

I’m a grandmother. In a few years I’ll have granddaughters and sons to go to college. I want them to go to a church school but I don’t want them to go to BYU and be part of that mob. How many more advantages they could get in a small school, equipped and taken care of as it should be. Believe me the people of this area deserve such a school. They have gotten and maintained Ricks College by the “sweat of their brows” literally.⁴⁵

Early in 1954 the First Presidency again expressed a desire to see Ricks College restricted to junior college work. BYU was to be the only University of the Church and center of the Unified Church School System.⁴⁶ During the summer of 1954

44. “Memorandum on Institutes,” 27 October 1952, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

45. Letter to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 27 October 1953, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

46. “Memorandum of Conference between Ernest L. Wilkinson and David O. McKay Held 18 November 1954,” 26 November 1954, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

Wilkinson gave the matter further study and came tentatively to the same opinion as members of his Board. In the course of his study he wrote as a tentative opinion the following:

Taking into consideration the fact that ultimately we intend to have a Junior College in Los Angeles, possibly one in Arizona, certainly one in the Hawaiian Islands — it would seem to me that it would probably be more consistent to limit Ricks to a junior college, and then have all of them send their students to BYU for third and fourth year work. I think, as a matter of fact, that they would get more out of it, because a small school like Ricks really can't give the subjects it should give for proper training. That at any rate is my tentative opinion.⁴⁷

On 3 December 1954 the Board of Trustees unanimously decided that Ricks College should be restored to its prior status as a junior college.⁴⁸ Early in February 1955 President John L. Clarke of Ricks College received a letter from the First Presidency which stated, among other things, that “the conclusion was reached without any reflection whatever upon the work of Ricks College and the administration of its affairs. . . . The major consideration was the proper integration of all the units of the Church educational system in the plan which now obtains.”⁴⁹

As might be expected, the news “came as a great shock” to President Clarke. He wrote the First Presidency,

Part of the shock perhaps was natural and I trust excusable as I viewed in my mind the obliteration of the fruits of a difficult struggle by the faculty and friends of Ricks College, including of course the help of the Church Board of Education, over a period of eight to ten years. This is the time it has taken to place Ricks College firmly in the ranks of accredited four-year colleges. The other part of the shock was because of the tremendous and permanent blow this new policy would give to Ricks in the

47. Ernest L. Wilkinson to Milton Hartvigsen, 13 July 1954, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

48. BYU Board Minutes, 3 December 1954.

49. First Presidency to John L. Clarke, 3 February 1955, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

training of Church and community leaders in our area.⁵⁰

Because he had not been consulted on the matter, Clarke asked for an opportunity to present his views to the Board of Trustees. He was most concerned over the loss of the school's teacher-training program, the summer school program, and all extension programs. Even the governor of the State of Idaho objected to the action. Governor Robert E. Smylie wrote President David O. McKay,

The proposed program for Ricks College will quite probably eliminate it as one of our teacher training institutions. I believe it is necessary that this school remain to prepare the high quality teachers we so badly need. Therefore, I am hopeful that it will not be necessary for you to drop the two years that pertain to elementary education and that this institution will remain as one of [the] high standard accredited teacher training schools in the West. . . . Never has there been a time when your Church was held in such high esteem and never before has it had a greater influence on the people of the State. I attribute a lot of this great work to the activities of the students from Ricks College.⁵¹

After listening to these objections, the First Presidency reaffirmed its decision, writing Governor Smylie that if students attended Ricks for two years and then transferred to BYU for their junior and senior years, they would obtain "the benefits of a rich curriculum . . . not available at Ricks" and would then return to Idaho qualified for teaching.⁵² The First Presidency felt the Church, in the process of erecting a large network of other schools, could not afford a second university, which might ultimately rival BYU. The BYU Board minutes for 25 March 1955 recorded that the First Presidency, the Executive Committee, and the administrator had reconsidered the ac-

50. Clarke to the First Presidency, 19 February 1955, William F. Edwards Papers, BYU Archives.

51. Smylie to McKay, 2 November 1955, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

52. David O. McKay to Robert T. Smylie, 19 December 1955, David O. McKay Papers. *See also* General Board Minutes, 4 November 1955.

tion restricting Ricks College to junior college work, had confirmed the Board's decision, and had advised President Clarke accordingly. The First Presidency appealed for the cooperation of President Clarke, his associates, the stake presidents in the Rexburg area, and all patrons of Ricks College to give full support to the building up of a creditable junior college in Rexburg.⁵³

President Clarke maintained his loyalty to Church leaders amid personal disappointment and some local derision, and with his leadership the plan was carried into effect.

The reconversion of Ricks College to junior college status was not publicly announced until April 1955.⁵⁴ The actual change in curriculum was effected in the fall of 1956 to allow upper division students to finish their programs. Friends of Ricks College expressed a loyalty to Idaho and opposed sending students to Utah to finish their teacher certification, yet President Clarke was able to write Administrator Wilkinson, "In spite of the very serious disappointment that exists in the minds of many people I think that those in responsible positions have acted with very commendable restraint."⁵⁵

With the new policy implemented, the Church made an organized effort to recruit freshman and sophomore students for the school in Idaho, while encouraging those already at Ricks to finish their undergraduate programs at BYU. Stake presidents in fourteen stakes around Rexburg were officially urged to send their students to Ricks and then to BYU. Ricks College faculty members were assigned to speak at local stake conferences to promote the program.⁵⁶ Because of "a certain resentment against the Brigham Young University," efforts to encourage Ricks College students to finish at the Provo school were not very successful; substantial percentages of students

53. BYU Board Minutes, 25 March 1955.

54. "Ricks to Be Converted to Two-Year College," *BYU Universe*, 14 April 1955.

55. Clarke to Wilkinson, 28 May 1955, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

56. John L. Clarke to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 4 May 1955, Wilkinson Presidential Papers; and Wilkinson to all General Authorities of the Church, 5 May 1955, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

chose to attend either Utah State Agricultural College or Idaho State College.⁵⁷ In 1956 only thirty-nine of 164 Ricks graduates chose to continue their education at BYU, but in time the system functioned more as Church educators hoped.

Although the decision to restrict Ricks College to junior college status was unpopular in Idaho, and although it might have been carried out in a more friendly manner, the decision was beneficial in the long run, not only to Ricks College and Rexburg, but to the entire Church Educational System.

The Two Schools in Salt Lake City

Foreshadowing the unification plan, two Salt Lake City schools became branches of Brigham Young University in 1952. They were LDS Business College and the McCune School of Music. Unfortunately, neither one of these transplants fared very well as appendages of BYU.

The LDS Business College was the direct descendant of the Salt Lake Stake Academy organized in 1886. The name was changed from Salt Lake Academy to Latter-day Saints College, to Latter-day Saints University, and finally back to LDS College. The college was housed for many years in the old Barrett Hall on Temple Square and in a few other scattered locations.⁵⁸ Until 1931, LDS College had a separate business department, a high school, and a junior college. It was officially closed during the depression of the 1930s. Feramorz Fox, Kenneth Bennion, and other persevering faculty members organized a business college on their own. Later, during better times, the school was reacquired by the Church and placed under the direction of Commissioner West. In line with the burgeoning growth of Brigham Young University, the Church decided to transfer LDS Business College from its independent status under the direction of the Church Board

57. Wilkinson to Clarke, 5 July 1956; and Clarke to Wilkinson, 18 July 1956, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

58. "A Brief Statement about the LDS Business College Branch of Brigham Young University," included with a letter from Kenneth S. Bennion to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 30 May 1952, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.



LDS Business College in Salt Lake City.
The college was a branch of BYU from
1952 to 1956.

of Education and make it a branch of Brigham Young University. In this way, the University would realize a new outlet for its Commerce Department. Related factors in the decision were "to make sure that the work hereafter given [at the college] would be of collegiate credit" and thereby enhance its stature as a business college. Administrators were also confident that they could reduce the school's recurring financial indebtedness by channeling its budget through BYU.⁵⁹

Accordingly, on 9 May 1952 the BYU Board of Trustees declared its intention to effect amalgamation on June 1. Full administrative responsibility for the branch was given to the president of BYU, and the school functioned under a director, Kenneth Bennion, past president of the college. Business college faculty members became BYU faculty members.⁶⁰

The incorporation of LDS Business College as a branch of BYU fulfilled a long-standing desire of many BYU administrators to obtain a center of influence in Salt Lake City. President Wilkinson assigned the detailed supervision of the business college to William F. Edwards, dean of the College of Commerce. Edwards was instructed to improve the curriculum offering and the general academic prestige of the school by making courses conform wherever practicable to those offered at BYU in order to make it a more effective competitor with the rival Henager Business College, a well-respected Salt Lake City business school. Edwards was also to move "in the direction of trying to get the better students to take certain courses that would eventually lead them to come to the BYU to finish a four-year course."⁶¹

Faculty and staff pruning was undertaken, tuition was raised slightly to improve the financial footing of the college, and for a period it appeared that the new branch would perform successfully. In 1952 LDS Business College was officially accredited by the Accrediting Commission of Business

59. Ernest L. Wilkinson to A. Ray Olpin, 11 February 1953, Wilkinson Presidential Papers; and BYU Executive Committee Minutes, 12 June 1952.

60. BYU Board Minutes, 9 May 1952.

61. Wilkinson to Edwards, 16 June 1952, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

Schools (ACBS) as a two-year school of business. In 1953 the Northwest Association of Secondary and Higher Schools gave its tentative approval. In 1954 the name of the school was officially changed to LDS Business College Branch of Brigham Young University.⁶² Despite these moves, the University of Utah and Utah State Agricultural College were reluctant to accept credits from the college on the assumption that the coursework of the college was not equal to coursework at BYU.⁶³

The college continued as a branch of BYU until the fall of 1956 when the entire University underwent careful scrutiny by the Northwest Association of Secondary and Higher Schools. The visiting committee ruled that BYU could receive accreditation only if its ties with LDS Business College and the McCune School of Music and Art were severed because the Salt Lake City institutions were specialized schools and did not meet the liberal arts standards of the Association. Therefore, their credits could not be accepted on the same basis as BYU credit. Because of these recommendations, LDS Business College and the McCune School of Music and Art were eliminated as branches of Brigham Young University on 30 November 1956.⁶⁴ On that same date the supervision of the LDS Business College was reassumed by the Church Board of Education. Since that time the school has operated as a vigorous two-year business college.⁶⁵ Through the years a close working relationship has been maintained between the school and the BYU College of Business.

The McCune School of Music did not end so happily. The school began as the Music Department of Latter-day Saints University in 1917. In 1919 it was housed in the historic Gardo House and was called the Latter-day Saints School of Music.⁶⁶

62. BYU Board Minutes, 26 February 1954.

63. Ernest L. Wilkinson to A. Ray Olpin, 11 February 1953; and Wilkinson to Robert W. Barker, 3 February 1953, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

64. BYU Board Minutes, 30 November 1956.

65. In 1974 its chief competitor, Stevens-Henager Business College, ceased to operate.

66. *Seven Year Report*, p. 334.



McCune School of Music and Art in Salt Lake City. The school was a branch of BYU from 1952 until its permanent closing in 1957.

In 1920 the school was moved to the A.W. McCune mansion on North Main Street after the family had donated this structure to the Church. For years, the school functioned as a cultural center and training center for Salt Lake City musicians.⁶⁷ In 1939 the McCune School of Music was placed under the direction of the Presiding Bishopric with Joseph L. Wirthlin as chairman of its board of trustees. Tracy Y. Cannon served as acting director from 1925 until 1950 when he retired and was replaced by N. Lorenzo Mitchell. In 1952 Bishop Wirthlin reported that the school was little more than a rental agency, leasing space to teachers, and a bookkeeping service for their accounts. Other than the Junior Symphony Orchestra which the school sponsored, it made little direct contribution to the cultural atmosphere of the community. Bishop Wirthlin recommended that the McCune School of Music merge with the Music Department of BYU, permitting that department to offer a more complete program.⁶⁸ Church leaders favored Wirthlin's proposal. The school had cost the Church considerable sums to maintain, and because of its quasicommercial nature, the city was considering imposing property tax on the school. Nonetheless, the primary reason for incorporating the school as a part of BYU was to improve its course offering.⁶⁹

On 20 June 1952 the Board of Trustees rather hesitantly approved the motion to make the McCune School of Music a branch of BYU. Some members of the Board expressed the fear that, academically, the school was not of college caliber. It consistently attracted as many elementary students as those of high school and college age combined.⁷⁰ The Board agreed to the motion upon the specific condition that effective steps would be immediately taken to improve the quality of the

67. "McCune School Is Now Closed," *Deseret News*, "Church Section," 24 August 1957.

68. Wirthlin to Wilkinson, 14 March 1952, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

69. Joseph L. Wirthlin to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 24 April 1952, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

70. Ernest L. Wilkinson to other members of the BYU Presidency, 21 November 1953, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.



Christen Jensen, President Ernest L. Wilkinson, and Harold Glen Clark reviewing materials in President Wilkinson's office.

school.⁷¹ The public announcement of the transfer was made in September 1952, just three months after the LDS Business College transfer had been publicized.

During the next few years the school served a worthwhile purpose, undoubtedly gaining its greatest publicity because of its dance program. A dancer in her own right, Virginia Tanner implemented a successful and attractive dance program in the school. Unfortunately, the school's financial requirements became too burdensome for the already thin budget of BYU.⁷² The financial picture became more "disturbing" as the school needed new facilities which forced it to exceed budgetary allotments.⁷³ When BYU found itself unable to maintain a respectable college program at the school, and when it became clear that the Northwest Association of Secondary and Higher Schools would not accredit BYU if it held onto this branch, the McCune School of Music and Art (as it had been officially named in June 1954) was discontinued as part of the University effective 15 August 1957, and, effective that same date, the Church Board of Education ordered its permanent closing.

71. Ernest L. Wilkinson to Joseph L. Wirthlin, 21 June 1952, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

72. Ernest L. Wilkinson to the First Presidency, 18 December 1954, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

73. William F. Edwards to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 22 November 1954, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

28

Opening the Floodgates: 1951-1956

Building Enrollment

If Brigham Young University were to fulfill its destiny as the great University of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Ernest L. Wilkinson believed the first priority and immediate challenge was to expand the size of the student body. This would make it more representative of Church membership and give it a national and international flavor. During Brigham Young Academy days, Karl G. Maeser, James E. Talmage, and other faculty members visited LDS stakes throughout Utah to advertise the benefits of the school. To a large extent, their efforts were successful. In the early 1950's, with a new president and a cooperative Board, the University inaugurated a similar but much more extensive recruitment drive. This ambitious campaign succeeded in revitalizing the image of BYU to large numbers of Latter-day Saint young people and in laying the groundwork for an era of growth that made Brigham Young University, in terms of full-time students, one of the largest and most cosmopolitan universities in America.

The student recruitment program began at a time when enrollment at all Utah colleges, like most American univer-

sities, was declining due to the Korean War. Determined to bring more students to BYU, President Wilkinson spoke in 1952 on "Student Recruitment" before the Board of Regents and Trustees Section of the Utah Conference on Higher Education.¹ Reflecting the prevailing sentiment of the period that a college education was almost indispensable, Wilkinson said, "Probably seventy to seventy-five percent of our high school graduates should go on to college." He said he regarded the recruiting of students to a particular university like the marketing of other services. He asserted, "The university must have a good product," and "The university must believe in itself." He enumerated three basic components of a successful recruitment program: (1) the most effective method of recruiting is to have an enthusiastic, well-satisfied student body; (2) those who sustained the school (the tithepayers of the LDS Church in the case of BYU) should be well informed about the school's operation; and (3) the university should provide an adequate number of scholarships.

Taking his own advice, Wilkinson launched a program under which BYU faculty members spoke in stake conference along with visiting General Authorities. The program was anticipated at least as early as the spring of 1951. Writing to the chairman of the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees, Wilkinson said that unless attendance increased beyond what was anticipated for the coming year, there would be a substantial decrease in enrollment, and this would mean a decline in operating income. A decrease of 1,000 students, for example, would mean a decrease of more than \$100,000 in operating income. Wilkinson proposed that faculty members should attend stake conferences with the General Authorities until the opening of the new school year. This was arranged. A carefully selected group of at least nineteen faculty members was assigned to speak in all stakes west of Denver.²

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1. Ernest L. Wilkinson, address before Board of Regents and Trustees Section of the Utah Conference on Higher Education, 13 September 1952, David O. McKay Papers, Church Historical Department.
 2. Ernest L. Wilkinson to Joseph Fielding Smith, 18 April 1951, Wilkin-

During the three-month period from mid-May until mid-August 1951, Brigham Young University faculty members participated in 179 stake conferences,³ stressing that at BYU a religious atmosphere existed in all classes; that the school offered a wide range of subjects; and that at BYU there was an Air Force ROTC unit which would allow many young men to fulfill their military duties without being drafted. Special emphasis was placed on stakes in California and on other stakes outside Utah where the benefits of BYU were sometimes less clearly understood. The school spent more than \$4,000 subsidizing travel expenses on this first faculty tour of stakes.⁴

The program was successful. It accomplished the original purpose of preventing a serious drop in enrollment and resulted in an increase of fourteen percent in the size of the student body in the fall quarter of 1952. As an auxiliary benefit, these visits reinforced the commitment of the thirty faculty members (an increase over the originally planned nineteen) who participated; these teachers came to be more fully aware of the school's leading position in developing testimonies of the gospel in the lives of an ever-growing number of Church youth.⁵

Near the end of the 1951-52 school year President Wilkinson once more inquired of Chairman Joseph Fielding Smith of the Executive Committee (who was also president of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles and therefore in charge of these stake visits) if the program could be repeated on a more limited basis. Permission was granted, but due to some criti-

son Presidential Papers. Due to the strong support of elders Harold B. Lee and Henry D. Moyle of the Council of the Twelve, the system was sanctioned by the General Authorities. *See* Ernest L. Wilkinson to Henry D. Moyle, 1 March 1954, Wilkinson Presidential Papers; and Ernest L. Wilkinson to Roy Doxey, 4 May 1955, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

3. Ernest L. Wilkinson to Joseph Fielding Smith, 23 February 1952, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.
4. Ernest L. Wilkinson to Kiefer B. Sauls, 17 April 1952; and Kiefer B. Sauls to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 18 April 1952, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.
5. Ernest L. Wilkinson to Joseph Fielding Smith, 14 August 1951, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

cism during the preceding year it was felt “unwise” to visit stakes immediately adjoining other four-year colleges such as Ricks College, Utah State Agricultural College (now Utah State University), and the University of Utah.⁶

The second recruitment campaign was conducted on a smaller scale with fewer faculty participants and fewer visits outside Utah. The original efforts had been so successful that some deans on campus warned that proselyting efforts in stake conferences might well bring in too large a group of students to be properly housed and that caution should be exercised to keep from overcrowding facilities.⁷ Also, the alumni and supporters of other Utah schools wrote the First Presidency, claiming that adequate religious training could be obtained at the institutes adjoining Utah State Agricultural College and the University of Utah. Others felt that Ricks College offered as good a religious atmosphere as BYU. Some citizens did not like to see Brigham Young University build its enrollment at the expense of other area schools. One observer from Logan, Utah, wrote the First Presidency,

We are faithful LDS and we love our religion and are willing tithepayers. . . . Bishops all over the state are trying to make the young men and women feel that it is a religious duty to go to the Y and help make it the greatest educational institution in the state. . . . We have LDS Institutes in connection with all the schools and institutions of higher learning. Why must the Y take advantage of church influence and practically demand that young people of Cache Valley and elsewhere go only to that school?⁸

Despite the school's efforts to explain that these stake visits were aimed primarily at getting more students to go on to college and that LDS students could attend institutes at other

6. Ernest L. Wilkinson to Joseph Fielding Smith, 23 February 1952, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

7. Deans' Council Meeting Minutes, 10 April 1952.

8. Letter quoted within a letter from the First Presidency (Stephen L. Richards and J. Reuben Clark, Jr.) to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 22 April 1952, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

schools if they chose not to come to BYU, many correctly interpreted these faculty visits as a promotional campaign for BYU. Critics included such men as President Henry Aldous Dixon of Weber College, a graduate of BYU and former teacher of President Wilkinson at Weber Academy.⁹ In late May 1952 the First Presidency decided to discontinue the program.¹⁰ Believing that BYU should have as much right to proselyte in the vicinity of other universities as in other places in the Church, Wilkinson, with characteristic vigor, wrote President Joseph Fielding Smith: "We shall, of course, be guided by the decision of the Brethren, but I just can't restrain myself from making the comment that we don't withdraw our missionaries in the field because other churches complain of them."¹¹

Other recruiting programs included tours of Church missions in Canada and the United States, visits to high schools, special invitations to promising high school students, and letters to prospective students serving in the U.S. Armed Forces. In 1952, for example, University administrators sent two representatives to visit Church missions in Canada and the United States to let mission presidents, as well as missionaries and Saints, have a more intimate knowledge of the actual program of Brigham Young University¹² and to encourage both returning missionaries and young people in the many branches within these missions to go to Provo for their college training. President Wilkinson instructed: "With the right kind of salesmanship on your part and cooperation from the Mission Presidents, I should think that we ought to get at least 50% of these returned missionaries."¹³

9. Ernest L. Wilkinson to Henry Aldous Dixon, 14 May 1952, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

10. Joseph Fielding Smith to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 28 May 1952, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

11. Ernest L. Wilkinson to Joseph Fielding Smith, 17 June 1952, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

12. Wesley P. Lloyd to J. Melvin Toone, president of the Canadian Mission, 8 December 1952, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

13. Ernest L. Wilkinson to Harold Glen Clark, 8 November 1952, Wilkin-

In seeking to make the BYU student body more representative of the entire Church membership, Wilkinson expressed the hope that BYU could boast of having LDS students from every state in the Union. In fact, the school was willing to award a tuition scholarship to students from Rhode Island in order to have that state represented at the school.¹⁴

Like its western counterpart, the recruitment program in the missions did not go uncriticized. Many mission presidents did not approve of the promotional campaign for BYU. In fact, there was such a strict Church policy about visiting missions that BYU representatives occasionally worked under uncomfortable circumstances. The First Presidency finally suggested that these mission visits be terminated, but by that time the tours were completed, and the seeds of future growth of BYU had been sown.

Renewed Efforts after Unification

With the unification of Church schools in 1953, a more comprehensive stake conference visiting program was initiated. Under the expanded plan, faculty members from the eighteen institutes of the Church, Ricks College, and Brigham Young University were invited to accompany General Authorities for the purpose of acquainting the membership of the Church with the Unified Church School System and the benefits of Church school education.¹⁵ In contrast to earlier visits, the teachers who toured the stakes as representatives of the Unified Church School System encouraged attendance, not only at BYU, but at Ricks, LDS Business College, LDS institutes, and at the high school seminaries of the Church. At stake conferences near Ricks College, a Ricks faculty member would generally be the speaker, while at stakes near the University of Utah, a faculty member from the local institute

son Presidential Papers. Dr. Clark was assigned to missions east of Utah, while Dr. A.C. Lambert was to visit missions on the West Coast.

14. Ernest L. Wilkinson to Harold Glen Clark, 8 November 1952, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

15. Draft of recommendation to the Board of Trustees, 8 February 1954, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

would be featured. Every effort was made to make the program inoffensive and acceptable to all. However, criticism continued to arise from public institutions that anticipated the loss of many of their LDS students to some appendage of the Unified Church School System.¹⁶ Aside from a few problems, these faculty visits were successful for BYU. During the last of the two years faculty members attended conferences in behalf of BYU, enrollment increased by 1,273 students, and two years later when faculty members attended conferences in behalf of the entire Unified Church School System, enrollment at BYU increased by 971 students, at institutes by 458 students, and at seminaries by 2,967 students. Because of continued criticism, however, the visits were discontinued in June 1955.

New Unification Policies

With the unification of Church schools in 1953 and with President Wilkinson's appointment as the administrator of the entire system, Brigham Young University was in an undeniably advantageous situation. As administrator, Wilkinson issued a policy statement designed to strengthen and enlarge all Church schools. From his early days at Weber Academy, Wilkinson was thoroughly converted to the concept of Church schools where Mormonism could be taught in every class, religious and secular. Although he lent great support to the growing seminary and institute program, he agreed with President McKay that the institutes of the Church constructed to serve LDS students attending other universities could not have the same overall influence on students as Church schools. He knew that a large percentage of students attending the state schools did not attend institute classes. On 20 August 1953 he told a convention of institute and seminary teachers that official Church school policy would be "that of encouraging Latter-day Saint boys and girls to attend our

16. Memorandum of Ernest L. Wilkinson conference with President Henry Aldous Dixon, then of USAC, 3 July 1954, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

Church Schools — that is, Brigham Young University and Ricks College, except where there are definite reasons for them attending other universities. And in those situations every encouragement should be given and every proper influence used to have them attend the Institutes.”¹⁷

Outlining his primary reasons for the policy, Wilkinson said that at Church schools all students were given courses in religious subjects. This was not the case at other universities, even though many students took courses at institutes of religion. He also noted that in Church schools the teaching of the gospel was not confined merely to religion classes, but was a proper subject in all classes. He did not believe that the institutes by themselves were sufficiently influential to offset the antireligious — or at least nonsupportive — teachings of some faculty members in leading universities. When LDS students received scholarships to attend other universities, when other schools offered better professional opportunities in a student’s chosen field, and when financial necessity dictated that Mormon students attend other schools, the policy was to encourage such students to enroll in institute classes.¹⁸

Promoting BYU to High School Students

Under the general direction of W. Cleon Skousen, former secretary to the Alumni Association and later director of public services for BYU, and Dean A. Peterson, director of public relations, BYU extended its student recruiting effort to high schools. The program consisted of taking BYU to the high schools and bringing the high schools to BYU. During the 1953-54 school year, Skousen and his assistants made one hundred visits to area high schools.¹⁹ The visits generally included a special school assembly featuring a musical program arranged by the BYU Program Bureau and Music Depart-

17. “The Place of the Institute in the Church School System,” address of Ernest L. Wilkinson to institute and seminary teachers at a convention held on BYU campus, 20 August 1953, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

18. Ibid.

19. Ernest L. Wilkinson to W. Cleon Skousen, 13 August 1954, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

ment, a speech from one of the University's representatives on the advantages of BYU, and an address from Colonel Jesse Stay of the Air Force ROTC on the ROTC program at BYU. A special ROTC male choir also performed. Copies of *Banyan*, BYU's yearbook, were annually mailed to the secondary schools in Utah and surrounding states to be placed in school libraries for student reference.²⁰

The recruiting office mailed more than 1,300 letters to bishops and branch presidents throughout much of the Church, requesting the names of LDS high school seniors and junior college graduates under their jurisdiction.²¹ In return, the school received information on a large number of college-age Mormon students, many of whom had not chosen a university to attend. Special folders were mailed to these students, explaining the purpose and collegiate offerings of BYU.²² The University provided these students with transportation to and from BYU for campus tours.²³

On other fronts, the better students at LDS Business College were encouraged "to take certain courses that would eventually lead them to come to the BYU to finish a four-year course."²⁴ Seminary teachers were urged to inform BYU of students having unusual ability.²⁵ The University also sent letters about BYU to LDS servicemen and missionaries.²⁶ The LDS Mutual Improvement Association was invited to hold its all-Church basketball tournaments at the University, bringing LDS youth to campus from all over the Church. This invitation enabled around 300 boys and their coaches, families, and friends to see the school and its facilities.²⁷ The Extension

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20. Ernest L. Wilkinson to Wesley P. Lloyd and W. Cleon Skousen, 1 September 1954, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.
 21. BYU Executive Committee Minutes, 29 July 1954.
 22. BYU Presidency Meeting Minutes, 6 September 1955, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.
 23. See BYU Presidency Meeting Minutes, 3 February 1954.
 24. Ernest L. Wilkinson to William F. Edwards, 16 June 1952, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.
 25. Diary of Ernest L. Wilkinson, 16 June 1954.
 26. BYU Presidency Meeting Minutes, 25 October 1954.
 27. Harold Glen Clark to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 2 October 1951, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

Division promised to make greater efforts at Leadership Week to influence the adult membership of the Church to encourage their children to attend BYU.²⁸

Recruiting efforts were even carried on at the annual Hill Cumorah Pageant in New York.²⁹ Harold I. Hansen, professor of speech and dramatic arts at Brigham Young University and general producer of the pageant for many years, told Wilkinson of the favorable influence wielded by the many BYU students who annually volunteered to go east and participate in the pageant. They went in bus loads and spent almost a month working as participants with the full-time missionaries in the area in their efforts to stage the pageant.

Occasional radio and television programs highlighted events at the school, as did many lead stories in local newspapers. This campaign strengthened faculty and student morale. More and more, a feeling developed that the school was destined to grow.

Reaping the Harvest

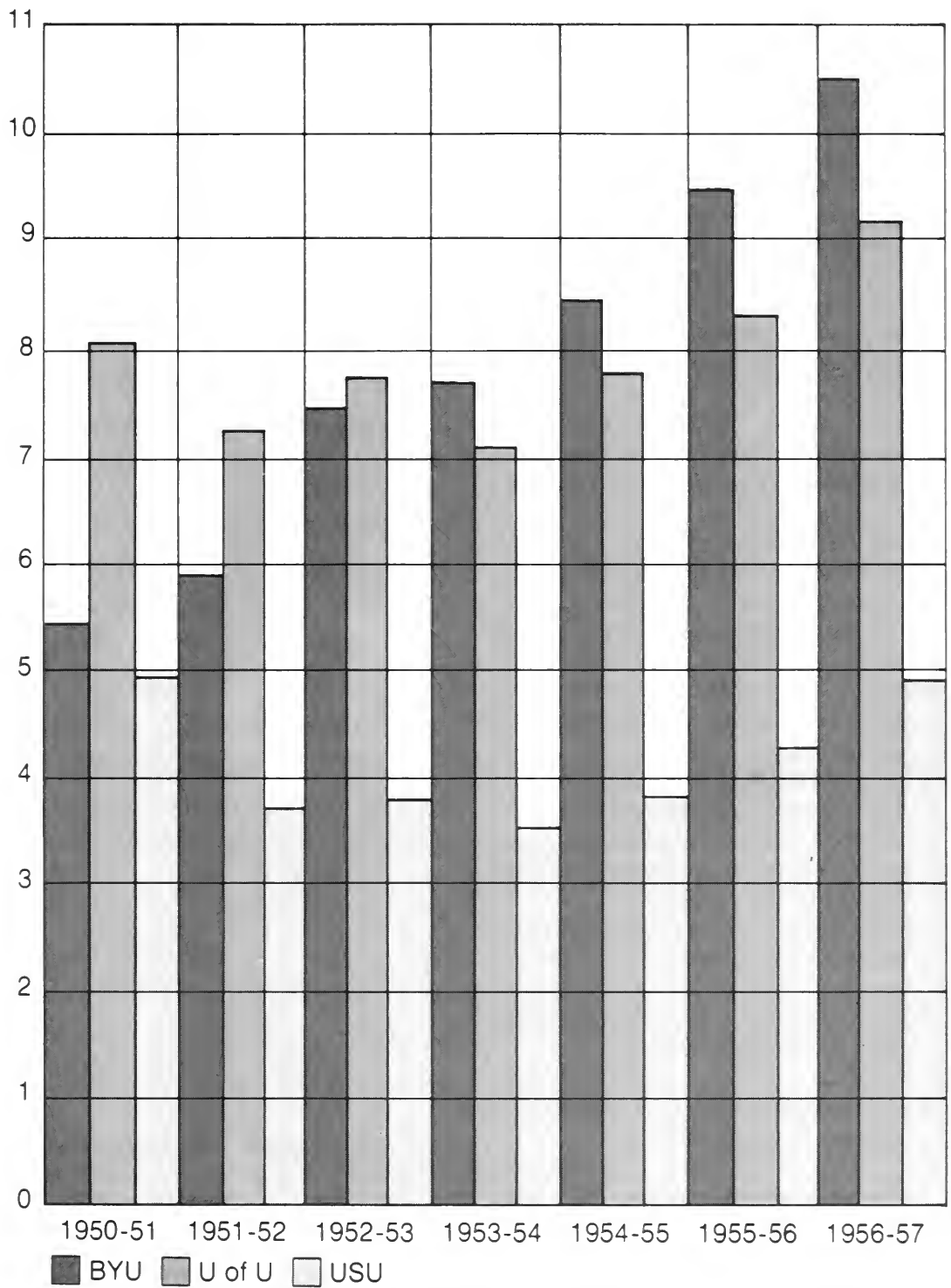
The BYU recruitment campaign was unquestionably successful. Cumulative enrollment (including daytime and evening school students and home study enrollees) increased from 5,429 in 1950-51 to 10,542 in 1956-57. By 1953-54 BYU had more students than the University of Utah and twice as many students as Utah State Agricultural College (*see* accompanying chart). Of greatest gratification to the administration was the increasing number of BYU students from outside Utah County and the State of Utah. Whereas in 1950-51 more than fifty-three percent of BYU students came from the Bee-

28. Ernest L. Wilkinson to the First Presidency, 16 March 1953, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

29. The Church-sponsored Hill Cumorah Pageant is an annual outdoor presentation depicting incidents from the Book of Mormon and early LDS Church history. Begun in 1928, the production is performed on the slopes of the Hill Cumorah where Joseph Smith received the gold plates in 1827 from which the Book of Mormon was translated. The hill is situated in upstate New York, a few miles south of Palmyra and approximately fifty miles southeast of Rochester. The pageant has increased in popularity, with literally hundreds of thousands of spectators attending in recent years.

Comparative Cumulative Enrollment at Brigham Young University, the University of Utah, and Utah State Agricultural College, 1950-51 to 1956-57.

Thousands



Reasons Given by 6325 Students for Attending BYU in Autumn 1952

Reason	Importance of Reason		
	Most Important	Second Most Important	Third Most Important
Because I believe that BYU offers a superior spiritual and religious training.	3,663	992	431
Because I wanted to be with LDS students, friends, or teachers.	976	1,662	1,250
Because I believe that BYU offers superior academic training.	537	1,319	686
Because the geographic location makes it more convenient for me to attend BYU.	366	360	582
Because my parents, relatives, or advisers urged me to come here.	192	338	545
Because I believe that BYU offers superior social opportunities.	117	676	1,038
Because schooling at BYU is cheaper.	80	193	372
Because of athletic opportunity, athletic reputation or athletic activities at BYU.	43	63	139
Because I believe that BYU offers superior marital opportunities.	36	200	318
I came to BYU to prepare for a mission.	24	87	161
Because my chances were better for employment at BYU.	23	53	87
Stake conference visitors helped me to decide to come to BYU.	7	17	63
Because better living accommodations can be secured at BYU.	2	37	75
Because of other reasons.	91	51	155
Students not indicating reasons.	168	273	423

hive State, in 1956-57 only about forty-three percent were Utahns. The California representation almost doubled, from around nine percent to sixteen percent of the student body, evidencing the success of the recruitment efforts on the West Coast. In 1956-57, a total of 237 stakes and forty-two missions of the Church were represented at BYU, as were forty-six of the forty-eight states and twenty-five foreign countries. The University was becoming much more cosmopolitan in its student body and more representative of the entire Church membership.

The percentage of enrollment growth at BYU during the first six years of the Wilkinson era greatly exceeded that of most American schools, even though these were boom years for the nation's colleges. Favorable economic conditions, increased emphasis on trained manpower, educational benefits for veterans, and the growing crop of secondary school graduates in the United States were all important contributing factors to BYU growth, as well as to national growth. Nonetheless, the national growth was mainly confined to public universities, while enrollment at most private and church-related colleges was declining. As the Danforth Foundation explained, "In the 1930s (with annual enrollments of less than 1.5 million students in American higher education) and in the 1940s (with enrollments reaching 2.6 million) the division between the public and private sectors was fairly even. In the 1950s, however, the percentage of the collegiate population enrolled in public institutions rose steadily, and by 1963 the figures were 3,090,578 in public and 1,709,754 in private institutions. In that year the enrollment in Church institutions was 897,016 students or 18.7 percent of the total. The percentages for private higher education as a whole and for Church-related institutions in particular have been declining in recent years."³⁰

Reasons for Attending BYU

The ambitious recruitment campaign by itself did not ex-

30. *Eight Hundred Colleges Face the Future*, pp. 6-7.

plain the phenomenal growth of the school. The LDS Church was growing rapidly, and there was a demand for more extensive Church educational facilities and an atmosphere permeated by LDS Church standards which would serve as a meeting ground for LDS boys and girls. BYU played a large part in filling that need, which was acknowledged by the enthusiastic approval and support of President David O. McKay and the General Authorities.

Late in 1952 the University conducted a survey among its 6,325 students to determine their major reasons for choosing BYU. About fifty-eight percent of the students said they chose the school because they believed it “offered a superior spiritual and religious training.” Fifteen percent reported they “wanted to be with LDS students, friends, or teachers.” Only slightly more than eight percent chose BYU because they believed it offered superior academic training (*see* accompanying chart). These sentiments probably did not change substantially over the next few years. BYU was a Church-sponsored institution that taught the fundamentals of Mormonism. It provided an uplifting wholesome environment for LDS students to find spouses of their own faith. These continued to be the major attractions of the school.

Contemplating Enrollment Ceilings

Sensing the coming surge of enrollment at BYU, the Executive Committee contemplated imposing a ceiling on student enrollment at BYU as early as September 1952. Henry D. Moyle expressed the opinion that the Church could not afford to go along for ten years without determining about how many students would be attending Brigham Young University. He suggested that, in building the University, an enrollment of ten to twelve thousand students might be considered the maximum for the Provo campus. President Wilkinson thought that consideration should be given to opening some junior college branches of the University — probably in Arizona and Southern California.³¹ Three years later, while

31. BYU Executive Committee Minutes, 16 September 1952.

speaking at a Kiwanis Club meeting in Provo, Wilkinson commented that the school could foreseeably attain an enrollment of 16,000 students by 1970, a figure that some deemed excessive to the interests of BYU.³²

Admissions and Tuition

During the first three years of the Wilkinson Administration, Registrar John Hayes, who had been with the school since 1903, was in charge of the Office of Admissions and Records. He was assisted by Lucile Spencer, who had been serving as assistant registrar since 1940, and Orrin H. Jackson, who became the school's first admissions officer in 1949.³³ Hayes, who had a photographic memory and rarely forgot the name of any student, retired in 1955. Bliss Crandall, a professor at Utah State Agricultural College and an acknowledged expert in statistics, was appointed to the newly created position of dean of Admissions and Records. Crandall was responsible for the entire registrar's office, machine accounting office, and admissions and records.³⁴ Orrin Jackson continued as admissions and registration supervisor, while Miss Spencer supervised record keeping and graduation.

In line with the general campaign to enlarge the student body, admissions policies during the early Wilkinson years were essentially the same as those of state institutions in Utah. Until 1954, entrance to the University was granted to students who had graduated from an accredited high school with at least sixteen units of credit, eight of which had to be in such fields as English, mathematics, science, history, and social sciences. It was standard procedure to accept almost every applicant possessing a high school grade point average above C, and those with a C average were accepted on probation. Only those students with high school grade-point averages below 1.5 (between D+ and C-) on a four-point scale were

32. *BYU Universe*, 11 January 1955.

33. Lorna Whiting, "A History of the Division of Admissions and Records," April 1973, pp. 1-3.

34. *BYU Universe*, 17 June 1955.

Tuition and Fees Per Year at Various Western Universities in 1953						
Institution	General Tuition	Student Activity	Other Fees	Total for Resident Students	Nonresident Fees	Total for Nonresident Students
Stanford	\$660	\$	\$	\$660	\$	\$660
University of Southern California	608-640		11-13	619-653		619-653
Denver University	495	24.50	25	544.50		544.50
University of California			90	90	450	540
University of Wyoming			192	192	210	402
University of Colorado	14	14.26	111.74	140	226	366
University of Utah	150	17.65	30	197.65	150	347.65
University of Oregon	30		135	165	180	345
University of Washington	75	25.50	64.50	165	150	315
Westminster College	250	20	36	306		306
University of Idaho	10	32.50	52.50	95	150	245
Utah State Agricultural College	51	12	37	100	105	205
Brigham Young University	75	16.50	68.50	160		160
Saint Mary's of the Wasatch	100	10	30-40	140-150		140-150
Ricks College	75	30	31	136		136

denied admission.³⁵ These liberal entrance requirements gave LDS students from all over the Church a high chance of acceptance at BYU. From the 1951-52 school year through the 1956-57 school year, a total of 18,592 freshmen were accepted at BYU. During this time only 231 students were denied admission, representing an acceptance rate of almost ninety-nine percent.³⁶

The object of the admissions policy was to build the school in terms of enrollment and physical plant first. Wilkinson felt that improvement of academic standards would naturally follow. Admissions requirements were slightly upgraded in 1954, but it was not until 1957 that admission requirements were substantially raised. Tuition rates at BYU during the early 1950s were comparatively low. In the 1950-51 school year, tuition and fees were \$135 per year. As the following list indicates, tuition and fees rose only \$60 over the succeeding five-year period:

School Year	Tuition	Fees	Total
1952-53	\$ 75	\$ 75	\$150
1953-54	75	75	150
1954-55	100	75	175
1955-56	105	75	180
1956-57	135	75	210 ³⁷

A tuition study conducted in 1953 indicated that BYU charged less for tuition than most comparable western universities (*see* accompanying chart). Even state universities and land-grant agricultural colleges generally charged a higher tuition than BYU. Tuition was kept low at BYU by a liberal Church subsidy of the school's operation.

The doubling of school enrollment during these formative years of the Wilkinson period was significant. With keen planning and ambitious effort, BYU was able to greatly amplify enrollment trends that began during the McDonald years.

35. *Seven Year Report of the Brigham Young University*, BYU Archives, p. 146.

36. *Ibid.*

37. William F. Edwards to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 15 March 1956, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.



Ernest L. Wilkinson greeting BYU freshmen at registration in the 1950s.

As enrollment increased, Brigham Young University found it necessary to reorganize and increase its academic offerings, enlarge and improve its faculty, and increase its physical plant.

29

New Horizons of Learning: 1951-1956

Reorganizing the Colleges

Although great strides were made by President McDonald and his associates in the first four postwar years, there remained a host of unresolved problems when Wilkinson arrived on campus. Acting President Jensen, at the suggestion of the Trustees, had properly not sought to resolve any of the major problems. Among these was the need, in the opinion of Wilkinson, to reorganize the colleges. In 1951 the University included the College of Arts and Sciences, College of Applied Science, College of Fine Arts, College of Education, College of Commerce, and the Division of Religion. Some of the colleges, in the tradition of American universities, embraced a number of unrelated departments. For instance, the College of Arts and Sciences included such unrelated departments as Chemistry, Physics, Botany, Zoology, Geology and Geography, English, Journalism, Modern and Classical Languages, Mathematics, History, Political Science, Sociology, Psychology, and Archeology. While the College of Applied Science did not contain as many departments, it nevertheless included the departments of Home Economics, Landscape Architecture, Agronomy, and Animal Husbandry. The College of

Education included the departments of Elementary Education, Educational Administration, Philosophy of Education and Guidance, Physical Education, Library Science, and Intercollegiate and Intramural Sports. The College of Commerce was more unified, consisting of the departments of Accounting and Business Administration, Agricultural Economics, Economics, Finance and Banking, Marketing, and Secretarial Training. The College of Fine Arts included departments of Music, Art, Speech, and Dramatic Arts. Although the Division of Religion did not for a time receive the status of a college, it did contain several homogeneous departments, including the departments of Bible and Modern Scripture, Church History, Church Organization and Administration, Theology and Religious Philosophy, and Archeology.

With such a cumbersome structure, particularly in the College of Arts and Sciences, it soon became apparent that changes were needed in order to realize the academic potential of the University. Therefore, after carefully evaluating the situation, the school administration gained approval from the Board of Trustees to reorganize the academic structure of the University. In 1954 the College of Arts and Sciences and the College of Applied Science were abolished and replaced by newer and more tightly knit colleges, including the College of Biological and Agricultural Sciences, the College of Physical and Engineering Sciences, the College of Family Living, the College of Humanities and Social Sciences, and the College of Physical Education, Recreation, and Health. The School of Nursing, which became the College of Nursing in 1958, was organized, and theological classes became a part of the College of Religious Instruction in 1959. The changes in the 1960s consisted of further dividing the colleges. For instance, the College of Humanities and Social Sciences was split into two separate colleges in 1965. Other colleges were given broader scope; for example, the College of Fine Arts became the College of Fine Arts and Communications in 1963.¹

1. See appendices for charts on the organization of the various colleges.

Academic Improvement

Not since the early 1920s, when Franklin S. Harris became president of BYU, did the time appear as well suited for a rigorous effort to upgrade the University's intellectual climate. While BYU had good teachers and several scholars who published for a national audience, many academic areas lacked the breadth and balance necessary to make BYU a strong school. In 1949 Clyde Sandgren, president of the Alumni Association and later general counsel for the school, articulated the feeling of many alumni that there was a need for more academic emphasis at BYU. He wrote Ernest L. Wilkinson in Washington, D.C., his conviction that "BYU must be expanded to more than a preparatory school before it can provide for our Church members all that might be expected of it."² John A. Widtsoe and other members of the Board of Trustees agreed with Sandgren. Thirteen months before Wilkinson's appointment as president of BYU, Widtsoe told him that increasing the academic stature of the University had been his "dream for many years." He thought the school should first make its students "vigorous Latter-day Saints," but he also felt the University should delve into academic fields with greater depth. Along with others, Widtsoe sensed the difficulty of injecting new academic emphasis into an institution which had become indisposed to do what Widtsoe called "big things." Widtsoe lamented, "All friends of the BYU would like, as you do, to have the institution assume leadership in subjects consonant with the great revealed possessions of the Church. . . . But frankly, I see no immediate hope. Our time is taken up with the consideration of routine matters. They seem to be so pressing that big matters of policy are laid aside."³

Ten months before Wilkinson became president of BYU, A. C. Lambert expressed the feeling of many faculty members

2. Sandgren to Wilkinson, 6 January 1949, Wilkinson Presidential Papers. Sandgren had been ward clerk in the Queens Ward in Flushing, New York, when Wilkinson was bishop of that ward.

3. Widtsoe to Wilkinson, 23 June 1949, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

that BYU needed to improve its academic stature. Writing to Acting President Christen Jensen, he listed four uncertainties at BYU: (1) uncertainty over goals and objectives; (2) uncertainty about future policies and salary programs; (3) uncertainty about a comprehensive building program; (4) uncertainty connected with much needed general reorganization of the University. Complaining about lack of research time and scholarly resources at the University, Lambert concluded he did not “see much daylight ahead at BYU unless there should be a fundamental reorganization.”⁴ Dr. Lambert’s concerns were representative of the apprehension of many faculty members.⁵

The appointment of the new president signified a fresh look at academic life at Brigham Young University. Writing of a telephone conference with John A. Widtsoe on 11 May 1951, Wilkinson recorded that Widtsoe “was very much concerned for fear that I would get bogged down with so many details that I would not have an opportunity to look at some of the larger matters of the Institution.”⁶ At the time the faculty was grappling with the reformulation of a “Statement of Purpose for Brigham Young University,” which originally had been requested by President Howard S. McDonald. Written just before Wilkinson’s appointment, the document stated that “Brigham Young University was founded primarily for the purpose of translating the uplifting truths of the restored Gospel of Jesus Christ into the thoughts and lives of youth, in short to make intelligent and faithful Latter-day Saints of its students.” The report urged that man “must use all possible means of coming to a fuller understanding of truth, not closing his mind to any source,” and proclaimed: “The attainment of joy is contingent upon the discovery of truth and the ability to live in harmony with it. Truth may be found in

4. Lambert to Jensen, 5 September 1950, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

5. At the time of Wilkinson’s appointment Lambert had already left for California to be on the faculty of California State College at Los Angeles, the school over which President McDonald was to preside.

6. “Memorandum of Conversation with John A. Widtsoe about 11 May 1951,” Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

many ways'and many places, including the past experiences of men in the arts, the sciences, and the worthy pursuit of life's necessities. . . . The noblest goals in eternal life may be achieved only . . . [by] acting under a sense of obligation to share with their fellow men their most inspiring vision of life's possibilities." Asserting that "The full and free use of intelligence, the cultivation of an enquiring mind, a deep respect for truth, and willingness to conform one's life to truth are essential to the development of a life of joy," the authors concluded that "the purpose of the University is to establish these and other truths contained in the four standard works of the Church in the thinking of its students, and to build into them the qualities of an education which will enable them to become leaders among their fellows wherever they are."⁷

After receiving President Wilkinson's approval, the statement was sent to members of the Board of Trustees for comment. The various reactions exemplified the problem the school administration was to have in solidifying specific academic goals. John A. Widtsoe exclaimed, "Your proposed statement is excellent."⁸ On the other hand, J. Reuben Clark, Jr., commented, "I do not understand just why you wish to make such a statement, but I feel personally that if you do have to make a statement it should be couched in terms that could be understood by the average man . . . and I think there are statements here that could be wrenched by the 'new thoughters' to mean anything they would want them to mean."⁹

Sacrifices and Salaries

Prior to his arrival in Provo, Wilkinson sent letters in

7. See "Statement of Purpose for Brigham Young University," included with a letter from Ernest L. Wilkinson to J. Reuben Clark, Jr., 27 September 1951, J. Reuben Clark, Jr. Papers, BYU Archives.

8. Widtsoe to Wilkinson, 6 October 1951, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

9. Clark to Wilkinson, 17 October 1951, Wilkinson Presidential Papers. Elder Henry D. Moyle similarly complained that the statement of purpose was over the head of the average reader. See Moyle to Wilkinson, 1 October 1951, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

January 1951 to all faculty members, requesting that they return to him their recommendations on the school's strengths, weaknesses, and needs. Though responses varied, most faculty members were concerned over inadequate salaries and the absence of an equitable salary schedule. Other significant faculty recommendations included the establishment of an ROTC program at the University and the need for more and better research programs, better equipment, and sounder fiscal policies. Many professors noted that student social life was too extensive, that some departments needed to be reorganized, and that the school needed a dean of faculty. Most of these problems represented long-existing concerns.

It was widely recognized that salaries paid by the Church were not competitive with those paid by private industry, nor were they intended to be. While most faculty members faithfully continued in their positions, they found it difficult to make ends meet. When he arrived from New York to assume his duties as dean of the College of Commerce in January 1951 (one month ahead of Wilkinson), Dr. William F. Edwards was disturbed by the inadequacy of salaries. Although it might be desirable for the faculty to make sacrifices, he felt it was unfair to their families to expect them to live on the pay they were receiving. Low salaries created undesirable family tensions which sometimes led to uninspired teaching and inadequately trained students. Dr. Edwards labeled BYU as "nothing more than a high-class junior college."¹⁰ He encouraged President Wilkinson to improve faculty morale by giving priority to increasing faculty salaries.

Letters and comments along the same line were arriving at Wilkinson's law offices in Washington, D.C., before he could move to Provo to take a more direct hand. He immediately set about to inform the Trustees of the unfortunate predicament at Provo. On January 16 he wrote Acting President Christen Jensen,

In view of what seems to be a very rapid rise in living costs,

10. Harvard S. Heath and Richard E. Bennett interview with William F. Edwards, 8 July 1974.

which I fear will inevitably go higher, I am wondering whether the increases which we agreed upon at that time [when Wilkinson was in Utah in October] are sufficient. . . . If no action has been taken on the matter as yet, and you intend to present the matter to the Board of Trustees shortly, I suggest you not hesitate to ask for a little higher increase than we contemplated.¹¹

The "rapid rise in living costs," a product of the Korean Conflict, definitely caused severe hardships on the school's faculty. As one professor wrote,

The cost of living has raised until faculty salaries are no longer adequate to cover the basic costs of living, such as tithing, food, clothing, shelter, etc. This situation is usually met in one of three ways by faculty members: 1. The wife works. 2. Faculty member has a source of inherited income or income from rental. 3. Faculty member has a second nonteaching job, usually in a wholly unrelated field. The defects and inconsistencies of the first two solutions to this problem are obvious. A diametrical division of occupational interests is not conducive to sound scholarship, teaching, or philosophy of life. Nor would it be compatible with my best work at BYU. There is more than enough for a life's work in my chosen field and it is bad that financial strain causes one to deflect one's energies into subsidiary work.¹²

Dr. Wayne B. Hales, a respected and responsible faculty member, wrote,

In order to maintain a quality of personnel in and a quality of performance by the Brigham Young University faculty, its salaries must be comparable with those of other state universities. The overall ten percent differential which expands in many cases to a fifty percent difference through governmental and industrial research subsidies creates a morale among our teaching staff which is nothing less than tragic in its overall reaction on BYU

11. Wilkinson to Jensen, 16 January 1951, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

12. Faculty member to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 17 January 1951, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

spirit and its effective function as a great institution of learning. Competent faculty members are continually leaving our institution to accept positions of lesser rank and opportunity but for markedly higher salaries in high schools, junior colleges, and other universities. I have served on the faculty salary committee for several years and have seen this problem at very close range.¹³

Along with inadequate salaries, the absence of an equitable salary scale perturbed faculty members. "I wish to speak concerning the nonexistence of a definite salary schedule at the Brigham Young University," wrote one faculty member: "If the teacher is capable of good bargaining power and if he knows the school greatly desires his services, he is ahead of the teacher who lacks these abilities to boost his own qualifications, but who is as well qualified in every respect as the first individual. . . . Too much is left to chance and personal items, and it seems a hit or miss situation."¹⁴

Wilkinson's success in improving salaries was one of the signal achievements of his early administration. Although BYU was never able to compete in salaries with many other schools, faculty income rose more rapidly than the cost of living. From 1951 to 1960 the average earnings of deans increased from \$5,980 to \$10,420; the average salaries of professors increased from \$5,130 to \$8,150; associate professors from \$4,240 to \$7,506; assistant professors from \$3,980 to \$6,500; and instructors from \$3,360 to \$5,550.¹⁵ While the cost of living rose 16.5 percent from 1951 to 1960, average faculty salaries at BYU rose 62.4 percent during the same period. These salary increases also included faculty benefits, which ranged from as much as \$1,700 for instructors to \$2,900 for deans, beyond the regular annual salary.¹⁶

13. Hales to Wilkinson, 13 January 1951, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

14. Faculty member to Ernest L. Wilkinson, January 1951, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

15. See charts, book 2, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

16. Wilkinson always maintained that it should not be assumed that the Trustees were insensitive to the needs of the faculty. When the facts were fully presented by President Wilkinson, the Trustees generally approved his recommendations for increases.

There were, of course, always some who felt they were never justly recompensed, but most faculty members were grateful for the increases. One faculty member wrote to Wilkinson in May 1952,

I am aware that the salary increase and the retroactive payment has come about as a direct result of your own personal efforts. Our whole family is certainly appreciative of this generous interest on your part. . . . To indicate how timely and worthwhile the money which has come and continues to come [is], it will provide: . . . A new suit for our son . . . at his graduation — he was not to have one until this came about; A more adaptable adjustment to our monthly contribution to our ward building fund; A better feeling in our tithe payments; and now maybe we can just feel a little more like taking a few days' vacation this summer without scrimping.¹⁷

When internationally recognized Dean Thomas L. Martin received a raise which gave him a salary of more than \$5,000, he went to President Wilkinson's office with tears in his eyes and danced a jig, exclaiming jubilantly that he thought he would never see the day when he would be paid more than \$5,000 at Brigham Young University.

Despite the relatively large increases, there still remained a problem in the area of retention and recruitment of qualified faculty members. A professor of psychology wrote that while his department was treated generously compared with other departments in the university, "We cannot help but appraise our situation in comparison with that of others [psychologists]."¹⁸ He pointed out that many teachers were forced to weigh their loyalty to BYU against the higher salaries they could receive elsewhere. One faculty member wrote Wilkinson,

I enjoy the association and opportunity to instruct the youth of the Church, but at the same time we must be

17. Faculty member to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 28 May 1952, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

18. Faculty member to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 11 May 1955, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

practical. The pay differential of associate professor and professor in comparison to assistant professor and instructor is certainly not adequate, and certainly out of line with other institutions. Likewise, the small increase in salary given for advanced degrees and advance in rank lacks incentive as far as the faculty is concerned. . . . Most of us who could gain more lucrative employment on the outside have remained at the BYU because we have had a desire to be of service to the Church.¹⁹

President Wilkinson continuously worked to improve faculty salaries, but he never did believe in a standardized salary schedule for those of the same academic rank or for those having the same degree. He felt that such a policy gave no encouragement to the best teachers, reducing them to the status of bricklayers who were all supposed to lay a standard number of bricks in a day. He agreed with the viewpoint of Dr. Adam S. Bennion, who commented that some faculty members were worth ten times as much as others, although both realized that, as a practical matter, a salary differential of that kind was out of the question.

Reserve Officer Training Corps

One of the faculty suggestions was that the school should establish some reserve officer units for the United States Air Force, Army, and Navy. Despite warnings from some faculty members that the Trustees would not look with favor on these programs, President Wilkinson asked for permission to apply for charters. Surprisingly to some, the Board of Trustees enthusiastically approved his recommendation. The school immediately applied to the Armed Forces, and an air force unit was established at BYU that very year (1951). The army did not authorize new ROTC units until 1968, when the University was granted a unit. At the time of Wilkinson's resignation he was informed that BYU was at the top of the list of colleges that would receive a naval ROTC unit when new

19. Faculty member to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 7 December 1955, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

ones were authorized. The ROTC program soon became a successful part of BYU's offerings.

College of Commerce

President Wilkinson's first personnel triumph was the engaging of Dr. William F. Edwards as dean of the College of Commerce. A man with "the highest of academic credentials and with prestigious financial experience,"²⁰ Edwards was born in 1906 in Emery, a rural community in eastern Utah. His father having died shortly before his birth, Edwards was forced to make his way independently in the world of higher education and the competitive world of finance. While working his way through BYU, he served as president of his junior and senior classes. In 1928 the University awarded him a B.S. degree in business. On 6 September 1929 he married Catherine Eyring, his senior class vice-president and co-officer. Continuing his education in New York City, Dr. Edwards received an M.S. degree in 1930 and a DCS degree in 1937 from New York University. During his years in New York City he held positions as a member of the research department of the Bank of Manhattan (now Chase Manhattan); as a staff member of Goldman, Sachs, and Company; as a member of a leading New York brokerage and investment firm; as an organizer and research partner of Naess and Thomas, an investment counseling firm; and as vice-president of Hugh W. Long Investment Group. At the time of his appointment at BYU, Edwards had charge of trusts whose portfolio aggregated around \$70,000,000.²¹ He left a salary many times greater than the one he was offered at BYU and the prospect that as senior vice-president of his company he was next in line to become president with a salary of around \$250,000 per year.

BYU was very proud of its new dean. It publicized that there would be "few business schools in the country which will have a dean who has had the broad business experience of Dr.

20. Edward L. Christensen, "College of Business: A Century of Progress at Brigham Young University," 15 September 1973, p. 177.

21. Ibid.

Edwards.”²² When he left the frantic activity of Wall Street for the subdued pace of Provo, Dean Edwards found the College of Commerce housed, for the most part, in the creaking, one-story North Building (on the present site of the Harold B. Lee Library) — a military barracks given to drafts and dust as well as to heat and cold.²³ The college’s physical inadequacies were surpassed only by its academic deficiencies. Of the nineteen faculty members, only three had doctor’s degrees. (There had been other faculty members with doctor’s degrees, but they left the University for higher salaries elsewhere.) Faculty research and publication were negligible inasmuch as teaching loads were eighteen hours a term, not including evening school or extension classes. Accreditation of the college, although discussed from time to time, was never given serious consideration because of these defects in the academic program.²⁴

Dr. Edwards set about restructuring course offerings to emphasize modern business methods that would give each student the skills and knowledge he would need to face the realities of the business world. This involved an expanded curriculum and a commitment to the newly formulated objectives of the college:

The purpose of the College of Commerce is to provide men and women with thought and work habits which will enable them to acquire an economic self-reliance and individual happiness from their life’s work, and to contribute intelligently and efficiently to the stability and abundance of our economy.

In view of the constant and progressive changes that are taking place in our society, routines and procedures of contemporary business are rapidly becoming outdated and are being modified. It is expedient, therefore, that education endow the student with the capacity to make positive and productive adjustments to the dynamic environment of business.²⁵

22. Ibid., p. 178.

23. Ibid., p. 157.

24. Ibid., p. 158.

25. Ibid., p. 160.

In his efforts to upgrade the faculty, Edwards was not able to offer enough money to attract many qualified Latter-day Saint businessmen-scholars from their lucrative positions, but he encouraged many faculty members to go on sabbatical leave to complete their doctoral programs. By 1957 the college had ten faculty members with doctor's degrees. Edwards was so successful at the Y that in 1957 he left to become financial adviser to the First Presidency of the Church.

Poverty of Space and Facilities

The College of Commerce faced problems at the beginning of the Wilkinson Administration that were representative of the troubles of the larger university community. Biological science classes suffered from a lack of adequate housing, equipment, and supplies. The social science professors desperately needed more office and classroom space, while library resources were deficient, particularly in political science and history. The social science departments lacked qualified faculty members to offer courses which would provide students with necessary professional skills. The College of Fine Arts suffered from a lack of space. The Department of Music reported in 1953, "Our greatest weakness is inefficiency resulting from the fact that we are spread all over the campus; that our classes are frequently interrupted because we do not have a place of our own in which to work. We are shifted constantly out of our rehearsal area, in order to accommodate plays and other activities which need the Joseph Smith Auditorium. *What we need most in our department is a new music building in which we can work together and without interruption.*" President Wilkinson found that in some instances musicians were practicing in the outer vestibules of rest rooms. The Music Department also needed a larger faculty: "Our faculty members are almost all overworked to the extent that they do not have sufficient time for adequate study, preparation, or creative work."²⁶

26. "BYU Department of Music Annual Report," 27 June 1953, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

The School of Nursing

The actual genesis of the Brigham Young University School of Nursing predated the Wilkinson years. For some time the Church coordinated a nurses training program with the Latter-day Saints Hospital in Salt Lake City. As national nursing education programs began orienting themselves to a collegiate environment, however, the LDS Hospital found it more convenient to align itself with the University of Utah College of Nursing. It soon became evident to Clarence E. Wonnacott, administrator of LDS Hospital, that the nurses' residence hall in Salt Lake City was inadequate; rather than construct a new building it might be advantageous to center future nursing education at Brigham Young University. In 1949 hospital officials held discussions with President Howard S. McDonald and Dr. Vasco Tanner.

The Church itself reexamined its own health care planning and looked toward BYU for leadership. After preliminary discussions with McDonald and Tanner, the Presiding Bishopric of the Church convened a meeting of interested parties from which the BYU School of Nursing was born. Eleanor C. Sheldon, director of nursing services at LDS Hospital in 1951, wrote that the formulation of a nursing program for BYU "caused great anguish for a faculty member of the LDS division and for quite a number of the University of Utah College of Nursing. I was considered to be the 'traitor' for 'letting this occur.' [However] Dean Quinn . . . understood that it was a church decision, and, therefore, worked with it and helped."²⁷

Brigham Young University administrators made provisions for the School of Nursing to open in the fall of 1952. The Board of Trustees was enthusiastic about the new program and gave the fledgling school a generous budget. The Utah State Board of Nursing granted the school provisional accreditation, and it opened its doors beginning with fall quarter 1952.²⁸

27. See Maurine M. Harris, "History of the College of Nursing," 1 March 1974, BYU Archives, p. 7.

28. For a more extensive discussion of the origin of the College of Nurs-

Vivian Hansen, who had a master's degree in nursing and substantial experience in the field, relinquished a prestigious position in Colorado to accept the deanship of the new college. The wholehearted support of the University and its Board of Trustees, a qualified dean, and a number of eager students augured well for the future of the new program. Even the physical facilities were adequate, which was more than could be said of the condition of other departments and colleges; the School of Nursing was for the time housed in the Eyring Science Center. However, two problems prevented the school from operating as smoothly as anticipated. There was continued resistance from the University of Utah College of Nursing, and it seemed that this sentiment carried over into the State Board of Nursing. The University of Utah contended that the state could not successfully have two nursing schools in such close physical proximity. BYU officials, on the other hand, believed that there were sufficient resources and demand to support two schools. The second problem the new program experienced was with faculty recruitment, which was complicated by the LDS emphasis on the primary role of the woman as a wife and mother. Few qualified Church members were available to join the faculty.²⁹ There were not many qualified nursing educators within the membership of the Church.³⁰

Despite these problems, the launching of the School of Nursing was successful. Dr. Margaret Bridgman, former consultant for the National League of Nursing, assisted in the planning of the new school. She complimented the school on its dean and support from Church and University, commenting:

The University was fortunate in securing the services of Miss Vivian Hansen as director of the new school. . . . As in all collegiate schools of nursing, the chief problem has been that of securing qualified faculty members. The

ing, *see* Harris, "History of the College of Nursing," pp. 1-17.

29. The Board of Trustees had adopted the policy that the school would not hire mothers with small children.

30. Harris, "History of the College of Nursing," pp. 13-14.

extreme shortage of such candidates in nursing, due to the long-continued lack of adequate opportunities for their preparation, creates difficulties which are particularly acute in a church school where special interest and qualifications are needed, as well as those desirable for any member of a university school of nursing faculty.³¹

The School of Nursing had a qualified faculty, but some members of the academic community at BYU initially felt uneasy in accepting the nursing program on academic par with other disciplines. Nursing appeared to be nonacademic, giving rise to the notion that the curriculum of the school was being watered down. This was not peculiar to BYU; nursing programs throughout the country were experiencing similar problems. However, as it became apparent that the School of Nursing was academically respectable, it was soon completely integrated into the University academic program.

Dean Vivian Hansen resigned in 1954, and it became necessary to replace her with a non-LDS dean. Although this recourse was not welcomed by the school's Board of Trustees, the shortage of qualified nurses made it necessary to fill many faculty positions with nonmembers.³² Since the days of President Cluff, nonmember faculty had from time to time been employed, and only in a few cases had they proved unsatisfactory. In the case of the School of Nursing, the arrangement worked out well.

Some humorous situations arose as non-Mormon nursing faculty members faced the Mormon atmosphere of the University. Ruth Bloom, who helped with the psychiatric part of the nursing program, always found it amusing to be labeled by her students and colleagues as a "gentile" when she in fact was Jewish. Martha Jenny, who assumed the primary responsibility in public health nursing, reflected on her contact with Mormon culture:

31. Ibid., p. 15.

32. By 1956 the School of Nursing employed twenty faculty members. Of these twenty only six had obtained master's degrees, and these six were all nonmembers.

I came to BYU with the understanding that this would be a one-year appointment, which was what I particularly wanted. I stayed twelve years, telling myself each year this would be the last. I've always liked adventures and coming to BYU was probably the greatest. Being non-Mormon and coming to a completely different and, what seemed to me, almost an unreal situation was both fascinating and disquieting. . . . I was thrilled with the assemblies and especially appreciated the Devotional programs where I learned more about the Mormon religion. One thing troubled me, though. I did not know many of the hymns, and everyone sang heartily without a hymn book. When I mentioned my dilemma at lunch one day, Stella Rich . . . said "We must have a hymn sing for Miss Jenny." In a short time I was invited to her home with a number of charming BYU women. Naomi Rich Earl . . . brought an old hymn book, and together the group checked hymns that were most often used. I spent a number of evenings copying those hymns on 3 x 5 cards which I carried in my purse regularly. At the beginning of devotional assemblies I took the appropriate card out and with surreptitious glances at it could sing lustily with the others.³³

Some of the nonmember faculty were saddened when it came time to leave. As Martha Jenny stated, "I resigned from the Y reluctantly when I realized there were enough prepared Mormon faculty to carry the program. I still miss Provo, my friends, and the ever-present mountains."³⁴

Builders of Industry

In 1951 the administration began investigating the desirability of including engineering in the curriculum. As had been the case in other newly created disciplines, President Wilkinson sought counsel on this subject. Dr. Nephi A. Christensen, a graduate of BYU who was director of the School of Civil

33. Harris, "History of the College of Nursing," pp. 35-36.

34. Ibid., p. 36.

Engineering at Cornell University, wrote him in November 1951,

I agree with you that the BYU is now large enough to almost require that engineering be taught. . . . Three curricula should be offered to start with: Civil, Mechanical, and Electrical Engineering. Accreditation by [the] Engineers Council for Professional Development is absolutely necessary. Their policy is not to accredit until graduates have been produced. If you start engineering, be prepared to treat it like a favored child, at least until graduates have been produced and accreditation has been achieved.³⁵

When Wilkinson proposed the establishment of an engineering science course the Board of Trustees was sensitive about venturing into this area. One reason was the high projected cost of equipping a department with the necessary facilities. There was also the fear that once engineering courses were established they might expand beyond the intentions of the Board. Some members of the Board opposed BYU becoming involved at all in the engineering field as a matter of principle. Elder Joseph F. Merrill, formerly dean of the School of Engineering at the University of Utah, was the strongest opponent of the proposed program. Dr. Merrill felt that the establishment of an engineering program would soon lead to the establishment of graduate courses in the discipline, and this he strongly opposed because of the cost. He asked rhetorically, "How much can the Church afford?"³⁶ Elder Merrill remembered his experience as Church commissioner of education during the bleak days of the Depression. Nevertheless, over the sincere protests of Dr. Merrill, the Board approved President Wilkinson's proposal to establish an Engineering Science Department with the stipulation that it not pursue research but teach elementary engineering principles. Under no circumstances was the appellation of School

35. Christensen to Wilkinson, 27 November 1951, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

36. Merrill to Wilkinson, 14 November 1951, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

of Engineering to be attached to the department. The rationale of the new engineering science courses was that those fundamentally trained in theory and principle could afterward learn the techniques of engineering, but without this solid background they would never become top engineers.

The greatest boon to the new department was the return in 1952 of Dr. Harvey Fletcher, who had resigned from the faculty during the Brimhall Administration to pursue a career in research with Bell Telephone Laboratories. With such a figure involved in the engineering program, the Board of Trustees was more willing to allow the new department to grow. To compensate for curriculum deficiencies, BYU entered into a five-year agreement with Columbia University. Under this plan a student entering Brigham Young University and following a course of study as outlined by both schools might transfer to the Columbia School of Engineering at the end of three years and, after successfully meeting the graduation requirements of both institutions, be granted the appropriate bachelor's degree from each. The Columbia School of Engineering agreed to accept any student recommended for transfer by Brigham Young University under this plan.³⁷

Such a program, coupled with the completion of an engineering building, enabled the department to grow substantially. By 1956 the Board of Trustees authorized the creation of three new departments, breaking the Engineering Department into the departments of Civil Engineering Science, Electrical Engineering Science, and Mechanical Engineering Science. Although a School of Engineering was still to be avoided and graduate work in engineering was not permitted, the engineering sciences underwent extraordinary growth and maturation in the ensuing decade.

Teachers of Men

Some of the biggest academic changes during the early

37. J. R. Dunning, dean of the School of Engineering of Columbia University, to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 2 April 1952, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

Wilkinson years occurred within the College of Education. Even before the new president arrived at Provo, he heard that there were problems in this important college. Teacher training courses had been the academic mainstay of the school since Maeser's time and had always played a significant role in the school's development. In fact, it was largely because of the University's College of Education that it had survived several challenges to its existence. The desire of certain members of the Board of Trustees to keep BYU primarily a normal school contributed even more to the preeminent position the College of Education had acquired by 1951.

Soon after his appointment President Wilkinson wrote Franklin S. Harris of his understanding that one of the real problems he would inevitably meet was the "fundamental dispute between the College of Education and other colleges on the campus." Having grown rapidly under the administration of President McDonald, the College of Education had "drawn students to itself away from other colleges, has pretty much alienated cooperation, and has antagonized the rest of the institution."³⁸ Dr. Harris replied that the difficulty was a universal one, not limited to BYU. "In large universities like Columbia," he wrote, "the question is resolved by having a complete curriculum of academic subjects independent of the rest of the University." Part of the difficulty, he said, arose from the fact that so many deans of education strove "to ape the larger universities." "I agree with you," wrote Harris, "that it is a mistake to make 'subject matter' departments less important than 'methods' departments. After all, the 'subject matter' is the real strength of a college, and it should certainly have all possible support. At the same time, where teachers are being trained, they are entitled to learn the 'tools of the trade.'"³⁹

At bottom, there were four major criticisms of the College of Education. First, some observers believed the college was dominating the University's curriculum. Second, many ob-

38. Wilkinson to Harris, 23 October 1950, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

39. Harris to Wilkinson, 31 October 1950, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

jected to the college's desire that all students who planned to enter teaching select education as a major in preference to subject matter areas. Third, many felt that the placement bureau for teachers should operate independently of the College of Education. And fourth, faculty members objected to the College of Education's insistence that the graduate school should not encroach upon the graduate program of the College of Education. The spokesman for the advocates of the college's philosophy was Dean Reuben Law, and the main opponent was Dr. Asahel Woodruff. As Dean Law expressed it, the debates between the two factions resulted in an academic "cold war" on campus.⁴⁰

An administrative survey committee compiled an extensive report on the strengths and weaknesses of the college. The committee recommended that new faculty members should be selected by existing faculty members and administrators instead of administrators alone. The committee also felt that "Measures should be taken to restrict the extensive inbreeding in the College of Education staff. Inasmuch as this is the only university under the control of the LDS Church, it is natural to expect that more of the faculty would be the product of this institution than of any other university, but there seems to be no reason for seventy percent of the staff coming from one school." The committee thought inbreeding resulted in bias and restricted outlook. Another problem was a teaching load which left little or no time for thoughtful reading and research. According to the report, the lack of faculty research was proving injurious to a good graduate program because faculty who did not research and publish could not effectively "supervise productive original work in a graduate program."⁴¹

40. President Wilkinson was particularly influenced by a letter from Dr. A. C. Lambert, who had been on the faculty of the College of Education, who challenged the apparent feeling on the part of some members of the College of Education that they had a "monopoly of insight into the total educative process and into the techniques of actual instruction" (Lambert to Wilkinson, 12 November 1950, Wilkinson Presidential Papers).

41. Leon Windsor et al., "Recommendations of Survey Committee,"

The committee recommended more selectivity in recruitment and a stricter grading system to upgrade the student body. Incoming graduate students in education apparently scored lower on entrance examinations than other graduate students, and, since eighty-five percent of all education graduate students received their undergraduate training at Brigham Young University, the problem would tend to perpetuate itself unless changes were immediately inaugurated to discourage unqualified students. The committee also recommended that the areas of recreation, health, physical education, and athletics be immediately removed from the College of Education. The committee felt that separation would allow these appendages the opportunity of becoming bona fide disciplines in their own right. Other shortcomings pointed out by the committee included inadequate library resources and lack of tenure, which, of course, were not confined to this college.

President Wilkinson and his associates accepted many of the recommendations, especially those dealing with college reorganization. When the colleges were realigned in 1954, the Department of Physical Education, Health, and Recreation was separated from the College of Education to form a new college. The administration also concluded that the College of Education should not have a monopoly on the training of teachers. Rather, students should be trained primarily by their major departments and should take only methods courses in the College of Education. About this time Dean Law was appointed president of the Church College of Hawaii, and President Wilkinson appointed Dr. Asahel Woodruff as acting dean. Dr. Woodruff, then on leave of absence in Washington, D.C., held views on "the education controversy" which were close to those of the president.⁴² Woodruff returned to Provo, where he combined the existing seven departments into four. Teacher preparation was no longer the exclusive responsibility of the College of Educa-

1953, Wilkinson Presidential Papers, pp. 42-44.

42. Wilkinson to Woodruff, 4 August 1954, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

tion; each department was expected to train its own teaching majors in the substance of the disciplines.

A 1955 report of the reorganization claimed favorable results from the new approaches. Revision of curriculum, addition of faculty, better and more effective utilization of the laboratory school, along with the preparation for a doctoral program, all spoke well for the new College of Education. Wilkinson's own appraisal of the change was contained in a letter he wrote a few years later to John Fitzpatrick, publisher of the *Salt Lake Tribune*:

We initiated a program of providing that students could qualify for teaching in any of the ten colleges of the University, provided they took certain basic courses in the College of Education. The result has been a revelation to all of us. The College of Education is now accepted on this campus as being on a par academically with any of the other colleges.

The result also is that instead of our training 1,700 students for teachers, as was the case in 1955-56, this last year we were training 3,400 students for teachers, and I am sure they will be much better teachers.⁴³

First in Family Living

Encouraged by Mrs. John A. Widtsoe, who had been a home economics professor at BYU and Utah State Agricultural College, President Wilkinson began a campaign early in his administration to develop a College of Family Living — quite possibly the first of its kind in the United States.⁴⁴ The

43. Wilkinson to Fitzpatrick, 2 August 1958, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

44. Wilkinson avidly supported family studies. On 3 July 1952 the *BYU Universe* reported that Wilkinson "recently became a solid supporter, financially speaking, for one of his school's greatest opponents, the University of Utah. . . . President Wilkinson presented a personal check for \$1,000 to aid in building construction at Utah. The donation was specifically intended to aid in completion of the Home Economics Practice House on the Ute campus. In making the donation, Dr. Wilkinson emphasized the importance of maintaining a wholesome family life and the need for greater emphasis on the art of homemaking in all levels of the educational program."

college would include all the traditional subjects taught in home economics schools, such as nutrition, foods, clothing, and home management, along with other subjects such as child psychology, nursing, and related disciplines. "If we launched out boldly with a separate college of that kind," he wrote Mrs. Widtsoe, "it would catch the imagination of our people and also of the girls of our student body and . . . we could have the greatest home living center in the world. . . . We should have the greatest authorities in home living in the world on our campus."⁴⁵

In November 1951 Wilkinson presented to the Deans' Council statistics which indicated that at Brigham Young University there were already 2,000 LDS girls, as compared with a combined total of less than 1,700 at the University of Utah and Utah State Agricultural College. Because of this concentration of young LDS women at BYU, the Deans' Council, and later the Board of Trustees, readily approved Wilkinson's idea for the new college.⁴⁶

In selecting a woman to serve as first dean of the College of Family Living, the president asked Dr. Virginia Cutler, a faculty member at the University of Utah. Dr. Cutler responded, "It would be a privilege to be a part of this great development, but some problems really loom up." She wanted the University of Utah to feel right about the transfer. She was also aware that a BYU campus committee had indicated they preferred a man for the job.⁴⁷

Upon the presentation of Dr. Cutler's name to the Trustees, the Board instructed Dr. Adam S. Bennion, formerly a professor at the University of Utah, to accompany President Wilkinson to the office of President A. Ray Olpin of the University of Utah to obtain his reaction. Dr. Olpin vigorously objected to Dr. Cutler leaving the University of Utah. Wilkinson reported the substance of his conference with Olpin to President McKay and again expressed his reasons for desiring

45. Ernest L. Wilkinson to Leah Widtsoe, 28 January 1952, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

46. BYU Board Minutes, 14 March 1952.

47. Cutler to Wilkinson, 2 January 1952, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

to persuade Dr. Cutler to transfer to BYU:

Despite the fact at the present time we have two and one-half times as many girls as the University of Utah, nevertheless our Home Economics staff is the weakest Home Economics faculty in the State. . . . In the past, both the University of Utah and the USAC, by offering larger salaries and more tempting positions, have taken a number of members of our faculty. . . . Now, however, that the Brigham Young University has become the largest school in the state, it is only to be expected that some faculty members from the other institutions will ultimately desire to come to the BYU.⁴⁸

President McKay spoke by telephone with President Olpin who explained that President Wilkinson's proposal was "like a stick of dynamite" because the Home Economics House at the University of Utah had just been built with Dr. Cutler in mind, and Sterling W. Sill of the Board of Regents had contacted 800 people to raise money for the building. President McKay made it clear to Dr. Olpin that "there is no desire on the part of the Board to influence her [Dr. Cutler] in the least. . . . There is no coercion whatever from a religious standpoint — it is left entirely with her."⁴⁹ In this difficult situation Dr. Cutler chose for the time being to remain at the University of Utah. However, she expressed willingness to do all she could to support the new college, and she gave constructive advice for its improvement. Years later, after some time at the University of Utah and a long tour of voluntary duty for the United States Government in Thailand, Dr. Cutler came to BYU as dean of the College of Family Living.

In the meantime Royden Braithwaite, who was in charge of a number of academic areas at BYU, was asked to assume the deanship temporarily.⁵⁰ The final selection of a dean for the college was facilitated by the suggestion of Dr. Leon D. Windsor, dean of the School of Education at Cornell University,

48. Wilkinson to McKay, 7 March 1953, David O. McKay Papers.

49. Diary of David O. McKay, 9 March 1953.

50. "Progress Report of Royden Braithwaite to Harvey L. Taylor," 24 April 1954, files of Dr. Marion C. Pfund, UA 309, BYU Archives.

who had taught with President Wilkinson at Weber Junior College. He suggested the name of Dr. Marion Pfund, a member of the Cornell college faculty of some twenty-five years. President Wilkinson promptly invited Dr. Pfund to BYU for an interview in May 1954. He was impressed with her credentials. She had her doctorate from Yale and was fascinated by the potential of the family living program and the active interest of the LDS people in family relationships. Dr. Pfund was also intrigued by the novelty of having a man and a woman serve as codeans of the new college, as was suggested to her by President Wilkinson. Dr. Pfund readily accepted President Wilkinson's offer, and he appointed her codean with Dr. Royden Braithwaite, professor of psychology.

Members of the new team complemented one another well. Dr. Pfund brought years of academic experience to her new position, while Dr. Braithwaite offered his enthusiasm and administrative talents to launch the college confidently on its way. The college was initially lodged in the Education and Art buildings on lower campus. Although the buildings were inconvenient and unsuited for the new college's specific needs, the codeans and their small, dedicated staff did not become discouraged because they knew a building for their college was already in the planning stages. After brainstorming sessions with the faculty, college administrators laid down what they considered to be the college's basic objectives: "The program of the College of Family Living is designed to provide experiences which will help young men and women: (1) Understand themselves and their abilities, (2) establish attractive and happy homes in which primary consideration is given to the enrichment and strengthening of family life, (3) accept the responsibilities of family members as citizens and members of the community, [and] (4) earn a living in a profession related to homes and families."⁵¹

Unfortunately for the college, the University soon lost the services of Dr. Braithwaite, who accepted the position as di-

51. Virginia Poulson, "History of the College of Family Living," BYU Archives, p. 70.

rector (equivalent to president) of the College of Southern Utah (now Southern Utah State College) in Cedar City in December 1954. Dr. Pfund was appointed dean of the college, which was divided into the following six departments:

Clothing and Textiles with Eleanor Jorgensen as acting chairman.

Economics and Management of the Home with Beth Hinman as chairman.

Food and Nutrition with Marion Bennion as chairman.

Homemaking Education with Virginia Poulson as chairman.

Housing and Design with Beth Hinman as chairman.

Human Development and Family Relationships with Blaine Porter as chairman.⁵²

The completion of the first and second set of student residence buildings named Heritage Halls (twenty-four buildings in all) further assisted the growing college. These buildings, with the advice and help of Dr. Virginia Cutler, had been designed by Fred Markham, architect, as housekeeping apartments for college girls (*see* chapter 30). Each building contained from ten to twelve apartments, each apartment housing six girls. Altogether they provided housing for 1,548 girls and were extremely utilitarian and popular.⁵³ This housing complex enabled its residents to implement the theories they learned in the classroom. To inspire resident girls to make greater homemaking achievements, each residence hall was named in honor of a great LDS homemaker-mother (*see* appendices for biographical sketches of these women).

Along with the practical experience of living in Heritage Halls and with the help of Dean Pfund and Dr. Blaine Porter, arrangements were made for carefully screened students to attend the famous Merrill-Palmer School in Detroit, Michigan, for a quarter and receive full credit from BYU for their work. This proved beneficial, for the students were thus

52. Ibid., pp. 72-75.

53. A number of other universities asked for copies of the architectural plans for similar buildings, while some thought their girls were too sophisticated to cook their own meals.

able to attend certain courses which at that time were not offered at BYU.

The new college improved dramatically during its early years of operation. Dr. Pfund functioned as dean until she felt she had fulfilled her goals. She then resigned to make room for Dr. Virginia Cutler, who had completed her tour of duty in Thailand. As the college acquired new facilities and attracted prestigious faculty members, it became recognized as one of the leading centers for family research in the United States. Dr. Blaine Porter, the present dean (1975), served as president of the National Council on Family Relations during 1963-64 and has been chairman of that council's Committee on Family Life Education since 1965. Other members of the faculty have been prominent in national organizations. J. Joel Moss has been secretary of the National Council on Family Relations; Eleanor Jorgensen has been on the National Steering Committee for the Association of College Professors of Textiles and Clothing; Marion Bennion has been on the Defense Advisory Committee on Women in the Services; and five other faculty members have been either treasurers or section chairmen of national organizations in their respective disciplines.

Tillers of the Soil

Even before the realignment of the colleges, Wilkinson and his associates desired to strengthen the agricultural work of the University. Having been raised in a rural environment, having once been general counsel for the National Council of Farmer Cooperatives, and having done some legal work for the American Farm Bureau, Wilkinson was particularly interested in agriculture.⁵⁴ To him, farming and education were the most important secular activities of man.

Until 1954 the Animal Husbandry and Agronomy depart-

54. Editor's Note: All his life Wilkinson professed he wanted to live on a farm and engage in "truck gardening," but his wife never took him seriously and insisted that all he wanted to be was a "gentleman farmer."

ments were part of the College of Applied Science. Agriculture courses had not grown like other courses for thirty years, although the courses offered were excellent. The one exception to this was in the early days of the Brimhall Administration when John A. Widtsoe came to BYU from a position at Utah State Agricultural College. After one year of successful work at BYU, Widtsoe was recalled to Logan to take a more important position than the one he left. Lack of resources had always precluded a large expenditure of funds to modernize or expand BYU's agricultural program. Nevertheless, Wilkinson thought the Church University should do what it could to train students to become good farmers and to alleviate the world's food shortage. There was a little administrative instability at the outset which was not advantageous for the growth of the agricultural work, but Wilkinson persisted in his plans to work toward the establishment of a College of Agriculture.

Before the University could begin more extensive work in agronomy and animal husbandry, Wilkinson had to get permission from the Board of Trustees, and this was difficult because of the lack of an agricultural tradition at the University. He also needed to recruit a dean with credentials and a working knowledge of the needs and problems of the new college. The first hurdle was overcome by indicating to the Board that the establishment of a College of Agriculture would not be a threat to Utah State Agricultural College because over half of the students at BYU in agricultural sciences came from outside Utah. The second obstacle was more difficult. For some time President Wilkinson had been seeking the services of Dr. Clarence Cottam, a prestigious graduate of Brigham Young University who was affiliated with the U.S. Department of Agriculture, acting as assistant director of the Fish and Wildlife Service. In addition to his administrative experience, Cottam had a good background in agriculture. As early as 1952 Wilkinson attempted without success to lure him to the proposed deanship.⁵⁵

55. Ernest L. Wilkinson to Harvey L. Taylor, 7 July 1953, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

When the College of Biological and Agricultural Sciences was formed during the campus-wide reorganization of colleges in 1954, President Wilkinson announced that Dr. Clarence Cottam would be the first dean. Unfortunately for the school, Dean Cottam remained only a year, resigning to accept the directorship of the Welder Wildlife Refuge in Sinton, Texas. Cottam left Provo because the new college did not fulfill his expectations. He told Wilkinson, "I would be less than honest if I did not express the personal view that I know of no university that is doing less with its opportunities in agriculture and biology."⁵⁶ Cottam concluded with an urgent plea that buildings, equipment, and services needed immediate improvement. Dr. Cottam was succeeded by Dr. Rudger Walker of Utah State Agricultural College. Under his leadership conditions in the College of Biological and Agricultural Sciences did improve, and it soon took its place beside the School of Nursing and the College of Family Living as an expanding and productive college.

Graduate School

Strikingly similar to but more serious than the problems encountered in instituting courses in engineering were the problems of extending the scope of the work of the Graduate School. According to Dr. George H. Hansen, a past dean, when Wilkinson arrived the BYU graduate school "had just been teetering along."⁵⁷ Although the graduate program was authorized in 1916, it was very slow in developing. During the 1952-53 school year only forty-three students graduated with master's degrees. Almost a third of these graduates were in education, and the rest were spread among eighteen other departments. Twenty-one of the University's departments awarded no advanced degrees at all that year.⁵⁸ There were several reasons for this situation, the main one being the lack

56. Cottam to Wilkinson, 21 June 1955, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

57. Harvard S. Heath interview with George H. Hansen, 8 July 1974.

58. Christen Jensen to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 13 June 1953, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

of emphasis given graduate programs by the Board of Trustees. There had been a lack of funds, and some thought there was a lack of qualified faculty as well. Some Board members opposed the University doing graduate work in any secular field; they believed a graduate program was justifiable only for the Division of Religion.

In 1951 the Board of Trustees authorized the establishment of a doctoral program in religious education, but Joseph Merrill was quick to point out that probably no member of the Board "had in mind that this meant the BYU had received blanket authority to enter the broad secular field of graduate and research work. I think it as true today as when I became commissioner that Church finances cannot and should not support such work. Let our aim be to give opportunities for systematic weekday religious education in so far as feasible."⁵⁹ As late as 1956 President J. Reuben Clark, Jr., also expressed his uneasiness about extensive graduate work at BYU:

I am not at all concerned with the relative fewness of our attendance at the Y who are graduate students. . . . I have a feeling that the mission of the Brigham Young University is not to make Ph.D.'s or M.A.'s but to distribute among as wide a number as possible the ordinary collegiate work leading to bachelor's degrees and to instill into the students a knowledge of the Gospel and the testimony of its truthfulness. I can appreciate, in part at least, the anxiety of some of your professors — I would better say faculty — and perhaps your own anxiety not to be outdone in any particular by any of the competing institutions of this State, but I hope you can bring this anxiety down to a reasonable proportion and examine with great care the ultimate purpose of your existence as defined by Brigham Young and as redefined from time to time by the leaders since his day.⁶⁰

With these feelings on the part of influential members of

59. Merrill to Wilkinson, 5 July 1951, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

60. Clark to Wilkinson, 17 November 1956, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

the Board of Trustees, Wilkinson realized that before the Graduate School could make real progress, it needed a stronger faculty. In a perspicacious letter to President Wilkinson, Christen Jensen pointed out that the Graduate School's growth

has been rather slow when compared with the growth of some other graduate schools. Most of the efforts of faculty members during this period have been devoted to the instruction of undergraduate students. . . . We have done little in the way of attracting graduate students to our campus . . .

Another factor which in the past has militated against the faster growth of our graduate school has been the feeling that our graduate faculty has been lacking in scholarship. . . . Exclusive of ROTC officers and special teachers, I find that our entire faculty can be classified as follows: 28 percent hold the doctor's degree, 43 percent have a master's degree, 24 percent have only a bachelor's degree, and less than three percent are holders of the CPA or the LL.B. degrees. . . . Not only should faculty members attain as high a scholastic degree as possible, but they should also realize that they must be engaged in continuous study and research in order to keep up-to-date in their fields of work.

Dr. Jensen saw that the University needed greater library resources for graduate students, and he also felt there was no

genuine academic atmosphere upon our campus. I believe that we are over socialized. There are so many parties, dances, elections, queen contests, athletic events, social units and club functions that I sometimes wonder how our students find time to accomplish the fundamental purposes for which they came to this institution. . . . A more scholarly atmosphere would help to improve the intellectual objective of the university.⁶¹

Many of the faculty concurred with Jensen's evaluation of the Graduate School. Following Dr. Jensen's advice, Wilkin-

61. Jensen to Wilkinson, 7 January 1953, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

son inaugurated a policy prodding members of the faculty to obtain their terminal degrees at prestigious universities. As faculty qualifications increased, he worked with the faculty and with the Board of Trustees to increase graduate offerings and to initiate doctoral programs.

Faculty Recruitment

With the extraordinary growth of BYU from 1951 to 1956 and the reorganization of the colleges, faculty recruitment fell behind. It became increasingly difficult to find qualified LDS scholars and to lure them away from more lucrative positions. In 1951 Wilkinson asked the Deans' Council, in recommending people to be added to the faculty, to check the scholarship and, as far as possible, the Church training and faithfulness of prospective teachers.⁶² A Deans' Council committee compiled a booklet of LDS scholars at universities throughout the country which was kept up-to-date and republished every three years during the Wilkinson Administration. This booklet listed all LDS scholars alphabetically, geographically, and according to their disciplines. The latest edition contained approximately 5,000 names.

The administration was equally concerned with improvement of the present faculty. Wilkinson told the Deans' Council in May 1952 that he preferred faculty members seeking Ph.D. degrees to go out of state to acquire them: "We must get faculty members from a number of institutions in order to have a well-balanced educational offering."⁶³ With improved salaries and more reasonable teaching loads, the number of faculty members with doctor's degrees rose rapidly from 1951 to 1956.

Actual faculty recruiting usually followed a standard procedure. When an administrator or faculty member heard of an outstanding prospect, the name was turned over to the dean for a preliminary investigation, after which President Wilkinson completed the screening process. Although

62. Deans' Council Minutes, 7 May 1951.

63. Ibid., 22 May 1952.

academic qualifications varied according to individual circumstances, the president sought teachers with competence in their disciplines, usually accompanied by a doctor's degree. He investigated the applicant's activity in the Church and adherence to its principles. He also wanted professors with good teaching ability. President McKay and the Board of Trustees left most of this screening to the administration; few of the recommendations were disapproved. Subsequent interviews conducted by members of the Board of Trustees were mainly concerned with the prospective teacher's moral character and his adherence to the standards and practices of the Church.

Though some exceptions were made, the Board of Trustees discouraged administrators from recruiting faculty members from the teaching forces of Utah State Agricultural College and the University of Utah.⁶⁴ The Board of Trustees suggested that, in order to find suitable staff without taking faculty members from Utah institutions, members of the Quorum of the Twelve should be asked to report likely persons they met or heard of as they made their weekly visits to stakes and missions throughout the Church.⁶⁵

By 1955 faculty numbers and faculty qualifications had improved substantially. Seventy-one professors held doctorate degrees from twenty-seven different universities. Nine faculty members held doctorates from Stanford; eight from the University of California at Berkeley; seven from the University of Chicago; and six from University of Wisconsin. The statistics were not so impressive for those holding master's degrees. Of the one hundred professors with master's degrees, sixty had received them from Brigham Young University. Only a few held degrees from academically prestigious universities. Fifty of the seventy-one teachers holding

64. BYU Board Minutes, 10 January 1952.

65. BYU Executive Committee Minutes, 12 June 1952. The Board later liberalized its rule and permitted the recruiting of professors from other universities in Utah, but the Board insisted that before doing so Wilkinson consult with the respective presidents of those institutions.

bachelor's degrees received them from BYU.⁶⁶ As years passed, academic inbreeding became less of a problem at BYU.

Faculty-Administration Relations

Relations between the faculty and the administration were sometimes strained because of misunderstandings and misjudged motives. Wilkinson always viewed himself as an agent of the Board of Trustees,⁶⁷ while many professors on campus were accustomed to the faculty-oriented presidencies of Harris and McDonald. This is not to say that these two presidents did not have their problems in dealing with faculty members, but difficulties in getting to see President Wilkinson whenever they wanted to made some of the faculty feel that he was indifferent to them. There were many reasons for this apparent indifference. In attempting to realize the goals he had projected for the future growth of BYU, President Wilkinson felt he must concentrate his efforts on working with the Board of Trustees and establishing necessary ties outside the University community. He did not feel he had time to meet personally with faculty members whenever they had individual problems. Claiming that there were only twenty-four hours in a day, Wilkinson believed that faculty problems should be channeled through the deans and other university personnel unless they were of a serious nature.

As early as November 1951 Dean Asahel Woodruff of the Graduate School, one of the most outspoken men on campus, told Wilkinson he felt the faculty was being neglected. Out of what was probably an extreme situation, he wrote,

For some ten days I have been trying to reach you on the phone or by appointment, without success. Your sec-

66. See "Origin of Degrees Held by Members of BYU Faculty," November 1955, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

67. Editor's Note: Despite this feeling on Wilkinson's part, he listened to proposals of deans and faculty members, many of which were put into effect and accounted in large part for the success of his administration.



Ernest L. Wilkinson (lower right of photo) presiding over a faculty meeting in the conference room of the Maeser Building in the 1950s.

retaries are unwilling to interrupt you when we call, so we cannot find out where we stand. The secretary put me down for an appointment Tuesday morning, but when I reported for it I discovered that you were not in and could not be disturbed. The secretary had been too busy to notify me in advance and save that interruption of my program. I wonder if you realize to what extent this has developed into a reputation. There is scarcely a day someone on the campus does not comment on it in my hearing, including deans and department heads. . . . One other related feeling is also very prevalent now, namely that there is no time to discuss matters when a contact is made with you. The visitor finds himself outside before he has been able to complete his errand. We get the impression you cannot take time to get to the bottom of things, and that many of our problems are not important enough to receive much time, or that you have made up your mind about some matters before we feel they have been fully aired.

Dean Woodruff was aware of President Wilkinson's busy schedule, but he suggested the president could find more time for faculty problems if he appointed "some central administrators who have real delegated authority and responsibility." Woodruff continued,

You are rightly engrossed in relations with the Board, public relations, finance, and increased plant and student body. . . . You will undoubtedly always need to give all of your energy to such matters. Let me say, however, that in the long run the contribution any university makes to society depends mostly on the freedom of action given the faculty in academic matters, and the maintenance of circumstances which coax the highest type of creativeness and productivity out of all the faculty members. . . . The real soul of a university grows up from the faculty.⁶⁸

Woodruff and other faculty members had hoped for a strengthening of ties with the school's administration. With

68. Woodruff to Wilkinson, 14 November 1951, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

the country's involvement in World War II, the subsequent problems of educating the flood of returning GIs under President McDonald, and then Acting President Christen Jensen's caretaker administration, many looked to the Wilkinson Administration as a time for bringing the University back to even keel academically. Faculty members were anxious to play a significant part in reorganizing and restructuring the University. The faculty were aware that ultimate sovereignty lay with the Board of Trustees, which looked to the president of the University for guidance, but many, and most particularly Dean Asahel Woodruff, thought the president should, in turn, delegate more administrative authority.

In the beginning Wilkinson did delegate certain matters to faculty members, but he felt the results were unsatisfactory. He attributed this to the fact that, although the Trustees generally acted unanimously, there was often, at the beginning of the discussion of any problem, a variety of views which should be taken into consideration in the execution of any decision; since these views were confidential, they could not be disclosed to faculty members. Like Harris, he reserved for himself the determination of overall policy questions, but unlike Harris, he never had the time to fraternize with the faculty. Consequently, the problem of faculty-administration rapport perpetuated itself. Many nostalgically, and possibly unrealistically, remembered what they referred to as the golden age of faculty-administration relations. George H. Hansen, now professor emeritus of geology, remembered that President Harris occasionally walked into his (Hansen's) classes unannounced and listened to the lectures, remaining after class to give encouragement and direction. Many felt President Wilkinson should imitate his predecessors, but the schedule he imposed on himself, and the growth of the school generally, prevented him from taking a personal approach to faculty relations. Others felt that Wilkinson was condescending in his dealings with the faculty. At times Wilkinson said the faculty had not been exposed to enough of the everyday realities of life. Many teachers received the impression that Wilkinson did not view their profession as requiring the same

effort, nor the same understanding of the American social and economic system, as some others.⁶⁹

There were problems, but open hostility never characterized faculty-administration relationships during the Wilkinson years. Faculty members appreciated the salary increases, modern physical facilities, and the increased prestige that Wilkinson brought to the University, but still there was incessant clamor for better appreciation of the faculty role and particularly for greater faculty participation in administrative matters. Dr. Harvey L. Taylor perceptively assessed faculty-administration relationships in a memo to President Wilkinson written in August 1956:

Faculty members have brought to me problems of all types and kinds. I have done a fair job of keeping a record of their complaints, dissatisfactions, and recommendations. . . . The chief areas of complaint are these:

1. The faculty would like to be able to set up some kind of an organization with authority to pass on certain issues which they feel are well within its jurisdiction. Some of these have to do with curriculum, problems pertaining to faculty welfare such as promotion in rank, salaries, and an opportunity to make recommendations . . .
2. In the area of communication, most of the faculty feels that it needs to be closer to the administrative setups of the University. In other words, it wants to be "in on things," not particularly to determine overall basic University policy, but it wants to feel that it has the confidence of the Presidency.
3. The third area . . . would be the appointment of an educational vice-president or a Dean of the Faculty, who would work with the Presidency and the faculty on problems peculiar to the academic program of the school.⁷⁰

The president did, with the approval of the Board, appoint an academic vice-president, but the establishment of a faculty

69. See Ernest L. Wilkinson, "Motivating Forces Which Are Lacking in the Profession of Teaching," 22 August 1958 commencement address, BYU Archives.

70. Taylor to Wilkinson, 7 August 1956, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

senate, which the faculty wanted, was frowned upon by both the administration and the Board of Trustees.

The Accreditation of 1956

Within two years after the reorganization of the colleges, the entire University underwent an evaluation by the Northwest Association of Secondary and Higher Schools. For some time this association had been accrediting Brigham Young University and had fully approved the school in 1952. As early as 1954 President Wilkinson had begun to prepare for the Accreditation Committee by organizing a committee to prepare a self-evaluation report. The two-volume report was a 500-page comprehensive evaluation of every aspect of the school. The first volume discussed objectives, finance, physical plant, materials and equipment, curriculum, admissions, administration, and students, while the second volume included a detailed discussion of each college and a list of the strengths, weaknesses, needs, and projected growth of every department in the University. These reports were lauded by the Accreditation Committee and were instrumental in assisting them to reach their conclusions about the University.

In general, the Accreditation Committee report complimented the University on the quality and training of the faculty, along with their enthusiasm and dedication. It reported that the students appeared to be of high quality and their morale excellent. Problems throughout the University included heavy teaching loads, low salaries, a certain amount of inbreeding, inadequate library resources, and a lack of adequate physical plant and research facilities.

The committee thought the instruction on the undergraduate level in the College of Agricultural and Biological Sciences was excellent, but they discouraged the implementation of a graduate program until additional graduate staff and facilities were available. While evaluating the College of Fine Arts, a member of the Accreditation Committee attended rehearsals of several choral groups and found their work to be of superior quality, but thought that because of religious education requirements, another year should be required to

obtain a bachelor of music degree. In the College of Commerce, the committee noted not only the deficiencies apparent throughout the University, but claimed that “academic freedom does not appear to exist 100 percent in the field of economics. Capitalism and the free enterprise philosophy appear to be given strong preference at the administrative level.”⁷¹ In appraising the College of Education, the Accreditation Committee commended its creativity and imagination, along with general faculty and student morale, which appeared to be “definitely above average for the typical institution of higher education.”⁷² The shortcomings were the extensive inbreeding and high percentage of personnel holding only a bachelor’s degree. The committee recommended against doctoral work until adequate corrections could be made in “library facilities, curriculum laboratory facilities, professional courses, faculty members in specialized fields, and professional and academic standards.”⁷³ The observers were impressed with the quality of the engineering faculty.

The Accreditation Committee was also favorably impressed with the goals, philosophy, curriculum, faculty, physical plant, and students in the College of Family Living. The College of Humanities and Social Sciences was singled out as exemplifying the problems faced by the University. The committee was also critical of journalism for the same reasons, but commented that, despite the problems, “The department appears to be achieving its objective of preparing people for the journalistic fields.”⁷⁴ Because the School of Nursing was only four years old, the Accreditation Committee did not feel it should be evaluated, but was pleased with its prospects.

Even considering some serious handicaps, the evaluators considered the physical sciences and mathematics to be two of the stronger academic areas at BYU. The academic prepara-

71. Northwest Association of Secondary and Higher Schools, “Reevaluation Report on Brigham Young University, November 1956,” BYU Archives, p. 30.

72. *Ibid.*, p. 38.

73. *Ibid.*, p. 42.

74. *Ibid.*, p. 72.

tion of the senior staff was "excellent — much better than would be expected in a university which has developed so recently as BYU. Although most of them [faculty members] are BYU alumni, and some have two degrees from this school, there is an excellent spread of representation among schools in which they received the doctorate." The only major undesirable condition was the shortage of competent instructors. Too many unqualified graduate assistants were teaching classes that needed the attention of senior faculty members. The faculty-student ratio was one to 137 in chemistry; 152 in physics; 131 in geology; and 370 in mathematics.⁷⁵

The committee commended the faculty of archeology, geography, political science, psychology, and sociology for their excellence in scholarship, cooperation, and stimulating students. There was an ideal faculty-student relationship in these departments which allowed "close and personal faculty attention."⁷⁶

The Graduate School evaluation focused on the doctoral program that was under consideration. The committee felt the master's program was "carried on with relatively high standards . . . as is often the case in an institution which does not carry on a doctoral program." The committee felt that only a few departments were ready to pursue a doctoral program; namely, the departments of Chemistry, Physics, Geology, Botany, Zoology, and History. But the committee particularly emphasized that, in all areas of graduate work, the library lacked "holdings of a research nature," teaching loads needed to be reduced to support a doctoral program, and salaries would "certainly have to be raised substantially . . . if good quality staff is to be attracted and retained." The committee contended "that BYU should not undertake work at the doctoral level unless it is willing to pay the price. Advanced graduate education does not come cheap. It is likely that as much time, effort, and money will be spent on ten doctoral students as on two hundred under-

75. Ibid., pp. 80-82.

76. Ibid., p. 84.

graduates. But the program is worth it in terms of the quality of staff which can be attracted and retained in no other way."⁷⁷

Summarizing its observations about the whole institution, the Accreditation Committee reported that

The most outstanding single fact about the Brigham Young University is that its enrollment has been approximately tripled in the past ten years, making it now the second largest institution in the area served by the Northwest Association of Secondary and Higher Schools. The manifold problems resulting from this phenomenal growth — a growth which, apparently, has been more or less sought by the administration and by the LDS Church — have in general been vigorously attacked, particularly since President Ernest L. Wilkinson took office in 1951. Yet it is apparent that what is needed most now by the University is a period of relative calm for several years during which it may assimilate this tremendous growth, and consolidate its gains, particularly in relation to physical plant, administrative and faculty organization, faculty salary structure and personnel policies.⁷⁸

The observers concluded, "It is the unanimous recommendation of the evaluating committee that the overall accreditation of the Brigham Young University be continued for a period . . . not to exceed five years from this date."⁷⁹

For most of those associated with the school's preparation for the Accreditation Committee's visit, the evaluation merely corroborated the conclusions that University officials had already drawn. While the administration thought that the appraisals in certain areas were very tolerant and overly severe in others, it recognized that this was due to the inevitably differing standards of judgment of the members of any accreditation committee as they surveyed their respective areas. The administration felt that the report, on the whole, was fair and helpful. It agreed that efforts must be redoubled to

77. Ibid., pp. 60-61.

78. Ibid., p. 5.

79. Ibid., p. 92.



David O. McKay greeting students after
a devotional address at BYU.

overcome the academic deficiencies of the school, and the accreditation report would serve as a guideline to begin tackling these problems. In the short six years of President Wilkinson's administration, academic growth had paralleled the growth of other University areas. Observers were astounded that so much could be done so rapidly. Administrators knew they would have to work hard to overcome the problems noted by the Accreditation Committee, but they were willing to make the sacrifices necessary to provide quality educational opportunities for an ever-increasing number of LDS students.

30

Bricks and Mortar, Accomplishments and Frustrations: 1951-1956

Perhaps no development attracted greater interest and contributed more to Brigham Young University's sense of permanency than the amazing campus construction that transformed the entire physical plant of the school into the campus of a modern university. While a university is much more than bricks and mortar, the growth of the physical plant during the early Wilkinson years symbolized the Church's commitment to make BYU a great school.

Flashback

At the time of Wilkinson's appointment in 1951 there were 720,000 gross square feet of buildings sparsely scattered over twenty-eight acres on upper campus, including the Maeser Memorial Building, the Grant Library, the Brimhall Building, the Joseph Smith Building, and the new physical sciences building, dedicated on 17 October 1950.¹ The George Albert Smith Fieldhouse was authorized by the Board of Trustees in 1945, but construction did not begin until the spring of 1950.

1. Sam Brewster in "Inside the Wilkinson Era," 25 May 1971, BYU Archives, p. 11.



Aerial view of upper campus in
August 1952.

With \$500,000 in Church appropriations and an equal amount from local businesses, townspeople, and Church members, the fieldhouse was finally completed at a cost of more than one million dollars and dedicated in December 1951. Used for commencement exercises in June 1951, the new building occupied a site west of the brow of Temple Hill and immediately south of the old football stadium. The physical science facility, named after Carl F. Eyring, and the George Albert Smith Fieldhouse were indications that the Board recognized the need for greater physical development before Wilkinson became president. The lower campus block contained the Education Building, College Hall, the Training School, and the Art Building. Across University Avenue to the west was the Women's Gymnasium, and across Fifth North to the south was the small Industrial Arts Building.

Besides these academic structures, there were some physical plant facilities and inadequate student housing accommodations. Housing for women included Knight Mangum Hall, which housed 340 girls, and Amanda Knight Hall on Eighth North and University Avenue, which housed 140. Men's residences consisted of Allen Hall on Seventh North and First East, which housed 110, and seven units of Wymount Village, a complex of twenty-six two-story barracks buildings which had been obtained from the Federal Government's Ogden Arsenal soon after the close of World War II. These seven units accommodated 350 male students.² Individual residences called co-op houses, purchased from local citizens, housed 111 students, mostly women. Wymount Village served as the home for some 200 married students and their families. Because the school faced increasing enrollment, University-sponsored student housing was much in need of expansion. Although in 1946 and 1948 some efforts had been made to develop a master plan for campus development, and two new buildings had been erected in 1951, there was no coordinated, budgeted, wide-range program for campus growth.

2. Ephraim Hatch, "A History of the Brigham Young University Campus and the Department of Physical Plant," BYU Archives, V:11.

Nor was the 1951 campus a model of effective landscaping, partly because sufficient funds had not been budgeted for its care. Faculty member Weldon J. Taylor wrote President Wilkinson,

There is absolutely no precedent in the Latter-day Saints Church or in the Universities of America for the groundskeeping demonstrated on our campus. We have numerous visitors from California and Arizona, and they invariably express disappointment in the appearance of the campus. The upper campus dorm [Knight Mangum Hall], at the entrance of the grounds, has been completed for several years, and yet the landscaping, which appears to have been done in a piecemeal half-hearted manner, has never been cared for. . . . I could mention the trash pile in the heart of the campus, the failure to plant lawns around temporary buildings, and many other evidences of failure to provide an atmosphere of beauty and order.³

Two of Wilkinson's goals as he assumed the presidency were to increase the size of the physical plant and to beautify the campus.

Early Projects

Under Wilkinson's direction, building programs for academic purposes and for student housing were immediately considered. On 28 June 1951 the Board of Trustees authorized the organization of a College of Family Living and gave its approval for the drawing of preliminary plans for a new building. On 8 November 1951, one month after his inauguration, President Wilkinson presented an early building program to the Deans' Council. The proposal consisted of projects "considered to be of major importance," specifically:

1. Family Institute Building (already authorized as a home for the College of Family Living)
2. Student Union Building
3. Dormitory Construction⁴

3. Weldon J. Taylor to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 19 January 1951, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

4. BYU Deans' Council Minutes, 8 November 1951.

On 14 November 1953 the Trustees approved plans calling for a building with 150,000 square feet of floor space for the College of Family Living. Projected to cost almost \$2,500,000, construction was begun early in 1953 but was postponed until “an overall plan for the orderly placement of all future buildings on the campus” could be formulated.⁵

A student union building or student commons had been considered for years. Because of the urgent need of additional space for other departments, however, plans for the proposed student union were expanded to include provisions for a bookstore, the Extension Division, audio-visual aids, the Employment Service, student body offices, and one or more of the school newspapers in one building.⁶ The clamor for more student housing facilities to accommodate the ever-growing student body helped to induce an expansion in student housing construction. Naturally, the faculty lobbied for many other badly needed facilities, such as a much larger library, a larger, more modern education building, much more classroom space, and a fine arts building. However, members of the University community recognized that it was financially impossible to transform completely the appearance of the campus overnight. Before any large-scale development could be expected, a master plan needed to be devised. R. B. O'Connor, an expert in this field associated with Stanford University, explained why a master plan is so necessary for university development:

It does, it is true, tend to minimize interferences and backtreading, which means worthwhile economy and efficiency in the long run. But the more impelling reason is that the physical surroundings in which we live and work, and I hope dream, influence us in myriad ways beyond our knowing. As Sir Winston Churchill said in a famous speech on the reconstruction of the House of Commons

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5. Ernest L. Wilkinson, “Memorandum in Support of Cutting Down on the Size of the Authorized Family Living Center and Also Building a Classroom Building Containing Offices for Faculty Members,” 25 June 1953, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.
 6. Ernest L. Wilkinson, “Future Building Plans of the University,” 19 March 1952, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

during the War, "We shape our buildings but they in turn shape us."

Just as in teaching, where the character and integrity of the teacher is more pervasive and endures long after anything he says, so the subconscious influences of beauty and order, of harmony and serenity, of light and shade, and perhaps of unselfconscious surprise, cling in the memory of those who pass to and fro during the four years of undergraduate life and somehow give them the conviction that those qualities are normative even in the uncharted reaches of a new and puzzling technological civilization.⁷

The master plan for BYU campus development had to take into account the projected growth in student enrollment. It also had to devise the most efficient way to use available space. At a Deans' Council meeting in the spring of 1952, President Wilkinson was given a consensus that the school would have at least 10,000 students by 1962. School administrators saw good reasons for limiting enrollment to 12,000 students. Rather than make BYU too big, most of the deans agreed with the administration that it would be preferable to have branches of Brigham Young University built in various parts of the Church to accommodate the accelerating demands on Church educational facilities, thereby making Brigham Young University with its branches "the largest university in the world."⁸ Thus, the campus plan was designed for a maximum enrollment of 12,000 students.

There were basically two options for campus expansion. The unofficial 1946 and 1948 campus plans called for growth along the brow of Temple Hill and then south toward lower campus. But, with the construction of the Eyring Science Center and the erection of the temporary North Building for use of the College of Commerce on the present site of the Harold B. Lee Library, a northeastward movement of the

7. R. B. O'Connor, "Trends in College Architecture," *College and University Business* 22 (May 1957):44.

8. Ernest L. Wilkinson, "Future Building Plans of the University," 19 March 1952.

center of campus away from the Maeser-Brimhall-Grant complex gradually developed.

Before finalization of the master plan, and because of the pressing need for a larger bookstore and student offices, the school received authorization to construct a new service building in 1952. Fred L. Markham, who had played a significant part in campus construction since 1939, drew up the plans. The new building was originally contemplated as a wing of the student union building which had originally been planned for the hillside directly south of the Joseph Smith Building.⁹ Due to the cost of purchasing developed properties south of the hill, and since the center of campus activity was moving northward and eastward toward the new science building, it was decided to place the bookstore just east of the physical sciences building.

Because the bookstore was built a year before campus planning was formulated, its construction was not synchronized with other campus development. Construction began on the bookstore, or, as it was officially called, the student service center, in July 1952. Dedicated in March of the following year, the L-shaped one-story structure, together with basement, covered 30,000 square feet. In harmony with the Joseph Smith Building, the Eyring Science Center, and the George Albert Smith Fieldhouse, the student service center was finished in golden buff brick and white stone. Cost of construction and furnishings amounted to \$430,000, of which \$175,000 was financed by bookstore profits, \$150,000 from a Church loan to be paid back from bookstore profits over the next five years, and the balance from a Church capital project appropriation.¹⁰

The relatively small amount of appropriated Church funds was one of the important reasons the Board readily agreed to support the project. The building was later named after

9. "Unit to Be Wing of Student Union Building," *BYU Universe*, 27 March 1952.

10. Ernest L. Wilkinson to the First Presidency, 22 May 1953, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.



Harold B. Lee of the Quorum of the
Twelve Apostles speaking at the
dedication of the Herald R. Clark
Building.



Herald R. Clark Building, constructed just east of the Eyring Science Center and dedicated in March 1953.

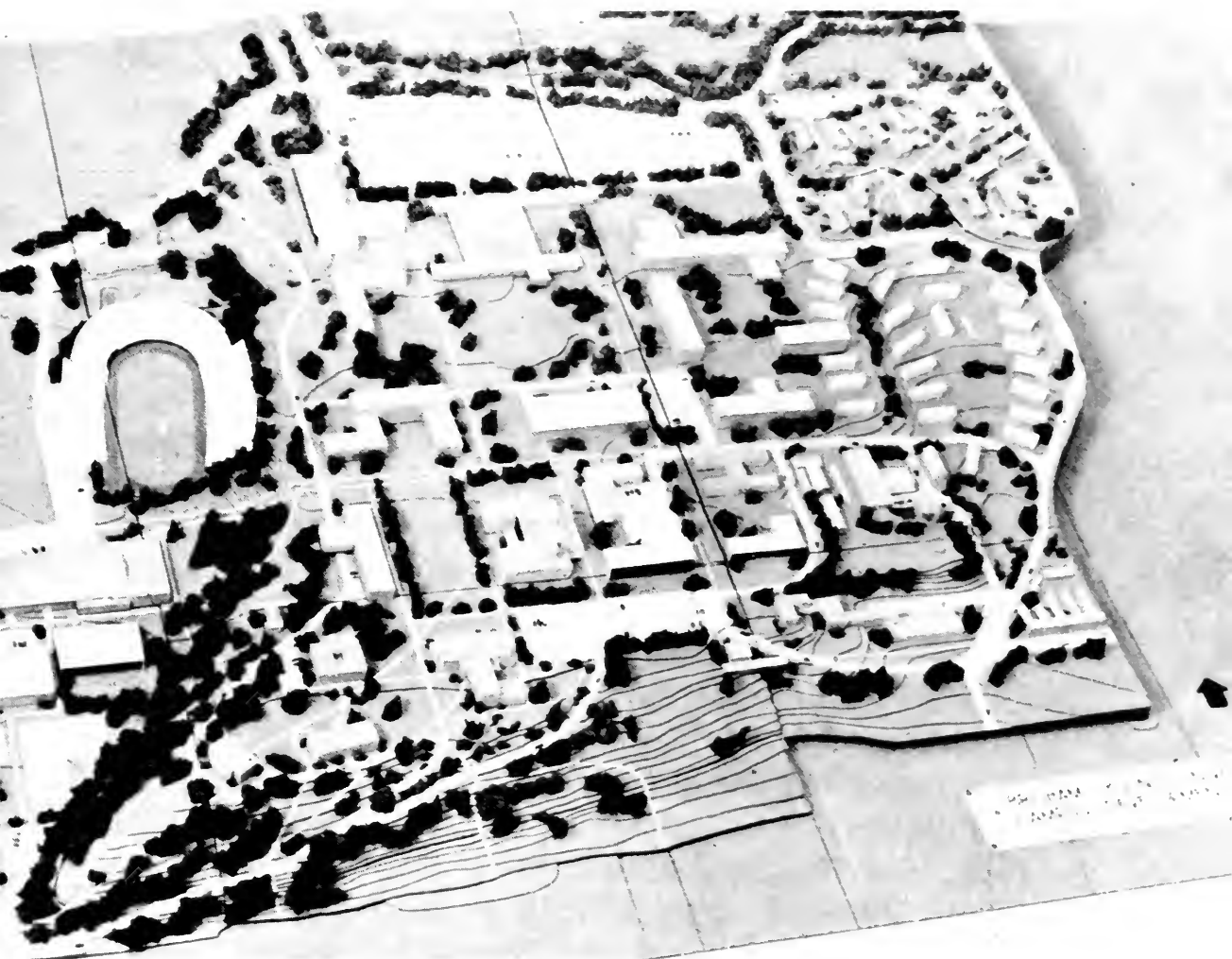
Herald R. Clark, a beloved faculty member who for many years had served as director of the bookstore, dean of the College of Commerce, and director of lyceums at BYU. At the dedication services for the bookstore, Elder Harold B. Lee of the Quorum of the Twelve, with obvious optimism, declared, "This building is just the first link in a chain of buildings that will be built on the campus in the next few years. These new buildings and the increased effort to furnish them with the proper instructors will make BYU the greatest university in the world."¹¹ After the BYU bookstore moved to the Ernest L. Wilkinson Center in 1965, the Herald R. Clark Building housed educational media facilities and the Division of Continuing Education.

Adoption of the Master Plan

By mid-1952 the creation of a master plan for campus development was absolutely essential. The building of the student service center on a debated site was a powerful catalyst in spawning the plan.¹² Furthermore, properties near the school were gradually being purchased by private interests, and unless the school moved quickly, the purchase price for many lots would become prohibitive. The plan was also urgently needed in order to (1) set new buildings in their proper place in relation to the whole campus plan; (2) establish adequate access roads, campus roadways, walks and parking areas; and (3) incorporate newly acquired property into the campus master plan. The survey, projected to cost \$14,050, was approved by the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees on 16 April 1953. Ben E. Lewis, who joined the BYU staff in March 1952 and who possessed a multiplicity of administrative talents, was one of the principal supporters of the plan. One of his major responsibilities as associate treasurer was to supervise building construction and campus development. George H. Smeath, Salt Lake City and County planning director, served as chairman of the planning com-

11. "Church Section," *Deseret News*, 28 March 1953.

12. Richard E. Bennett interview of Ben E. Lewis, 1 July 1974.



Model of the 1953 plan for campus development which was approved by the Board of Trustees and which served as a guide for campus expansion during the Wilkinson years.

mittee. Along with Ben E. Lewis, other committee members included William Wurster, dean of the College of Architecture and Planning at the University of California; architect Fred L. Markham of Provo; Leland M. Perry, superintendent of buildings and grounds at BYU; and Wesley P. Lloyd, dean of students.¹³

The planning committee produced a "Master Campus Development Plan" (*see* accompanying model). As Markham recalled, "Bill Wurster made three visits to the campus, spending about two days each time, and then we would absorb his ideas and put them into another scheme for him."¹⁴ On 26 June 1953 a scale model of the proposed campus layout was presented to and approved by the Board of Trustees. The minutes of the meeting recorded that the area known as University Hill should be devoted to academic buildings, the area west of the hill to athletic and recreation facilities, and the area north and west of the hill to men's dormitories. It was further recommended that the academic area on University Hill be served by a major heavy traffic periphery road with a large student parking lot at the north end of the academic area and a smaller faculty parking area south of the academic area and east of the Joseph Smith Building. The committee further recommended that the entrance to campus from the west on Twelfth North Street should be developed as the main campus entrance, but that entrances from the northeast and the southeast should be constructed. The committee also recommended retention of the original entrance from the southwest.¹⁵ It was also agreed that all future academic buildings would be of a permanent rather than of a temporary nature. This policy called for the removal of existing temporary buildings when construction of replacements began. Buildings were to be spaced across campus to take full advantage of the scenic view of the Wasatch Mountains and Utah Valley without destroying functional relationships between

13. Hatch, "A History of the BYU Campus," VI:36.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 41.

15. BYU Board Minutes, 26 June 1953.

departments. The design and color of the buildings were to harmonize with one another and with the natural surroundings.¹⁶

The major aspects of the master plan were followed throughout the course of the Wilkinson Administration. The plan took advantage of much undeveloped acreage on Temple Hill which had been purchased through the foresight of Franklin S. Harris, rather than calling for expensive outlays to purchase improved property south of the hill. It allowed for systematized growth and expansion, located the school permanently on the hill, and called for a centralized campus development in which BYU could become a community within a community, an advantage which many urban American universities could not claim.

Acquisition of Additional Land

While the master plan was being developed, the school administration was making painstaking preparations to persuade the Board of Trustees to recognize the need for large financial appropriations to permit widespread expansion and development of the University's physical plant. Until that time the school had grown piecemeal, generally with funds appropriated for one building at a time. But Wilkinson envisioned the construction of many buildings at once and the simultaneous purchase of additional property. During 1952 and 1953 a great many properties adjacent to campus were purchased with appropriations from the Church. In the process of persuading the Board of the need for so much additional property, Wilkinson brought expert real estate men in to make studies and recommendations. Chairman Joseph Fielding Smith and Harold B. Lee of the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees were also assigned to study the property question and make recommendations to the First Presidency. Not only did they receive counsel from the school's administration and real estate experts, but they per-

16. "Overall Campus Plan," June 1953, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

sonally visited the campus and examined property around the school. At the time, the school was being criticized for being expansionistic by some local residents who lived near the campus. Ben E. Lewis recalled that Harold B. Lee told Joseph Fielding Smith and himself, "There are those who feel if we buy these properties, we'll never use them but are land-grabbers. Others say that if we don't, we're shortsighted. When the history of this school is written, I would rather go down as a land-grabber."¹⁷

As a result of their studies, Chairman Joseph Fielding Smith and the other members of the Executive Committee unanimously recommended that the Church immediately appropriate "\$500,000 for the acquisition of property around the Brigham Young University."¹⁸ The Executive Committee's recommendation enabled BYU to acquire undeveloped land for the expansion of the University. The Board of Trustees approved the Executive Committee's recommendation on 22 August 1952. The \$500,000 appropriation was used to purchase the Ekins, Phillips, Smeath, Patton, and Isaacson properties, along with other smaller parcels of land.¹⁹ The Isaacson property, a fifty-acre tract southwest of the present site of the Provo Temple, was an especially important acquisition.

Obtaining Appropriations for Expansion

With the green light for land acquisition, the BYU administration successfully approached the Board to obtain money for building construction. The recruiting program was producing a consistent increase in enrollment, property was being purchased in large sections, and the Church was probably in a better financial position than ever before to expand its educational system. President David O. McKay recognized and supported the school's thrust for expansion.

Wilkinson discussed in great detail the needs of the campus

17. Richard E. Bennett interview of Ben E. Lewis, 1 July 1974.

18. BYU Executive Committee Minutes, 11 August 1952.

19. "Real Estate Purchases as of 10 August 1953," Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

and his plans for the future of Brigham Young University at a Board meeting in May 1953. At the end of his presentation Wilkinson requested an appropriation of \$10,000,000, half of which would be spent on student housing and the other half of which would go toward the construction of academic and service buildings, including a family living center, an administration building, an engineering building, a health center, a greenhouse, and a warehouse. The plan called for the largest single university building program in the history of Utah to that time. It would increase the academic floor space of the University by fifty percent and the student housing capacity by nearly one hundred percent.²⁰

After careful deliberation, the Board unanimously approved Wilkinson's proposal. Following the meeting President J. Reuben Clark remarked that he could remember when President Franklin S. Harris had said that "if the Church would just appropriate \$200,000 for the entire annual expenses of the University, he would not ask for another cent." President McKay then spoke up, saying that he remembered the time that "George Brimhall said if they just appropriated \$100,000 he would not ask for another cent."²¹ Wilkinson decided right then that he would make no similar statement during his administration. The stage was set for the most dramatic period of expansion in the history of the University.

The Student Housing Boom

A careful study early in the Wilkinson years indicated that student housing needs were most critical. As of September 1951 the school had accommodations for only 709 women, 350 men, and 200 married students, for a total of 1,259 of the 5,957 students enrolled for the 1951-52 school year.²² Appli-

20. "Wilkinson Plans Reveal Seven New Buildings," *BYU Universe*, 28 May 1953.

21. Ernest L. Wilkinson to Richard E. Bennett, 15 June 1974, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

22. "Memo on Student Housing," 26 September 1951, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

cations for student housing numbered 2,000, and only “by an intensive door-to-door canvass of Provo homes” were enough places located to accommodate the overflow.²³ There was little doubt in the minds of BYU leaders that the scarcity of proper housing facilities was one predominant reason why many parents were not sending their children, especially their daughters, to Provo. Dean William F. Edwards of the College of Commerce calculated that the most advantageous building program, particularly for girls, would be to construct house-keeping apartments for six girls, each apartment to consist of three bedrooms, a living room, a kitchen, and a bath. In that way the six girls would be able to cook for themselves, which would represent substantial savings for their parents.²⁴

Housing for Single Girls

The idea of building apartments with cooking facilities, thus giving female students practical homemaking experience while they increased their academic understanding, was appealing. Dr. Virginia Cutler, who was in charge of home economics at the University of Utah, provided valuable suggestions for the construction of these units.

Before approaching the Church for funds, the University considered other methods of financing the initial phase of the project which was to provide living space for 1,200 girls. Treasurer Kiefer Sauls proposed that each stake in the Church should build one apartment for six students at an approximate cost of \$15,000, the apartment to be named after the stake and students from that stake to have priority in living there. Using this method, the new housing units would be paid for at the outset, and the proceeds from renting the units could be used for further building construction.²⁵ Wilkinson presented the idea to the Board of Trustees in January 1952, reminding them that the units would be operated under the

23. Ernest L. Wilkinson to David O. McKay, 12 May 1952, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

24. Ernest L. Wilkinson to Cleon Skousen, 9 November 1951, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

25. *Ibid.*; and Deans' Council Minutes, 8 November 1951.

supervision of the Department of Home Economics in order that the students might be given training in homemaking.²⁶ Some Board members felt the estimated price for each unit was too high, and they recommended further studies.²⁷

Two months later the Executive Committee discussed the problem, recognizing that action soon had to be taken if the units were to be ready for fall. After careful consideration, Harold B. Lee expressed the opinion that housing units should be owned and operated by the University and construction costs should be financed by a loan of Church funds at a very low rate of interest, the loan to be amortized over a period of forty years.²⁸ At a special meeting of the Board of Trustees in late March 1952 this plan was accepted. The Board authorized \$2,342,400 for the construction of sixteen housing units. The money was appropriated as a forty-year loan from the Church to be paid back with interest at the rate of one and one-half percent.²⁹

The revised plans called for the housing of approximately 800 women students in sixteen two-story halls designed to accommodate forty-eight students each. Twenty-four women would live on each of the two floors, with six girls to an apartment.³⁰ The site chosen for the development was on the northeast corner of campus west of Ninth East between what then were Thirteenth and Fourteenth North streets, immediately north of the outdated Wymount Village.³¹ The announcement in 1952 preceded the development of the master plan by more than a year because of the very urgent housing need, but the master plan took the housing project into consideration.

26. BYU Board Minutes, 10 January 1952.

27. Ibid.

28. BYU Executive Committee Minutes, 20 March 1952.

29. BYU Board Minutes, 28 March 1952.

30. Before construction began, it was decided to include living space for a head resident in some of the buildings. These supervisors were originally LDS widows that were active in the Church, but young married couples were later chosen to act as supervisors.

31. "New Y Dorms to Be Situated Adjoining Wymount Location," *BYU Universe*, 1 August 1952.

Due to conflicting zoning regulations, Provo City did not grant a construction permit until late in the summer of 1952, causing an annoying delay. Since bids were not accepted by the Presiding Bishopric of the Church until August, none of the new units could be completed before the winter term.³² The Church Building Committee supervised construction, with the assistance of Glen Enke, head of the civil engineering program at BYU. Enke had earlier performed well in connection with the construction of LDS Hospital in Salt Lake City and came highly recommended.³³ Leland M. Perry and Ben E. Lewis also assisted with the completion of the buildings.

Fred L. Markham was architect for the project. Paulsen Construction Company was the successful bidder, and construction began early in the fall of 1952. Two units were scheduled for completion by 15 November, four by 15 December 1952, and eight by 1 January 1953.³⁴ Due to delays, none of these deadlines was met. All sixteen units were completed by 3 October 1953, at a final cost of \$3,032,000.³⁵ After some discussion, the family living units were named "Heritage Halls."³⁶ Made available to women students for \$20 per month, they quickly filled to capacity.

Because of the complexity of the expanding housing system, the administration of student housing was transferred from the dean of students to a new director of housing. The dean of students could not effectively handle the administration of a large housing system along with his other responsibilities. Moreover, because of complaints from parents and the concern of the Board of Trustees, the administration was forced to exercise direct control over student housing. With this transfer of direction from what had been part of a cen-

32. Ibid.

33. Ernest L. Wilkinson to David O. McKay and members of the LDS Church Appropriations Committee, 12 May 1952, Stephen L. Richards Papers.

34. *BYU Universe*, 7 October 1952.

35. Hatch, "A History of the BYU Campus," VI:9; and Fred A. Schwendiman to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 29 May 1956, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

36. BYU Executive Committee Minutes, 6 May 1954.

tralized student services and personnel network under the dean of students, there began a trend to shift responsibility for student services from the dean of students to decentralized and increasingly professional departments such as Student Placement, Student Employment, and Student Counseling. This movement was, in part, the beginning of what became known as Auxiliary Services. Therefore, the May 1953 appointment of Fred A. Schwendiman of Salt Lake City as director of housing marked the beginning of new administrative trends.³⁷ The new Office of Student Housing supervised the entire on-campus student housing program, including applicants, allocations, rental agreements, counseling students on living problems at BYU, housing advertisement and promotion, development of further housing accommodations, and other related matters.³⁸

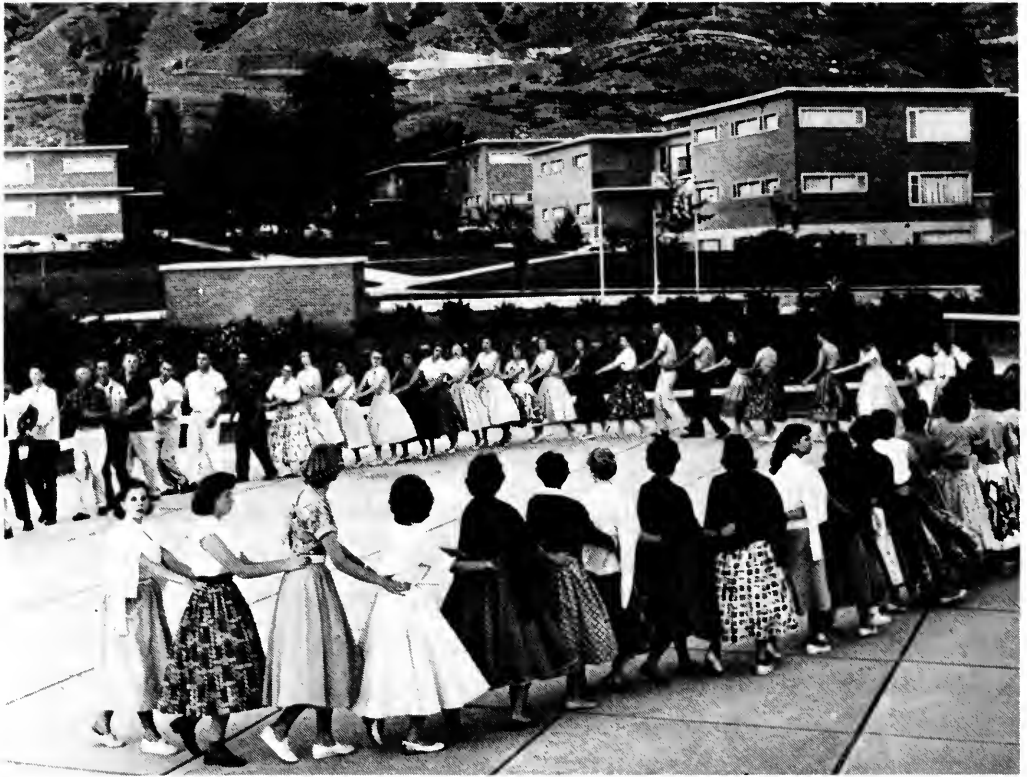
It soon became evident that the first phase of Heritage Halls would barely accommodate new housing applications for the 1953-54 school year. With Church leaders encouraging LDS students to attend BYU, enrollment was expected to increase by at least a thousand students per year. Most new students would come from areas outside Utah County and would thus require proper housing. As a result, the school was left with only three options: turn away a great many eager students, encourage more local private building, or provide more University-owned student housing.³⁹ The administration decided to attempt to persuade the Board of Trustees to authorize more student housing and to encourage local builders to construct more apartments.

While plans for more housing for women were being formulated, Wilkinson approached the Board of Trustees with a proposal for more men's housing. Unfortunately, the con-

37. "Salt Laker Appointed to Housing," *BYU Universe*, 14 May 1953. Schwendiman had established a top reputation in government administration with the Veterans Administration and the Civil Service Board.

38. Ben E. Lewis to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 30 March 1953, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

39. Ben E. Lewis to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 25 August 1952, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.



BYU students dancing at one of the patio areas of the Heritage Halls girls' residence complex.

struction of men's housing was delayed until 1955.⁴⁰ Even so, experience indicated that the need for women's housing was more acute than the need for men's housing. By 1 October 1954 a total of 2,615 female students had applied for the 1,445 available on-campus living spaces. In contrast, only 878 males applied for the 426 on-campus accommodations, while 459 married couples applied for the 200 available apartments. Clearly, there was a housing shortage in all sections of the University community, but many more girls had to be turned away than men and married couples combined.

To alleviate this situation, Wilkinson proposed to the Board of Trustees on 7 October 1954 the construction of sixteen new units similar to those in Heritage Halls, eight of them to be built during 1954-55 and the remaining eight during the school year 1955-56.⁴¹ These plans initially called for accommodating both men and women until the men's housing complex was completed. The new halls would be built on ground north of the existing Heritage Halls, extending beyond Phillips Lane. However, as plans were finalized, the Board of Trustees approved construction of eight units immediately north of the original Heritage Halls and south of Phillips Lane.⁴² Financing for the new buildings was identical to the original Heritage Halls. Construction and other costs associated with the project totaled over two million dollars.⁴³ Once again, Fred Markham was architect, while Christiansen Brothers of Salt Lake City was the contractor.

The new units differed from the other Heritage Halls in size and layout. Instead of being two stories in height with two basement apartments in each building, the new structures were to be three stories high with no basement apartments. Each unit was to accommodate seventy-two students as com-

40. "New Dormitory Details Disclosed," *BYU Universe*, 24 March 1955.

41. *BYU Board Minutes*, 8 October 1954.

42. "Heritage Halls Loan #2," 24 April 1957, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

43. "Permanent Buildings Constructed or under Construction (Main Campus) at Brigham Young University from 1951 to 1964, Including 1964," Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

pared to sixty in the older halls. Other improvements were projected, but the homemaking orientation of the other buildings was retained.⁴⁴ The structures were to be completed at the earliest possible date and in no event later than the fall of 1956. During the early part of construction Glen Enke served as the owner's representative on the project, an assignment which Joyce Tippetts, newly appointed director of the Department of Campus Planning and Development, later assumed.⁴⁵ Construction proceeded without major delays, and two new Heritage Halls were ready for occupancy by 6 January 1956, exactly one year after the first public announcement of the project.⁴⁶ By the fall of 1956 the Heritage Halls complex for women included housing for 960 girls in the sixteen two-story buildings and 576 girls in the eight three-story units. The twenty-four buildings, erected at a total cost of over five million dollars, housed 1,536 girls and provided 382,000 square feet of floor space. With these additions, the University operated housing facilities for almost 2,000 women.⁴⁷

The completion of Heritage Halls marked a turning point in women's housing at BYU. Admittedly, the school could never be expected to accommodate every girl who would apply for campus housing, but it was generally agreed that the University had done all it could reasonably be expected to do in a period of only four years. Spurred by the tremendous increase in enrollment, private investors were constructing more and more apartments in Provo, and the school began to rely on them to satisfy a large percentage of the need for student housing.

Housing for Single Men

The administration was happy over the progress made on

44. "Construction to Start Soon on New Residence Halls for Coeds," *BYU Universe*, 6 January 1955.

45. "Heritage Halls Loan #2."

46. "Coeds Move into New Halls," *BYU Universe*, 6 January 1956.

47. Fred A. Schwendiman to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 29 May 1956, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.



Aerial view of Heritage Halls. The larger halls at the bottom right of the photo were completed in 1956. The smaller halls in the middle of the photo were completed by 1955. Note Wymount Village student housing units at the top of the photo.

Heritage Halls, but recurring delays in beginning construction on men's residence halls were sources of considerable frustration. No other building project in modern BYU history seemed to undergo so many plans, revisions, and postponements, but when the halls were finally completed, the school possessed some of the most utilitarian housing facilities in America. Money had been earmarked for the project as early as November 1952 when the Board had approved a self-liquidating project to house 800 men in a five-unit complex to be completed at the end of the 1954 calendar year.⁴⁸ Revised plans in 1953 called for completion of the residence halls in September 1954.⁴⁹ The 1953 campus plan called for construction of the men's residence halls northeast of the academic center of campus, but in 1954 the location was changed to north of the existing stadium.⁵⁰ After further delays, the Board of Trustees gave approval to finalize plans for the five units — one dining facility and four residence halls, each to accommodate two hundred students — in the fall of 1954.⁵¹ With more than twice as many men applying in 1954 for on-campus housing than could be accommodated in the existing 426 spaces, the need was acute.⁵² Plans were resubmitted to the Church architect's office, which at this time was preparing plans for the construction of schools in the South Pacific (particularly in New Zealand, where a campus costing more than \$1,500,000 was being built to replace aging facilities) and could not get to the BYU project, thus causing further delays.⁵³

In March 1955 the University publicly announced that plans were finalized for a \$2,500,000 men's housing project consisting of five buildings to be located on fifteen acres of land north of 1430 North Street and east of Canyon Road.

48. BYU Board Minutes, 14 November 1952.

49. BYU Executive Committee Minutes, 2 July 1953.

50. *Ibid.*, 2 September 1954.

51. *BYU Universe*, 23 September 1954.

52. BYU Board Minutes, 8 October 1954.

53. Ben E. Lewis to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 9 May 1955, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

Each of the residence halls would be two stories high. Total size of the complex was to exceed 190,000 square feet, making it 45,000 square feet larger than the Eyring Science Center.⁵⁴ There were further delays in construction — delays which, although discouraging, had their rewards. Had the University completed the buildings according to schedule they would have accommodated only 800 students and additional new residence halls would have had to be built. Early in 1956 the school purchased additional land adjoining the planned construction site.⁵⁵ Planning officials then returned to the drawing boards to formulate a modified design for a much larger housing complex than had been originally envisioned. However, basic arrangement of the facilities was not altered. As early as 1954 a survey of male students revealed that, although a few preferred batching, an overwhelming number favored new permanent dormitory type accommodations, especially because they would provide much better food. Before plans were finalized, Ben Lewis, Arnold Ehlers, and Glen Enke toured dormitory units at other universities in America to get ideas for the new facilities.⁵⁶ The revised proposal called for 1,170 accommodations, a larger dining hall, and five three-story rather than four two-story dormitories.⁵⁷ Total cost of the project was estimated at more than five million dollars, with funding to come from Church loans to be amortized over forty years at one and one-half percent interest.⁵⁸

Construction on the complex, heralded as the largest single housing project in the state, began in the spring of 1957. Lowell Parrish was selected as architect of the central building (later named Cannon Center), and the Los Angeles firm of

54. *BYU Universe*, 24 March 1955.

55. *BYU Board Minutes*, 24 February 1956.

56. Ben E. Lewis to William F. Edwards, 18 June 1954, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

57. *BYU Board Minutes*, 15 June 1956; and *BYU Daily Universe*, 18 September 1956.

58. *BYU Daily Universe*, 22 March 1957; and First Presidency to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 18 March 1957.



One unit of Helaman Halls just after
completion of construction.



Aerial view of Helaman Halls men's residence complex in 1962.

Kegley, Westphall, and Arbogart designed the residence halls. Okland Construction Company and Mark B. Garff, Ryberg, and Garff Construction Company were chosen as joint contractors.⁵⁹ During the course of construction two more units were added at a cost of over \$1,600,000.⁶⁰ When the complex was completed, on-campus housing for men at BYU more than tripled, from space for fewer than 500 men to over 1,600, removing one of the most embarrassing physical inadequacies of the school. The complex was named Helaman Halls.⁶¹

Finished in blond brick and white stone, the new men's halls were modern, practical, and well equipped. Each room had two hide-away beds, study desks, closets, book space, and other needed facilities. Each building had two large dining rooms, lounges, study rooms, and music rooms with piano. Television, snack bars, and other recreational facilities were also included. To insure proper supervision, a male head resident or supervisor was appointed on each floor. Family prayers were to be conducted under the supervision of these head residents every evening, and efforts were to be conscientiously made to create a wholesome and spiritual atmosphere among the young men.

Naming Heritage and Helaman Halls

University administrators had intended to name academic buildings after Presidents of the Church and housing units after other General Authorities, but, following Elder Henry D. Moyle's suggestion, the school decided to name the women's housing units after prominent women and the men's housing units after prominent men in Mormon history.⁶² The

59. *BYU Daily Universe*, 22 March 1957.

60. First Presidency to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 28 July 1958, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

61. Earlier proposals included *Pioneer Halls* and *Founders Halls*, but the name *Helaman Halls* was chosen because of the courage and faith of the sons of Helaman in the Book of Mormon (BYU Board Minutes, 3 September 1958).

62. BYU Executive Committee Minutes, 14 May 1953.

women chosen to have halls named after them were Emma Lucy Gates Bowen, Mima M. Broadbent, Elsie C. Carroll, Louie B. Felt, Ruth May Fox, Lavina C. Fugal, Susa Young Gates, Estella S. Harris, Alice Merrill Horne, Vilate Murray Kimball, Anna Mieth Maeser, Romania B. Pratt Penrose, Alice R. Richards, Emily S. T. Richards, Louise Y. Robison, Aurelia Spencer Rogers, Ellis Reynolds Shipp, Lucy Mack Smith, Mary Fielding Smith, Eliza Roxey Snow, Martha J. H. Tingey, Emmeline B. W. Wells, Elizabeth Ann Smith Whitney, and Zina D. Huntington Young.⁶³ The men who were honored by having housing units named after them were William Budge, George Q. Cannon (dining center), Stephen L. Chipman, Ira N. Hinckley, David John, Marriner Wood Merrill, and Thomas N. Taylor.⁶⁴ Another unit was named after Jean Fossum May, a very efficient head resident.

Housing for Married Students

Besides meeting the needs for men's and women's housing on campus, the University was faced with solving an ever-growing married students' housing problem. In the 1951-52 school year more than twenty-four percent of the men and five percent of the women attending BYU were married. By 1956-57, those percentages had increased to thirty-one percent and eight percent.⁶⁵ Meanwhile, married couples competed for accommodations in Wymount Village or were forced to search for off-campus apartments. Wymount Village housed only two hundred married families. The advantages of the village were its proximity to campus and its low rent. In 1956 rent for a one-bedroom unit was only \$34 per month.⁶⁶ On the other hand, everyone knew Wymount Village was a temporary facility. BYU was obligated to spend substantial amounts to repair and maintain these delapidated

63. See appendices for biographical sketches of these women.

64. See appendices for biographical sketches of these men.

65. "Seven Year Report," p. 168.

66. "A Report to the Northwest Association of Secondary and Higher Schools: Self-Evaluation Report I," 1 October 1956, BYU Archives, p. 177.

buildings. In addition, Wymount Village looked more like an army base than a school housing facility.

The only realistic solution to the problem was to build a new married student complex, but the school could not afford to construct units for marrieds while constructing new single student housing units. Meanwhile, as was the pattern with all proposed building projects, a committee of faculty and administrative representatives was appointed to study the problem. Some of their early proposals called for an expenditure of one million dollars to accommodate around 1,200 married students.⁶⁷ Various observers suggested that the school should engage in private capital financing as opposed to regular Church appropriations. Such a scheme would call for a private operator of housing facilities. This suggestion applied not merely to married housing but to other housing construction problems faced by the school. Wilkinson, however, could never accept such a proposal because it did not square with his administrative philosophy. He recognized that Church financing in the form of repayable loans was much more economical than private funding because the Church offered low interest rates. Church financing also gave the school the advantage of tax-exempt housing operations. With no taxes to pay and with no necessity to make a profit on capital investments, the school could offer housing to students at much lower rates. Experience showed that the parents of many students (particularly freshmen) expected the University to provide proper supervision in a Church atmosphere. Finally, Wilkinson feared the school might lose its supervisory powers if the University agreed to an independent housing project. Thus, the school chose to wait until the way was clear for it to provide married housing on its own without looking outside the University for funds and without granting housing authority to others.⁶⁸

67. Ibid.; and William F. Edwards to Campus Development Committee, 14 January 1956, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

68. Ernest L. Wilkinson to Richard J. Benson, 26 September 1956, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.



Wyview Village housing units, installed northeast of the present site of the Marriott Center after they were purchased from the U.S. Government in 1957.

Prior to the beginning of construction on Helaman Halls, the administration found a temporary solution to the married student housing dilemma. As had been the case with Wymount Village, the federal government unexpectedly made another good offer, this time of approximately 150 prefabricated two- and three-bedroom houses at Mountain Home Air Force Base in Idaho. The school readily accepted the offer. Accordingly, with approval of the Board of Trustees in October 1956, the school initiated a mass moving project.⁶⁹ Early in 1957 convoys of six homes each made the 450-mile trip from Mountain Home Air Force Base to Provo. The site eventually chosen for the units was north of Phillips Lane, just south of 1700 North and east of Fifth East (north-east of the present site of the Marriott Activity Center). One hundred of the units were two-bedroom homes with 480 square feet of floor space. The other fifty had three bedrooms and 650 square feet of floor space. Many were practically new. Some had never been occupied, and all were equipped with new refrigerators, electric water heaters, bathroom fixtures, and kitchen cabinets.⁷⁰ In August 1957, after completion of the moving project, the complex was named Wyview Village. Officials expected the buildings to be usable for at least twelve years.⁷¹ Though it was only a temporary solution to a persistent problem, Wyview Village, which cost the University only \$374,347, helped surmount the crisis.

Off-Campus Housing

The off-campus housing situation was a significant part of the first years of the Wilkinson Administration. As early as the Maeser years, students had been living in the homes of Provo residents under the supervision of the Domestic Department. Off-campus housing remained an important part of BYU student life, not only because it gave students a place to stay, but because it included local residents in University activities.

69. BYU Board Minutes, 26 October 1956.

70. *BYU Daily Universe*, 2 January 1957.

71. Ernest L. Wilkinson to the First Presidency, 29 August 1957, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

Off-campus facilities provided the bulk of housing accommodations for the student body during the years 1950 through 1957. Even in the fall of 1955 some 5,000 of 8,000 students enrolled (over sixty percent) were living off campus in private dwellings or, to a much lesser extent, at home or with relatives.⁷² The official University policy was to allow the community to house at least half of the student population. As Ben E. Lewis explained it, this approach “would make for better community relationships and ease the misunderstandings which might arise during the period of transition to more University housing.”⁷³

To counter the difficulty of obtaining ample and adequate facilities and to better supervise students, the administration appointed a special housing committee in 1952, composed of selected faculty members and students with the intent of improving the quality of off-campus student housing. Approved by the administration, the committee’s recommendations were turned over to Wesley P. Lloyd, dean of students, who published an official statement in the 28 May 1953 *Universe* which said, “The approved housing system places University practices in line with a larger number of the universities of the nation, and is an essential for Brigham Young University. Dark basements, poorly ventilated rooms, unsanitary surroundings, and overcrowded quarters are not a part of the student housing picture for the coming year.” Provo landlords agreed to improve inadequate facilities, while, for their part, students promised not to vacate during the school year “without just causes.” Realizing that problems would arise, Lloyd concluded, “There is no claim on the part of the housing committee that the policy recommended is faultless, nor is it assumed that all problems will be solved with equal satisfaction to all.”⁷⁴ Fred Schwendiman and his assistant, Rulon Craven, worked patiently with local residents to

72. “Summary of Student Housing Potentials for Fall Term 1955,” 30 June 1955, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

73. Ben E. Lewis to William F. Edwards, 18 June 1954, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

74. *BYU Universe*, 28 May 1953.

formulate a working relationship between school and town through which better housing was provided, school standards were maintained, and both landlord and tenant were satisfied.

The first years of the Wilkinson period were an important period for student housing at Brigham Young University. From 1951 through 1958 thirty-two separate housing units were constructed at a cost of \$12,211,973, providing 710,883 square feet of floor space, room enough to house nearly 3,000 students.⁷⁵ This figure does not include the \$374,347 spent for married student housing. The University's progressive student housing project was a sound investment.⁷⁶ Thousands of students were housed on campus who otherwise would have needed to seek accommodations elsewhere. Housing construction injected a spirit of enthusiasm into students and faculty members alike who were thrilled by the Church's tangible commitment to the University's growth.

Halls of Learning

Student housing construction was only a part of a larger program of campus growth. By the summer of 1953 the school stood at the threshold of an astonishing academic building program that continued throughout the Wilkinson Administration. The 1953 plan, discussed above, called for the construction of the student service center (already completed), a family living center, an administration building, an engineering building, a student health center, a greenhouse, and a warehouse for use by the Department of Physical Plant.⁷⁷ But the plan itself was altered during the summer of 1953. The pressing need for a large classroom building preempted plans for an administration building, resulting in

75. "Permanent Buildings Constructed or under Construction, 1951 to 1964."

76. The cost of housing facilities was not included in the BYU budget, but was "treated as an investment" (Diary of Stephen L Richards, 27 October 1952).

77. "Wilkinson Plans Reveal Seven New Buildings," *BYU Universe*, 28 May 1953.

the postponement of construction of an administration center for another six years.⁷⁸

Fletcher Engineering Building

After the Engineering Sciences Department was established in 1951, Harvey Fletcher, a renowned LDS physicist, was appointed director of research in the new department and soon became dean of the College of Physical and Engineering Sciences. Recognizing the need for expanded facilities, the sixty-eight-year-old department chairman encouraged the construction of a separate engineering science building. Early in the spring of 1953 before the master plan had been completed, Wilkinson took Fletcher's proposal to the Board of Trustees. Different units of the building were approved at various times by the Board. The school originally planned to purchase temporary buildings from the federal government to provide office space for the department, but no such buildings were available for purchase. The Board therefore approved the inclusion of offices, classrooms, and laboratories all in one new building to be constructed immediately east of the student service center.⁷⁹ The Tolboe and Harlin Construction Company of Salt Lake City was awarded the contract, and Lawrence D. Olpin of Ogden, Utah, served as architect for the project. Construction began in July and was completed in October 1953. The H-shaped building included four wings with classroom and laboratory space for civil, electrical, mechanical, and chemical engineering. The central space was reserved for faculty offices.⁸⁰ In 1954 a

78. Ernest L. Wilkinson to Bryant S. Hinckley, 1 August 1953, Wilkinson Presidential Papers. Chairman Ben E. Lewis, Leland Perry, and Glen Enke, members of the Physical Plant Committee, supervised the construction program. Perry had been superintendent of the Department of Buildings and Grounds since 1947. The name of the department was changed to Department of Physical Plant in 1954, and Perry continued on as superintendent until 1957 (Hatch, "A History of the BYU Campus," VI:74).

79. Clyde Sandgren to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 21 July 1954, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

80. Wayne B. Hales, "History of the College of Physical Sciences," p. 114.



Harvey Fletcher Engineering Building
after addition of a second story in 1954.

second floor was added to three of the four wings. The second floor of the chemical engineering wing was built later.⁸¹ Total expenditures, coupled with later remodeling, brought the cost of the engineering building to more than a million dollars.⁸²

Even though the speed with which this building, later named the Harvey Fletcher Engineering Building, was designed and erected made extensive remodeling necessary from the beginning of its use, its effect on faculty morale was immense. Several departments (notably English) were given temporary office space in it, and its symbolic promise of better facilities to come for poorly housed disciplines kept several colleges, which had awaited adequate space for many years, from feeling resentful that engineering was being given immediate attention.

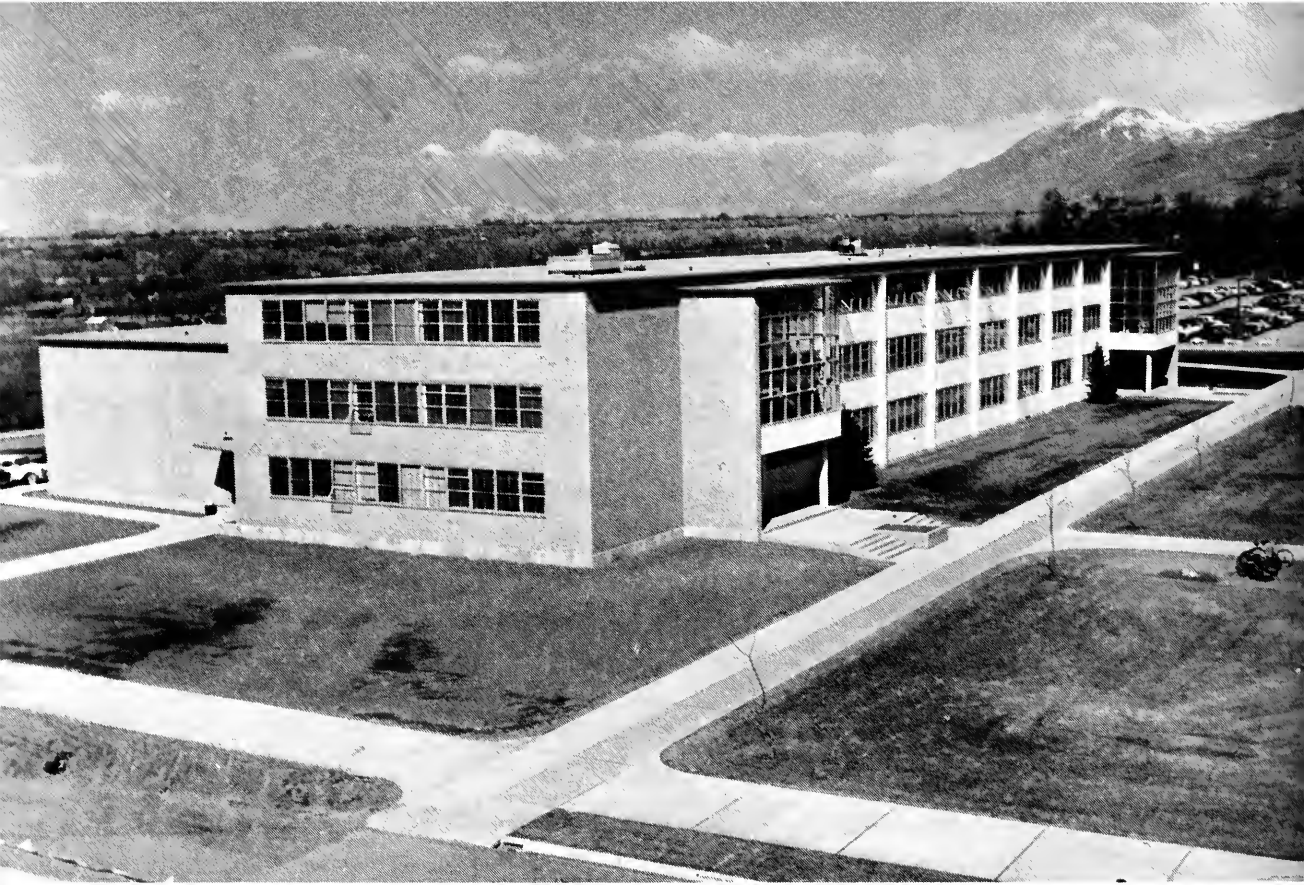
David O. McKay Building

In February 1954 the University announced plans for the construction of a large multipurpose classroom building. In an official evaluation of the BYU College of Education for the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education in 1952, one of the strongest recommendations was that "the education college plant and the laboratory schools need replacement by a modern building befitting the dignity and importance of the teaching profession and the enrollment in the Brigham Young University."⁸³ Prior to the completion of the new facility, the College of Education had been housed in the Education Building on lower campus near the Laboratory School. Office space was severely limited, and facilities were generally dilapidated. One evaluation of the College in 1953 said "The physical characteristics of the College of Education building, as well as its distance from the center of the Univer-

81. Hatch, "A History of the BYU Campus," VI:14.

82. "Permanent Buildings Constructed or under Construction, 1951 to 1964."

83. "Evaluation of the College of Education, Brigham Young University, for the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education," 11-13 January 1952, Wilkinson Presidential Papers, p. 2.



David O. McKay Building soon after its
dedication on 14 December 1954.



President and Sister David O. McKay participating in dedicatory services for the David O. McKay Building on 14 December 1954. President Ernest L. Wilkinson is at their right, while President Stephen L. Richards is at their left.

sity, has serious implications for student and faculty morale. The instructional program of the College has suffered, in part, from these physical handicaps.”⁸⁴

Plans for the new building called for a three-story structure with more than 60,000 square feet of floor space. The new building would contain 110 offices and eight classrooms, two of which, constructed like auditoriums, would be capable of seating 200 students each. The Language Department would receive the benefit of twenty-three small phonetics laboratories and conversation rooms. The site selected for the structure was immediately west of the Eyring Science Center on what was then a parking lot on the western brow of University Hill.”⁸⁵

The Church appropriated one million dollars for the building’s completion. Fred Markham was architect for the project, and Christiansen Brothers of Salt Lake City was chosen as contractor.⁸⁶ To ensure completion by the scheduled deadline of late 1954, President Wilkinson drafted a construction contract which contained a clause which bound the contractor to reimburse the school for every day required for construction beyond the proposed deadline. This provision, inserted in all subsequent building contracts, resulted in the completion on schedule of most buildings constructed thereafter.⁸⁷

Within nine months of the groundbreaking, the building stood completed. The Board of Trustees decided to name the structure in honor of David O. McKay, President of the Church. At special dedicatory services on 14 December 1954,

84. Windsor et al., “College of Education Survey Committee Report,” 1953, p. 147.

85. *BYU Universe*, 11 February 1954.

86. “McKay Building Dedication Today,” *BYU Universe*, 14 December 1954.

87. *BYU Board Minutes*, 8 October 1954. Some contractors hinted that this provision actually raised the bid submitted by all potential bidders, but there is no real evidence of this. The history of campus construction demonstrated that the less time taken for construction, the more profitable jobs generally were for contractors. Meeting deadlines forced contractors to organize their work better and not allow other jobs to intervene.

President and Sister McKay cut the ribbon to open the structure officially. An attractive edifice, it was finished in blond brick and white stone to harmonize with existing structures.

The erection of this building began to establish a real “quad” on upper campus, and since it was the first major structure with adequate permanent faculty offices to be constructed since Wilkinson’s arrival (most of the offices in the Fletcher Engineering Building were divided by temporary partitions), there was great faculty speculation about which departments would be allowed to occupy the nicely apportioned, single offices that would become available. Almost immediately after the dedication, the College of Education, the English Department, the Department of Modern Languages, and the departments of Political Science and History moved into the new building.

The dedication of the building, the satisfaction in seeing the job finished on schedule, and the expressions of support from David O. McKay, Stephen L Richards, and many other Board members and friends of the University prompted Wilkinson to record in his personal journal that 14 December 1954 was “one of the great days of history in our institution.” He wrote,

Since buildings are necessary but can never supply the intimate relationship between teachers and students, my hope and prayer is that we shall be as successful in the accomplishing of the spiritual purposes of this institution as we have been in acquiring buildings. All in all, I have had almost complete support from the Board of Trustees and feel that I have been very much blessed by our Heavenly Father since taking over this position.⁸⁸

Benjamin Cluff, Jr., Botanical Laboratory

Two other buildings called for in the May 1953 announcement were an enlarged botanical laboratory and a much needed student health center. Construction on both buildings began simultaneously in the fall of 1954. The College of Biological and Agricultural Sciences had been lobbying for

88. Diary of Ernest L. Wilkinson, 14 December 1954.



Benjamin Cluff, Jr., Botanical
Laboratory, completed in 1955.

greenhouse facilities and botanical laboratories for years, and there was a genuine need to expand facilities to house agronomy, botany, and horticultural activities and studies. Until 1953 a small, inadequate greenhouse on lower campus was all that was available.⁸⁹ Under the leadership of Dean Clarence Cottam, the College of Biological and Agricultural Sciences encouraged the administration to gain approval from the Board for the construction of botanical laboratories providing approximately 12,000 square feet of floor space, one-fourth of which would be devoted to new greenhouses and the balance for laboratories in a two-story building.⁹⁰

The initial phase of the building was constructed by Lynn Groneman and Company from plans prepared by Arnold H. Ehlers on a site located somewhat removed from the heart of campus, south of the hill on Eighth North between Fifth and Sixth East. The building was designed for easy enlargement, and, in later years, several additions were made to the greenhouses and to the building itself.⁹¹ The building was completed in the summer of 1955 at a cost of \$150,000. Both the greenhouses and the brick portion of the laboratory were designed to provide a maximum amount of natural sunlight. A two-story blue-tinted glass window on the south side of the building provided light for the main stairway and hall, and the overall design furnished sunlight to the planting rooms. The study plants not requiring greenhouse protection were used for landscaping around the building, affording practical opportunities for students in landscape architecture.⁹² The facility was named for President Benjamin Cluff, Jr., because of his interest in botanical studies.

Howard S. McDonald Student Health Center

The student health center was completed shortly after the botanical laboratory building. The Student Health Service itself had been established in 1946 with one part-time doctor

89. BYU Board Minutes, 18 May 1953.

90. BYU Executive Committee Minutes, 25 March 1954.

91. Hatch, "A History of the BYU Campus," VI:22.

92. BYU *Universe*, 5 August 1955.



Howard S. McDonald Student Health Center, completed in 1955. The building originally housed both the health center and the BYU unit of the Air Force ROTC.

and one full-time nurse. Vasco Tanner of the biology faculty served as chairman of the Health Services Committee, which administered health services on campus from 1946 until 1956. As enrollment increased after the war, the existing health services and facilities, housed in an old frame structure near the Eyring Science Center, became inadequate. In the fall of 1952 the office was flooded with 8,539 office calls in a single quarter.⁹³ In order to combat the problem of insufficient facilities, a student health center was high on the list of construction priorities. In October 1952 approval was granted for a \$175,000 expenditure for the proposed center, half of which was to be furnished by student health surplus funds, and the other half to come from the Church.⁹⁴ However, various problems delayed construction of the building for two years. For one thing the LDS Church acquired Utah Valley Hospital, making it inadvisable to have as large a college health center as had been planned. The administration had trouble agreeing with the Church Building Committee on specifications for the facility. Finally, when the BYU Air Force unit of the ROTC was established on campus in 1951, permanent facilities were desperately required.⁹⁵ (Up to that time the Air Force ROTC had been housed in the Grant Building and later in the basement of the Fletcher Engineering Building.) On the strength of Elder Delbert L. Stapley's recommendation, new drawings were formulated to house the ROTC downstairs and the Student Health Services on the second floor of a larger building, at a cost of \$230,000.

At last, construction began late in the fall of 1954, two years after the original approval had been given. The health services unit included twelve beds, emergency treatment and examination rooms, a lead-lined x-ray room, a hydrotherapy room, a reception and waiting area, and offices, along with storage and library facilities for doctors and nurses.⁹⁶ The

93. BYU Board Minutes, 18 May 1953.

94. BYU Board Minutes, 14 November 1952.

95. "Brigham Young Awarded ROTC Unit Site by U. S. Air Force Officials," *BYU Universe*, 24 April 1951.

96. "Expansion Program Continues with Two Buildings Underway," *BYU Universe*, 23 September 1954; and *BYU Universe*, 5 August 1955.

basic concept in building was to avoid unnecessary duplication of existing Provo hospital facilities and to provide means for the treatment of minor student ailments. The building was not to be a hospital or surgical center. Reasonable rates were established for the student body by providing for adequate health insurance coverage, both on and off campus.

As was the case with the Cluff Building, Arnold Ehlers of the Church Building Committee served as architect, and Lynn Groneman and Company of Provo was contractor.⁹⁷ Accumulated cost amounted to a little over \$300,000 for the 16,371 square-foot edifice, which was constructed on the hill southeast of the Joseph Smith Memorial Building and southwest of Knight Mangum Hall.⁹⁸ The building was completed in the early fall of 1955, fulfilling a need for two "strange bedfellows," the Student Health Services and the Air Force ROTC. The student health center was named after President Howard S. McDonald.

Joseph F. Smith Family Living Center

The largest academic building constructed in the 1950s was the family living center. Ironically, it received the earliest thought, preparation, and approval, but was the last to be erected. President Wilkinson always expressed enthusiasm over Dr. John A. Widtsoe's early proposal to establish an Institute of Family Living. Both men were committed to the challenge of making BYU a leader in the field of family relations, stressing the Mormon emphasis on faithful, harmonious, and spiritual family life. Myron J. Abbey, a non-Mormon friend of President Heber J. Grant, had left nearly \$70,000 to Brigham Young University before Wilkinson became president. The Executive Committee of the Board later designated the money as a home economics building fund. When the Board authorized Wilkinson to prepare plans for a home economics building in May 1951, President Wilkinson

97. Hatch, "A History of the BYU Campus," VI:24.

98. "Permanent Buildings Constructed or under Construction, 1951 to 1964."

was able to assign the Abbey fund and \$270,000 acquired by the school through a ten-dollar building fee paid quarterly by each student toward the completion of the building.⁹⁹

On 28 June 1951 the Board of Trustees authorized the organization of the College of Family Living and approved the preparation of plans for a new building. Initial drawings called for a very large structure of 150,000 square feet to cost approximately \$2,400,000, more than any other single structure on campus. Naturally, the Board of Trustees carefully discussed the advisability of making such a large expenditure. Believing with President McKay that this and other BYU academic buildings were a good investment and a tribute to the Church membership, the Board appropriated money for the family living center on 14 November 1952. Elder Widtsoe was not present at the meeting, but, knowing of his great interest in the project, President Wilkinson visited the ailing leader at his home immediately after the Board meeting. Upon hearing this cheering news, the former member of the Executive Committee and long-time friend and supporter of BYU was all smiles: "His entire face radiated joy, and he exclaimed, 'Thank God — the BYU has at last come into its own.'"¹⁰⁰ Widtsoe died less than two weeks later.

Construction could not begin immediately after the project was authorized. The school's inability to acquire Dr. Virginia Cutler from the University of Utah to head the College of Family Living left the University without any "person of vision and experience" in the designing of the home economics features of this building.¹⁰¹ Then too, with many teachers lacking satisfactory offices, and the situation worsening, the administration proposed that the original \$2,500,000 ear-

99. Ernest L. Wilkinson, "Memorandum in Support of the Motion for Appropriating Certain Monies for the Construction of a Family Relations Center," 16 June 1951, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

100. Ernest L. Wilkinson to Leah D. Widtsoe, 1 December 1952, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

101. Ernest L. Wilkinson, "Memorandum in Support of Cutting Down on the Size of the Authorized Family Living Center and Also Building a Classroom Building Containing Offices for Faculty Members," 25 June 1953, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

marked for the family living center be divided to provide almost a million dollars for the construction of a 60,000 square-foot classroom building and the reduction of the original size of the family living center from 150,000 to 100,000 square feet.¹⁰² This was approved, and the classroom building, which was completed first, was subsequently named the David O. McKay Building.

Architects spent months formulating plans for the interior design of the family living center. Basically, the building was divided into two parts — one for technical work and laboratories and the other for classrooms.¹⁰³ When completed, the structure would house all six departments of the College of Family Living, in addition to the new School of Nursing and the departments of Sociology and Psychology. Architect Fred Markham stated that the building would be “unique as a whole, being the first college building in the United States having all the family studies together.”¹⁰⁴ Planners designed an indoor-outdoor nursery school for the east end of the building to provide practical experience for pupils studying child training and development. Modern kitchens, sewing rooms, and child observation facilities were included in the plans, and space for the entire campus telephone exchange was provided in the basement.¹⁰⁵

The planning of this building was an especially exciting time for faculty in the College of Family Living. Since no building quite like it had yet been designed, everyone was invited to contribute his or her dream of what a truly integrated “family” facility should contain and how each unit could be brought to the support of others. Inevitable compromises resulted, but, under the driving leadership of Dean Marion Pfund, final recommendations were both innovative and realistic. Dreams were set on a solid foundation of cooperative use, but each area also retained the facilities it

102. Ibid.

103. BYU Board Minutes, 26 June 1953.

104. “Trustees OK Plan for New Building,” *BYU Universe*, 16 November 1954.

105. Ibid.



Ernest L. Wilkinson breaking ground for construction of the Joseph F. Smith Family Living Center.

needed to make a unique contribution.

Construction began in the spring of 1956 with Christiansen Brothers of Salt Lake City as contractor. The building was completed on schedule on 19 April 1957. Located in a student parking lot north of the David O. McKay Building and northwest of the Eyring Science Center, the new structure, including furnishings, cost over \$2,200,000 — more per square foot than any of the other major buildings completed during the early Wilkinson years. It was named after Joseph F. Smith, sixth President of the LDS Church, who is especially remembered for having promoted wholesome family living.

After dedication of the Smith Family Living Center, the southern quadrangle was completed, with the Joseph F. Smith Family Living Center on the north, the Joseph Smith Memorial Building on the south, the David O. McKay Building on the west, and the Eyring Science Center on the east. The significance of the new structure was far greater than simply adding to the beauty and completeness of the campus. It gave the College of Family Living the stamp of permanence, advancing the cause of family teaching and research at BYU.

Miscellaneous Buildings

With completion of the southern quadrangle, the initial academic building program was over. In addition to the major facilities mentioned in this discussion, some smaller buildings were completed between 1951 and 1957. A metal quonset building for the mechanical engineering laboratories and physical plant motor pool, a central warehouse for supplies, a small temporary motion picture studio, a sheet metal shop, physical plant shed, and other smaller structures were also finished. Ticket offices for the stadium were constructed on the brow of the hill west of the Smith Family Living Center. When the stadium became obsolete later in the Wilkinson period, these offices were expanded to 16,061 square feet and named the Faculty Office Building, providing office space for many faculty members.¹⁰⁶

106. Hatch, "A History of the BYU Campus," VI:7-8, 17, 25-27.

In 1954 BYU purchased a farm at 180 East 1325 North in Provo to be used as a poultry laboratory under the direction of Dr. Lawrence Morris of the Animal Science Department. A number of war surplus buildings, including the Butler Huts that had housed the speech center, were moved to this farm.¹⁰⁷

Beautifying the Landscape

Another important aspect of the building program was the landscaping of the campus and the improvement of utilities. Between 1950 and 1957 the total area of lawns, shrubs, and flowers planted and maintained on campus more than doubled; the amount of curb and gutter increased nearly fifty times; the number of subsurface drainage lines doubled; gas lines increased by forty percent in length; water mains more than doubled; sewer mains increased by fifty percent; asphalt parking multiplied thirty times; and a host of other improvements were made, including extended peripheral roads and sidewalks.¹⁰⁸ The number of full-time employees in the Department of Physical Plant grew from fifty-two to ninety-seven, while the number of part-time employees more than doubled from 113 to 238.¹⁰⁹

In terms of dollars and cents, the total new investment for land, buildings, furniture, and equipment for academic and service buildings from 1951 to 1957 amounted to over \$5,000,000, all but \$70,000 of which came through nonreimbursable grants from the LDS Church. When coupled with costs for student housing, expenditures totaled almost \$10,000,000. By 1957 the total investment in the BYU physical plant had increased from \$6,350,000 in 1950 to almost \$16,000,000, an increase of almost 300 percent. Total academic floor space increased from 565,000 to 865,000 square feet, but because of increased enrollment, square footage per student actually decreased from 119 to 96.7, an indi-

107. Ibid., pp. 15-16.

108. "Seven Year Report," p. 262.

109. Ibid., p. 265.

cation that the construction program would have to be continued. Main campus acreage had increased from 236 acres of land to more than 400 acres (excluding farms) in 1957.

The success of the building program was indisputable. The Board and President Wilkinson worked closely together to foster this remarkable growth in physical plant, but the enthusiastic response and encouragement given by the faculty and student body were also significant.

The momentum generated by this coordinated building program and the increasing budgetary allotments paved the way for even greater accomplishments during succeeding years. The Physical Plant Committee of Ben E. Lewis, Leland Perry, and Glen Enke served especially well. In 1955 the operation of the physical plant was divided, with Ben Lewis becoming director of Auxiliary Services; Joyce W. Tippetts director of Campus Development; and Leland Perry director of the Department of Physical Plant. This revised Physical Plant Committee was responsible for making recommendations to Vice-President William F. Edwards.¹¹⁰ Later, the committee became the Campus Coordinating Committee, which had more administrative authority. Unfortunately, this working arrangement did not meet expectations, causing serious delays in construction of the badly needed student union building, the administration building, permanent married student housing, and other buildings.¹¹¹

Heart Attack

While, to the outsider, the physical facilities at BYU grew at an astonishing pace in the 1950s, Wilkinson was impatient with what he considered the slowness of progress. He began working even longer hours in an attempt to speed up the building program. Although he did not perceive it, the worry and the fatigue affected his health. When he heard of his

110. Ernest L. Wilkinson to William F. Edwards, Joyce W. Tippetts, Ben E. Lewis, and Leland Perry, 22 November 1955, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

111. William F. Edwards to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 25 April 1957, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

brother Robert's heart attack in the spring of 1956, President Wilkinson confidently recorded, "I had never thought of myself as being at all susceptible to any heart trouble and still do not."¹¹² However, his mother experienced frequent heart ailments and was required to move to a lower altitude in California; his brother Claude died of heart failure at the age of forty-two; and his sister Elva had constant heart trouble.¹¹³ Wilkinson resolved to lose weight and to exercise regularly, which he previously had not done, but he did not follow his resolution. As his work schedule intensified, he spent seventy or more hours a week at the office. He worried to some extent over the 1956 accreditation report, but his greatest frustrations were the delays in the building program. All of these factors certainly contributed to the massive heart attack the fifty-seven-year-old president suffered in early October 1956.

Just before the heart attack, President Wilkinson and his wife attended a party at Dean Asahel Woodruff's home. Wilkinson recorded, "As soon as we had had dinner, I became very ill and had to leave the party. I don't know what the trouble was, but I seemed to become ill throughout my entire body and spent a restless night."¹¹⁴ That weekend he went to Salt Lake City to be examined by his son Ernest Ludlow Wilkinson, a skilled cardiologist. He planned to be finished with the examination in time to attend general conference at 10:00 A.M. After examining him, however, his son told him he was not to go to conference, but permitted him to take care of some business in town. He was to return to the hospital immediately and go to bed, where he was to undergo rest and observation. Wilkinson reported back to the hospital around noon with a large briefcase full of papers which he began studying in his room. Later, a nurse came in and berated him, saying, "Anyone with serious angina of the heart such as you have must go to bed." That night, as he lay in the hospital listening to the University of Utah trounce BYU in football, he

112. Diary of Ernest L. Wilkinson, 26 March 1956.

113. *Ibid.*, 29 September 1956.

114. Ernest L. Wilkinson to Harold B. Lee, 27 December 1961, Harold B. Lee Papers, Office of the First Presidency.

suffered a massive heart attack. Fortunately, one of his son's medical partners was immediately available. Elders Harold B. Lee and Marion G. Romney responded immediately and administered a priesthood blessing of health and strength to the stricken patient. Throughout the rest of his career, Wilkinson remembered this act of service and often expressed his belief that the intervention of the priesthood was a major reason for his recovery.¹¹⁵

Near the end of his stay in the hospital Wilkinson began holding conferences in his bedroom and dictating University correspondence. After thirty-one days in the hospital, he was taken to his home in Provo in an ambulance. That afternoon, contrary to the instructions of his doctors, he held a meeting in his home with the Accreditation Committee which was on campus. One of the nurses on the team saw he was in no condition to work and reported it to his doctors. The next morning an ambulance appeared and, against his protest, took him back to LDS Hospital in Salt Lake City.

After an additional three weeks in the hospital, Wilkinson was ordered by his doctors to go to Palm Springs, California, for total rest and recuperation. After hearing this, President McKay recorded in his journal, "I told President Wilkinson that I am glad that it has come to the point where he is forced to take a rest; that he may be assured that he goes with our love and blessing."¹¹⁶ Even in Palm Springs, however, he continued to hold conferences with people from BYU. It was not until January of the following year that the doctors were willing to permit Wilkinson to return to work — under orders to reduce his working schedule substantially. During Wilkinson's absence Harvey L. Taylor took charge of the academic areas of the Church school system, William F. Edwards managed finances, and William E. Berrett supervised seminary and institute programs. They were a congenial team

115. Heber Wolsey later said of the president's hospital office, "He had two secretaries and two or three beds with all of his work piled around. I really didn't realize why he was in the hospital, because he certainly wasn't relaxing" ("Inside the Wilkinson Era").

116. Diary of David O. McKay, 3 December 1956.



Joseph F. Smith Family Living Center during a BYU Leadership Week soon after the building's completion in 1957.



Aerial view of upper campus in the
late 1950s.

that worked effectively during Wilkinson's recovery.

On 7 May 1957, four months after Wilkinson returned to campus, the University held dedicatory services for twelve new buildings, including eight three-story units of Heritage Halls, the Harvey Fletcher Engineering Building, the Benjamin Cluff, Jr., Plant Science Laboratory, the Howard S. McDonald Student Health Center, and the Joseph F. Smith Family Living Center.¹¹⁷ This dedication symbolically brought to a close the first part of the Wilkinson Administration and foreshadowed the exciting developments that characterized Wilkinson's succeeding years at Brigham Young University.

117. *BYU Daily Universe*, 15 April 1957. Whenever practicable, BYU buildings were dedicated en masse, such as on this occasion in 1957 and in 1954 when many housing units were dedicated.

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Appendix 21

Biographical Sketches of Women for Whom Heritage Halls Were Named

Twenty-four group living apartment buildings, collectively named Heritage Halls, have been erected on the BYU campus. The sixteen Heritage Halls built in 1953 were constructed at a cost of over \$2,500,000 by the Paulsen Construction Company. The architect was Fred L. Markham of Provo. The buildings represent a new approach to college living and learning as the coeds not only are provided housing but also the opportunity and necessity of training in proper home life and management. Each of the original sixteen buildings has ten family unit apartments, and each girl has a family of companions rather than a single roommate — a family with which to eat, work, study, and play.

In the autumn of 1956 eight additional Heritage Halls were built. The new units are larger than the original halls, containing three floors instead of two. The cost of these newer facilities was about two million dollars. The contractor was Christiansen Brothers of Salt Lake City, and the architect was again Fred L. Markham of Provo. Each of these Heritage Halls houses seventy-two women in twelve apartments. In addition, each has a head resident's apartment, music practice rooms, a sun deck instead of a living room on the third floor, and an enlarged kitchen area. These group living apartments have proven so successful that certain other universities have followed this style in their buildings.

It seemed eminently fitting that these buildings to house women students should be known by the general term of Heritage Halls and that each one should be named in honor of an exemplary Latter-day Saint woman whose life could serve as an inspiration and guide to the residents of the respective buildings.

These twenty-four women are similar in that each one in her particular calling and field gave of herself to others. Under the most primitive pioneer conditions as well as under affluent circumstances, each woman looked upon herself as her brothers' and sisters' keeper. They respected the first commandment given to men, which was to "multiply and replenish the earth." Today, when the average family is hardly perpetuating itself and the average number in the American household is less than three persons (*Deseret News*, 3 July 1975), it is significant that most of these twenty-four women had large families, with as many as fifteen children.

The three women who had no children of their own were second mothers to other children. Their unselfish obedience to this commandment did not impair their health or shorten their lives, because they lived from 66 to 104 full and eventful years, with an average life span of 80 years. As a tree is known by its fruit, so is the goodness of these women attested in their righteous influence. The short biographical sketches which follow are organized chronologically by the birthdates of these women, beginning with the one born earliest.

Lucy Mack Smith was born on 8 July 1776 in Gilsum, New Hampshire, to Soloman Mack and Lydia Gates. She married Joseph Smith in 1796 and was the mother of the Prophet Joseph Smith, her fourth child in a family of ten. Lucy accepted the mission of her son as a prophet and sustained him until his death. She died near Nauvoo, Illinois, on 5 May 1853. She was characterized by her prophet son as “one of the noblest and best of women,” her soul being “ever filled with benevolence and philanthropy.”

Elizabeth Ann Smith Whitney was born on 26 December 1800 in Derby, Connecticut, to Gibson Smith and Polly Bradley. She married Newel K. Whitney (later Presiding Bishop of the LDS Church) in 1822. They became the parents of eleven children. She was always a faithful, loyal Church member and served as a counselor in the Female Relief Society of Nauvoo. She exercised the gift of tongues in singing until her death in the Salt Lake Valley on 15 September 1882. She was affectionately known as “the comforter” by her associates.

Mary Fielding Smith was born on 21 July 1801 in Honidon, England. The daughter of John and Rachel Ibbotsen Fielding, she accepted the gospel in Canada and emigrated to Kirtland, Ohio, where she married Hyrum Smith (brother of the Prophet Joseph). Hyrum was a widower with five small children, whom she reared. She endured the persuecutions of the Saints, and had a daughter and a son, Joseph, who became sixth President of the LDS Church. She was an example of the faith, strength, and courage of the Mormon pioneer woman. She died in Salt Lake Valley on 21 September 1852.

Eliza Roxey Snow was born on 21 January 1804 in Becket, Massachusetts, the daughter of Oliver and Rosetta L. Pettibone Snow. Her brother, Lorenzo, became fifth President of the LDS Church. She was married to the Prophet Joseph Smith, and his teachings to her resulted in her writing the great hymn “O, My Father,” which proclaims that there is a Heavenly Mother. Eliza is noted for other

writings and poems. She was the secretary of the Relief Society in Nauvoo and was placed in charge of the Relief Society, the Young Women's Mutual Improvement Association, and the Primary Association by President Brigham Young, to whom she was sealed in marriage for time only. Eliza was a woman of rare endowments and multiple talents. She died on 5 December 1887 in Salt Lake City.

Vilate Murray Kimball was born on 1 June 1806 to Roswell and Susannah Murray in Florida, New York. She married Heber C. Kimball in 1822, and ten years later they were baptized into the Church. The thread of Vilate's life is gloriously intertwined with that of her husband. She received a personal manifestation of the principle of polygamy and remained steadfast at the side of her husband in its practice. Her life was spent in acts of unselfishness, hard work, faith, and love for others. She was the devoted mother of ten children. She died on 22 October 1867 in Salt Lake City, a noble and pure woman.

Zina D. Huntington Young was born on 21 January 1821 in Watertown, New York, to Zina Baker and William Huntington. She embraced the gospel with her family when she was fifteen. That same year she received the gifts of speaking in tongues and the interpretation of tongues. She underwent the persecutions of the Saints in Missouri and Illinois. She had two sons by her first husband who deserted her. In Winter Quarters she was married to President Brigham Young, by whom she had a daughter, and she also reared four of his other children when their mother died. Zina was a beloved woman and leader of women. On the death of Eliza R. Snow, with whom she had a rare and beautiful friendship, she was called as president of the Relief Society. Zina died on 28 August 1901 in Salt Lake City.

Emmeline Blanche Woodward Wells was born on 29 February 1828 to David Woodward and Diadama Hare at Petersham, Massachusetts. She was baptized into the Church in 1842. She had one son by her first husband. The child died, and the husband returned to his apostate parents. Her deep faith sustained her amid sorrows and hardships. She found refuge in the home of Bishop Newel K. Whitney, to whom she was sealed and by whom she had two daughters before he died in Salt Lake Valley. In 1852 she married President Daniel H. Wells, by whom she had three daughters. In 1876 she was given the mission to coordinate Relief Society grain storage. In 1910 she was called as president of the Relief Society. Emmeline was a public-spirited woman, prominent in the suffrage movement. She

was owner and editor of *The Woman's Exponent* and was a poetess. BYU conferred on her its first honorary degree, a doctor of letters, and a bust of her was placed in the rotunda of the Utah State Capitol Building. She died on 25 April 1921.

Anna Mieth Maeser was born on 4 May 1830 in Dresden, Germany, to Benjamin Emanuel and Henrietta Mieth. She came from a cultured, refined background. After marrying Karl G. Maeser in 1854, they were baptized into the LDS Church, and Anna spent the rest of her life following her husband uncomplainingly through the privations and hardships of a pioneer life in Utah Territory. They had a family of eight children, and many times she became the provider when Professor Maeser was called on missions by the Church. She was ever ready to help a neighbor. She supported her husband fully while he was principal of Brigham Young Academy. She retained her sense of wit and refinement to the end of her life in Salt Lake City on 2 April 1896; at her funeral she was described as a woman without guile.

Aurelia Spencer Rogers was born in Deep River, Connecticut, on 4 October 1834 to Orson Spencer, a Baptist minister, and Catherine Curtis. In 1840 Mormonism changed the lives of this family as they journeyed westward to Nauvoo. The children were left in the care of fine friends as the mother was buried in Nauvoo and the father was later called to serve the Church in Britain. Aurelia married Thomas Rogers when she was sixteen. Her father became chancellor of the University of Deseret. Aurelia's special work was to organize the Primary movement in the Church, which she began in Farmington, Utah. Her life was filled with trials and heartaches as she lost five of her twelve children, but she rose above it all and lived to bless hundreds of thousands of children throughout the world through the Primary organization. She died on 19 August 1922.

Romania Bunnell Pratt Penrose was born on 8 August 1839 in Washinton, Indiana, to Luther and Ester Mendenhall Bunnell. The family moved to Nauvoo and Winter Quarters, but the father died before they went West. Romania was baptized in 1855 before she left for the West. By her first husband, Parley P. Pratt (the son of the apostle of that name), she had seven children. When she was thirty-six, President Brigham Young called her to study medicine in the East where she attended the Women's Medical College in Philadelphia. (Her mother cared for her children.) She was the first Mormon woman to receive a medical degree. Upon her return to Utah she specialized in diseases of the nose and throat. She encouraged the

building of hospitals, and she trained midwives. She was a member of the General Board of the Relief Society for many years and was active in behalf of women in England when she accompanied her second husband, President Charles W. Penrose, to that land. She died in 1932 at the age of ninety-three.

Ellis Reynolds Shipp was born on 20 January 1847 to William F. and Anna Hawley Reynolds in Davis County, Iowa. When her family reached the Salt Lake Valley in 1852, Ellis was invited to attend the school which Karl G. Maeser conducted for President Brigham Young's own children. Ellis married Wilford Bard Shipp, and they were the parents of ten children, five of whom did not live to maturity. Ellis left her home at twenty-eight to attend the Women's Medical College in Philadelphia. On returning east for the second year, she found she was pregnant, but she remained and gave birth to her child at the end of her second year of medical school. That summer she earned sufficient money to complete the third year. She graduated with honors. Back in Utah she established a private practice and also founded a School of Nursing and Obstetrics where about 500 women qualified as licensed obstetricians. Ellis Shipp was a member of the General Board of the Relief Society for many years. She was a mother, doctor, civic worker, churchwoman, and poetess. She died on 21 January 1939 at ninety-two.

Emily Sophia Tanner Richards was born on 13 May 1850 at South Cottonwood, Salt Lake County, Utah, the daughter of Nathan Tanner and Rachel Winter Smith. She married Franklin S. Richards in 1868, and they became the parents of five children. They moved to Ogden where Emily began her distinguished career of public service. She served on the General Board of the Relief Society and represented them and the Young Women's Mutual Improvement Association at the first International Council of Women held in Washington, D.C. Honors came to Emily, and she became a friend of Susan B. Anthony, representing the women of Utah at many national gatherings and one in Berlin, Germany. Her reserved, refined, and sweet manner did much to allay the prejudice against Utah people and institutions. She died on 19 August 1929, ending a life of selfless, dedicated service.

Louie Bouton Felt was born on 5 May 1850 in Norwalk, Connecticut, to Mary Barts and Joseph Bouton. Her father was president of the LDS Church branch there. Her childhood was a happy one. When sixteen years old, Louie walked over the plains with Joseph H. Felt, a returned missionary in the pioneer company. In the following

December they were married in Salt Lake City. The young couple were soon asked to colonize the Muddy Mission (Moapa, Nevada). In spite of Louie's ill health, they weathered the harsh conditions there until they were allowed to return to Salt Lake City. Louie longed for children and was a second mother to the children of her husband's other two families. She was called as the first general president of the Primary Association and put up her own home as security in order to publish *The Children's Friend* in 1901. She also initiated the hospital fund in 1911 and the Primary Children's Hospital in 1922. She served as president of the Primary for forty-five years. After years of selfless service, she died on 13 February 1928.

Ruth May Fox was born on 16 November 1853 to James May and Mary Ann Harding at Westbury, England. Her mother died when Ruth was a baby. When eleven she crossed the ocean to meet her father, who had been earning money for her passage in Philadelphia. She walked across the plains by the wagon her father had been hired to drive. In 1873 she married Jesse W. Fox, Jr., and they became the parents of twelve children, ten of whom grew to maturity. Ruth was a born leader, and she served wherever she was called. She was a member of the General Board of the Young Women's Mutual Improvement Association for forty years, serving as president of the MIA for eight years. She furthered civic organizations and is best known in her literary work for the song "Carry On." She died on 12 April 1958, over one hundred and four years old.

Susa Young Gates was born on 18 March 1856 to President Brigham Young and Lucy Bigelow Young in Salt Lake City. In 1873 she married Dr. Alma B. Dunford, by whom she had two children. After a divorce from him she married Jacob F. Gates in 1880, and they were blessed with thirteen children, only five of whom lived to maturity. She was a devoted mother and created a spirit of love in her home. From her youth she increased her talents in many lines of endeavor — domestic science, music, editing, and writing. She is known as the mother of physical education in Utah. She also had important international appointments. As a member of the Women's Mutual Improvement Association General Board she urged the adoption of uniform courses of study. In 1911 she became a member of the Relief Society General Board and served as editor of the *Relief Society Magazine*. She published articles and stories and was active in genealogical study. She was a member of the Board of Trustees of both Brigham Young University and Utah State Ag-

ricultural College. She died on 28 May 1933 at Salt Lake City.

Martha Jane Horne Tingey was born on 15 October 1857 in Salt Lake Valley to Joseph and Mary Isabella Hales Horne. In 1884 she married Joseph S. Tingey, and they had seven children. Although partially crippled from an illness at the birth of her first child, she performed all the duties devolving on her. In 1905 she was called as president of the Young Women's Mutual Improvement Association after having served as a counselor to Sister Elmina Shepherd Taylor for twenty-five years. She represented her association at meetings of the National Council of Women of the United States. She served the youth of the Church from 1880 to 1929, radiating to them the spirit of testimony. She died on 11 March 1938.

Alice Robinson Richards was born in Farmington, Utah, on 14 May 1864 to Oliver Lee and Lucy M. Robinson. She learned the skills of domesticity early as her mother died when she was eleven and she had the care of a seven-month-old baby. Alice married George F. Richards when she was eighteen. Their married life together lasted for sixty-four years, and they had a family of fifteen children, thirteen of whom grew to maturity. In addition to her very heavy home duties, Alice supported her husband in all his Church callings, assuming added responsibilities in his frequent absences as an apostle and president of the European Mission. Great joy came to her in serving as matron of the Salt Lake Temple when her husband was temple president. He was also president of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles. Alice loved the peace and tranquility found within the temple walls. She was an exemplary wife and mother, as the lives of her distinguished children attest. She was the mother of LeGrand Richards, a member of the Quorum of the Twelve. She died on 21 April 1946, a revered mother in Israel.

Louise Yates Robison was born on 27 May 1866 in Scipio, Utah, to Thomas and Elizabeth F. Yates. At seventeen she married Joseph Lyman Robison. They lived in Salt Lake City where six children were born to them. Louise served faithfully in Church positions, never neglecting her home duties. Because of the sketchiness of her own secular education, she studied her children's lessons along with them and was continuously enrolled in University correspondence courses, arising at 4:00 A.M. to devote two hours daily except on Sunday to this learning program. Her leadership and spiritual strength resulted in her call to the Relief Society General Board in 1921 and in 1928 to become president, a position she filled for eleven years. She was a beloved leader and a dedicated civic worker

who also filled positions in national and international organizations. She died on 30 March 1946 at San Francisco.

Alice Merrill Horne was born on 2 January 1868 in Fillmore, Utah, to Clarence and Bathsheba Smith Merrill. When she was twenty-two she married George Henry Horne. They had six children, five of whom lived to maturity. Alice's life was one of rich service in behalf of children, women's suffrage, and other civic affairs. She served in the Utah House of Representatives where she introduced and supported bills whose causes she felt were worthwhile and vital. She is perhaps best known for her work in behalf of art. As a member of the General Board of the Relief Society, she wrote lessons on art. Her *Handbook of Utah Art* was the first art book published in Utah (1914). She was a true friend to struggling artists and won national and international acclaim for her sponsorship of art. She died on 7 October 1948.

Lavina Christensen Fugal was born on 9 September 1879 to Jens Christian Christensen and Ane Katrine Jensen in Pleasant Grove, Utah. In 1955 her life's work was recognized in New York City where she was crowned "American Mother of the Year." A study of her life reveals how merited was this recognition. Her girlhood was one of hardships because her father, crippled in the Danish-German war, was unable to work. Lavina and everyone else in the family worked, but, by diligence and perseverance, she gave her wholehearted support to her Church and civic responsibilities and received a distinguished service award from the Utah State Farm Bureau Federation. She died on 1 June 1969 at Pleasant Grove, Utah.

Mima Murdock Broadbent was born on 26 November 1879 to Margaret and Joseph Royal Murdock of Charleston, Utah. In 1901 she married David A. Broadbent, and they were the parents of fourteen children, twelve of whom were reared to maturity. All twelve children graduated from college and were married in the temple. Mima's home radiated with spiritual and mental uplift. Her influence reached outside the home as she fully supported her husband in his important Church callings, and she accepted prayerfully and willingly her own callings in the Church auxiliaries. She was chosen Utah State Mother of the Year in 1948. Her modesty and humility crowned her life's work. She died on 30 December 1957 at Provo, Utah.

Emma Lucy Gates Bowen was born in St. George, Utah, on 5 November 1880 to Jacob F. and Susa Young Gates. She married Albert E. Bowen (later a member of the Quorum of the Twelve

Apostles) on 30 June 1916. They had no children, but she reared his twin boys by his first wife. Emma Lucy had already won national and international recognition for her singing when she married. She studied violin and piano before turning to the cultivation of her voice in Germany and France as a coloratura soprano. She also sang roles for a mezzo-soprano. She was considered "Utah's first lady of music." She and her brother, B. Cecil Gates, formed an opera company in 1915 which presented operas in the larger cities of the Rocky Mountain area. Emma had a vibrant personality and was also skilled in cooking. In later years she turned to dramatics, but she always found time to help aspiring artists and to entertain visiting musicians. She did much to allay prejudice against the Church. She died on 30 April 1951.

Elsie Chamberlain Carroll was born on 18 November 1882 at Orderville, Utah, to Thomas and Elinor A. Hoyt Chamberlain. She was married in 1907 to Dr. Charles Hardy Carroll. They had two children. After receiving her master's degree in English from BYU, she continued to study as circumstances permitted at six other outstanding universities. In addition to teaching literature at BYU, she wrote stories, poems, and articles for Church magazines and study courses for the auxiliaries. Her warm personality and genuine interest in the young made her a successful resident mother. She was active in Church and school interests and a member of professional writing groups. She died on 4 October 1967 in Salt Lake City.

Frankie Estella Spilsbury Harris was born on 17 February 1884 in Toquerville, Utah, to George Moroni and Roselia Haight Spilsbury. She married Franklin Stewart Harris on 18 June 1908. They had six children. Estella also helped to rear a niece. She graduated from BYU with a Kindergarten Normal Diploma, and in 1941 she received a B.S. degree along with her youngest daughter. She constantly taught her children the value of an education and was a valued aid to her husband as he served twenty-four years as president of BYU and five years as president of Utah State Agricultural College. She accompanied him on agricultural and educational assignments for the U.S. Government in many parts of the world. She was active in Church assignments and in many educational groups. She died on 2 December 1973 at Salt Lake City.¹

1. These sketches were prepared by Marianne Clark Sharp, daughter of President J. Reuben Clark, Jr., and former member of the general presidency of the LDS Relief Society.

Appendix 22

Biographical Sketches of People for Whom Various BYU Student Housing Units Were Named

Allen Hall

R. Eugene and Inez Knight Allen, husband and wife, together gave a lifetime of service to BYU. Inez supported her husband in his complex business roles (one facet of which was managing the Jesse Knight Endowment Fund in behalf of BYU) while raising her family and giving active service in the Relief Society.

Eugene was born in Coalville, Utah, in 1877. His father, Thomas L. Allen, was a stake president for many years, as well as designer and builder of the Summit Stake Tabernacle. Eugene served a mission in Great Britain from 1905 to 1907.

Inez, who was one of the first two lady missionaries to be called by the Church, was born west of Payson, Utah, in 1876, the fourth child of Jesse and Amanda Knight. After years of activity in many fields, she died in 1937.¹

Amanda Knight Hall

Amanda McEwan Knight, who was born in Salt Lake City in 1851 of pioneer parents, was noted for her remarkable kindness, warmth, wisdom, and unselfishness. By the time of her death in 1932 in Provo, she and her husband, Jesse Knight, had given great shares of their wealth to both the Church and to BYU.

Knight-Mangum Hall

Jennie Knight Mangum, the daughter of Jesse and Amanda McEwan Knight, was born in 1885 at Payson, Utah. Her life was one of education, enduring ties of friendship, great service to the Church, and devoted motherhood. She served actively in stake Relief Society and in ward and stake YWMIA organizations, and in 1922 she established an annual scholarship which is awarded to the outstanding male student at Provo High School.

The life of Lucy Jane Brimhall Knight was characterized by modesty, service, and sweetness. Among her many activities — distinguished service in Relief Society, active membership in social and civic

1. These sketches were compiled by Fred Schwendiman, who was director of on-campus housing during much of the Wilkinson Administration.

groups, appointment to the Philadelphia Peace Conference — she had the distinction of being one of the first two regularly called lady missionaries of the LDS Church. She was born at Spanish Fork, Utah, in 1875, the daughter of President George H. Brimhall and Alsina E. Wilkins.

Helaman Halls

Helaman Halls is composed of a central building and eight housing units, four of which house men and four, women. Each separate unit accommodates 234 students. The George Q. Cannon Center, the central building, provides food services, meeting rooms, a living room, storage, supply, and maintenance services. The management offices are also located in this building. Architect for the residence halls was the Los Angeles firm of Kegley, Westphall, and Arbogast; the Cannon Center was designed by Lowell E. Parish of Salt Lake City. Okland Construction Company and Garff, Ryberg, and Garff Construction Company were the contractors, working jointly on the project. Initial construction started in 1957 and was finished soon after. Two additional buildings were completed in 1959. Another women's hall was completed in 1970. Helaman Halls was designed as a place for students to live where they could be aided in the accomplishment of their educational, social, spiritual, and physical ambitions at BYU. Helaman Halls derives its name from the sons of Helaman in the Book of Mormon.

Budge Hall

Born in Lanark, Scotland, in 1828, William Budge, who was converted to the Church at age twenty, gave a lifetime of service. By the time of his death in 1919 in Logan, Utah, he had been active in civic and political affairs and had been ten years a missionary before coming to America (during which time he converted Karl Maeser), two and one-half years a mission president, fourteen years a bishop, twenty-nine years a stake president, and thirteen years a temple president.

Cannon Center

George Q. Cannon, born in 1827 in Liverpool, England, was a man of divers talents; his service to the Church included a mission to Hawaii, publishing of the Book of Mormon in Hawaiian, appointment to Congress for ten years, ordination to the Council of the Twelve, the writing of several books, and service as first counselor to

three Church presidents, which position he held until his death in 1901. President Cannon helped conceive the idea of Brigham Young Academy and persuaded Brigham Young to establish it. He served as president of the BYU Board of Trustees from 1897 to 1901.

Chipman Hall

A devoted family man and energetic worker in the Church and in business and civic affairs, Stephen L. Chipman was born in American Fork, Utah, in 1864. His mother, Sarah Green Chipman, died when he was very young; his father, James Chipman, was active in business and civic interests. By the time of Brother Chipman's death in 1945, he had been a stake president for twenty-eight years, a member of the BYU Board of Trustees for forty-three years, and president of the Salt Lake Temple for eight years. One of his daughters, Lorena Chipman Fletcher, was American Mother of the Year in 1965.

Hinckley Hall

Hinckley Hall was named in honor of Ira Nathaniel Hinckley and his children — eight sons and seven daughters — all of whom attended BYU. Ira was born in Ontario, Canada, in 1823. After accepting the gospel, he moved to the United States. He was mayor of Fillmore, Utah, and served for twenty-five years as stake president. He died on 10 April 1904. One of his sons, Alonzo, also became president of the Millard Stake, serving for twenty-seven years. In 1934 he was ordained an apostle and served until his death two years later in December 1936. Another son, Bryant Stringham, a renowned author, served on the faculty of BYU for nine years, was a member of the YMMIA General Board for twenty-five years, and served in the stake presidency of Liberty Stake for twenty-nine years — the last eleven as stake president. He was also the father of Gordon B. Hinckley, presently a member of the Council of the Twelve Apostles. A third son, Edwin S. Hinckley, served as a faculty member at BYU for twenty years — eleven of them as second counselor to President Brimhall. As head of the local Chamber of Commerce, he had great influence in making Provo a “university town” and a business and industrial community. His son, Robert H., became chairman of the Civil Aeronautics Authority of the United States. Other members of the Ira N. Hinckley family were also faithful members of the Church and outstanding citizens.

David John Hall

David John was born in Wales on 29 January 1833 and was baptized into the LDS Church at age fifteen. Until his death in 1908 at Provo, he was active in many endeavors — he served as a missionary to Wales, as first counselor in the Utah Stake presidency for twenty-three years, as stake president for seven years, and as stake superintendent of Sunday Schools for twenty-eight years, as well as being vice-president of the BYU Board of Trustees for over sixteen years.

May Hall

Jean Fossum May, born in Baker, Oregon, in 1906, served a mission to California in 1927. Married on 26 November 1930, she was widowed within three years, but she went to work and made a full life for her two sons. In 1959 she came to BYU as head resident of Stover Hall and probably had as much influence on the students living in that hall as any faculty member had on the students under his tutelage. She constantly urged her students to go on missions, and, by the time of her unexpected death in 1969 at the age of 63, approximately 2,000 of her students, whom she referred to as her sons of Helaman, had gone on missions. Sister May kept a photographic display of all of these young men which hung in Stover Hall. She also kept up correspondence with most of them while they were on their missions. She was so idolized by her students, who referred to her as “Mother,” that on her death an irresistible plea was made for a building to be named in her honor. She was the only woman for whom one of Helaman Halls was named.

Merrill Hall

Marriner Wood Merrill was born in 1832 in New Brunswick, Canada, the son of Nathan Merrill and Sarah Ann Reynolds Merrill. Baptized at age twenty, he devoted his life to active service in the Church and in business and civic interests. He was president of the Logan Temple and an apostle, both of which positions he held until his death in 1906. Two sons, Melvin and Amos, were deans at BYU. Another son, Joseph, was a member of the Council of the Twelve.

Stover Hall

Walter Stover has served as a bishop’s counselor, a member of the Church Welfare Committee, and continues to be a generous contributor to BYU. As mission president of the East German Mission at

the end of World War II, Brother Stover had the opportunity of administering to people of his homeland who were in great need, and, from this experience, he gained a strong testimony of the welfare plan. He was born in Bremerhaven, Germany, in 1899, the son of Bernhard and Anna Dennemeyer Stover.

Taylor Hall

Thomas Nicholls Taylor, son of two of Provo's prominent pioneers, George and Eliza Nicholls Taylor, was a leader in business and community service, religion, politics, education, and sports. He was a bishop for nineteen years, president of Utah Stake for twenty years, patriarch from 1939 until his death, mayor of Provo for four years, and Democratic Party candidate for governor of Utah in 1920. He was a member of the BYU Board of Trustees from 1921 to 1939. He was born on 28 July 1868 and died on 24 October 1950.

Deseret Towers

Deseret Towers provides a pleasant, comfortable setting where students have opportunities and facilities for both study and social life. The complex consists of six seven-story residence halls with a total housing capacity of 1,758. In addition, there is a central building, the Morris Center, which provides cafeteria service, a snack bar, a television room, a lobby, a custodial area, and the management office and reception desk for Deseret Towers.

Ballard Hall

Melvin J. Ballard, who performed outstanding missionary work for the Church and dedicated South America for missionary work, was born of immigrant parents in 1873 in Logan, Utah. He was much in demand as a speaker throughout the Church. He became an apostle in 1919, which responsibility he held until his death on 30 July 1939.

Bennion Hall

Adam Samuel Bennion, born in 1886 at Taylorsville, Utah, was superintendent of LDS schools from 1919 to 1927. After that, he worked as a business executive, was Republican Party candidate for the United States Senate in 1944, and served as a member of the BYU Board of Trustees and a member of the Council of the Twelve Apostles. He attained great popularity as a speaker throughout the Church. He died on 11 February 1958.

Callis Hall

Much of the life of Charles A. Callis was devoted to missionary work. He was called to preside over the Southern States Mission in 1906, becoming president of the mission in 1907, and serving in that position until 1934. He was a member of the bar in both Florida and South Carolina and became a member of the Council of the Twelve. He was born in Dublin, Ireland, in 1865 and died in 1947.

Morris Center

George Q. Morris, born of pioneer parents in Salt Lake City in 1874, grew to be a leader in Church, civic, and business affairs. He was a missionary to Great Britain, an MIA superintendent, a bishop, general superintendent of the Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association for eleven years, president of the Eastern States Mission for three years, and a member of the Council of the Twelve from 1954 until his death in 1962.

Penrose Hall

Born in London, England, in 1832, Charles W. Penrose led a full life as a missionary; editor of the *Ogden Junction*, the *Deseret News* and *Salt Lake Herald*; author; legislator; mission president; and General Authority for twenty-one years. He became second counselor to Joseph F. Smith in 1911 and later second and then first counselor to Heber J. Grant. He died on 16 May 1925.

Richards Hall

George Franklin Richards, born in 1861 in Farmington, Utah, was active in the Church throughout his life. By the time of his death in 1950, he had served as a patriarch, mission president of the European Mission, president of the Salt Lake Temple for sixteen years, acting Patriarch to the Church for five years, and president of the Quorum of the Twelve for five years. He was the father of LeGrand Richards, now a member of the Council of the Twelve.

Whitney Hall

During his life, Orson Ferguson Whitney fulfilled a mission, became a bishop at age twenty-three, was a journalist and brilliant poet and author, served seven years as assistant to the Church historian, and became a member of the Council of the Twelve. He was born in Salt Lake City in 1855 and died in 1931.

Wymount Terrace

Located just northeast of the main campus, Wymount Terrace was designed for the use of married students. Its twenty-four three-story buildings, containing 462 family-type apartments, are arranged in quadrangles around enclosed lawn and play areas, where children are protected from traffic. Four different apartment sizes are available in Wymount Terrace — one-bedroom units, one-bedroom units with study, two-bedroom units, and three-bedroom units. The rental rates on these units are kept at a minimum and include all utilities except gas and lights. Motor traffic is routed around the immediate perimeter of the project to allow close parking facilities for the tenants without infringing on the recreational areas.

Bennion Hall

Samuel Otis Bennion, born in 1874 at Taylorsville, Utah was president of the Central States Mission for twenty-seven years, a member of the First Council of the Seventy for twelve years, and general manager and president of the *Deseret News* for several years. He died in 1945.

Clayton Hall

William Clayton, author of the famous Mormon hymn "Come, Come, Ye Saints," was born in Lancashire, England, in 1814 and was one of the first to accept the gospel there. After immigrating to Nauvoo, Illinois, he became clerk to Joseph Smith and clerk and recorder of the Nauvoo Temple. Until his death in 1879, he served in many capacities among the Saints in the Salt Lake Valley.

Critchlow Hall

William J. Critchlow, Jr., was born in 1892 in Ogden, Utah (where he later had great influence as a leader in community affairs), and died in 1968. He was active in ward and stake YMMIA organizations and served as a Sunday School superintendent, a member of a stake high council, president of the South Ogden Stake, and an Assistant to the Council of the Twelve, being responsible for the supervision of the missionary program in the Western American missions. He died on 29 August 1968.

Dixon Hall

Born in Provo in 1890, Henry Aldous Dixon led a full life as a

teacher at Weber Academy and BYU, bishop, educational administrator, president of Weber College for seventeen years, president of Utah State Agricultural College for two years, and congressman from Utah for six years. He loved young people and radiated this to his students in all of his capacities.

Hamblin Hall

Jacob Hamblin distinguished himself as a missionary and peacemaker among the Lamanites [Indians] in Utah and Arizona. He was born in Ohio in 1819 and died in Pleasanton, New Mexico, in 1886, a loved, admired, and respected man.

Ivins Hall

Antoine Ridgeway Ivins was born in St. George, Utah, in 1881 and spent several years in Mexico with his family before returning to Utah. He was honored for his long and active service to youth, was a member of the First Council of the Seventy for thirty-six years, and president of the Mexican Mission for three years. Brother Ivins died on 18 October 1967.

J. Golden Kimball Hall

The son of Heber C. Kimball, Jonathan Golden Kimball was born in Salt Lake City in 1853. An alumnus of BYU, he served in the Southern States Mission, became president of that mission, and was chosen a member of the First Council of the Seventy. At the time of his death in 1938, he was well known for his sincerity, insight, and faith. Deeply religious, he was nevertheless known as the leading wit and humorist in the Church.

Sarah M. Kimball Hall

Sarah M. Kimball, who was born in 1818 in Phelps, New York, and died in Salt Lake City in 1898, was a teacher, wife, mother, devoted member of the Church, and a leader among women. She was one of the ten leading sisters who established the Relief Society under the direction of Eliza R. Snow. Sister Kimball was a dynamic leader in the woman's suffrage organizational work in Utah and a member of the Utah Constitutional Convention of 1882.

Longden Hall

A respected businessman and active Church worker, John Longden was area manager for National Electric Products Corporation, a missionary in the Central States Mission, a bishop, high councilor,

General Church Welfare Committee member, and Assistant to the Council of the Twelve for eighteen years. Elder Longden was born in Lancashire, England, in 1898 and died in 1969.

McClellan Hall

A few of John J. McClellan's many contributions in the field of music included composing hymns and serving as director of music for Brigham Young Academy, conducting the Salt Lake Symphony Orchestra, and serving as organist at the Salt Lake Tabernacle. He composed the original music for BYU's "College Song." He started the free organ recitals held every week at the Salt Lake Tabernacle. Born in Payson, Utah on 20 April 1874, he died on 2 August 1925 at the height of his career.

McKay Hall

A brother of President David O. McKay, Thomas Evans McKay was born in Huntsville, Utah, in 1875. He was a missionary, mission president, teacher at Weber Academy and Utah State Agricultural College, superintendent of Weber County Schools, Utah State legislator (serving as president of the Utah State Senate), and an Assistant to the Council of the Twelve from 1941 until his death in 1958.

Nibley Hall

Born in 1849 in Hunterfield, Scotland, Charles Wilson Nibley moved with his family to America in 1855, where they eventually settled in Utah. Brother Nibley, as well as being chosen Presiding Bishop of the Church in 1907, was very active in business. He died in 1931.

Pratt Hall

A scholar, great missionary, mission president, and apostle, Orson Pratt, brother of Parley P. Pratt, was one of the original Twelve Apostles chosen and ordained by the Three Witnesses. He was also the first of the Mormon pioneers to enter Salt Lake Valley. Born in 1811 in Hartford, New York, he died in 1881.

Alice Louise Reynolds Hall

Alice Louise Reynolds entered Brigham Young University when she was not quite thirteen, received additional college training at four other universities, and was a favorite teacher and faculty member at BYU for forty-four years. In addition, she served eleven years in the Utah Stake YWMIA and was editor of the Church's

Relief Society Magazine for over seven years. She died in 1938 in Salt Lake City.

George Reynolds Hall

A convert to the Church, George Reynolds was a member of the First Council of the Seventy and secretary to several Church presidents. He participated in many business and civic activities and contributed much to Church publications with his literary ability. He was the father of Alice L. Reynolds, a prominent English teacher at BYU. He died in 1909.

Roberts Hall

Brigham H. Roberts was a missionary, mission president, editor, member of the First Council of the Seventy, and a great historian. He wrote the six-volume *Comprehensive History of the Church*, which served as a basic text in Church history classes at BYU for many years. He crossed the plains when he was ten years old, walking over eight-hundred barefoot miles. He was a member of the Utah Constitutional Convention and was later elected to Congress, but he was denied his seat because he was a polygamist. He was born in Warrington, England, in 1857 and died in 1933.

Julina Lambson Smith Hall

The mother of President Joseph Fielding Smith, Julina Lambson Smith, was born in 1849 in Salt Lake City and in 1866 was married to Joseph F. Smith, who later became President of the Church. She was among those originally called to labor in the Salt Lake Temple. She accompanied her husband on a mission to Hawaii and was active in community affairs and the Church until her death in 1936.

Nicholas G. Smith Hall

Nicholas G. Smith, born in 1881, was a missionary in the Netherlands and a mission president in South Africa, California, and the Northwestern States. He also served as a high councilor, a bishop, a patriarch, Acting Patriarch to the Church, first counselor in the Salt Lake Temple Presidency, and an Assistant to the Council of the Twelve from 1941 until his death in 1945.

Stephens Hall

Evan Stephens, born in South Wales in 1854, was a talented musician who was musical director for the General Board of the YMMIA and director of the Tabernacle Choir for twenty-six years.

He overcame poverty and a lack of early training in order to study music and never ceased his contributions to the musical culture of the Church and community until his death in 1930.

Sutherland Hall

Born at Stony Stratford, England, in 1862, George Sutherland spent his life in dedication to Utah and to the nation, until his death in Stockbridge, Massachusetts, in 1942. As a lawyer, congressman, senator, president of the American Bar Association (1916-17), and Supreme Court justice, his integrity and justice won for him great respect and influence. Not a member of the LDS Church, he was a student under Karl G. Maeser at Brigham Young Academy from 1879 to 1883.

Swensen Hall

John Canute Swensen, a leader in state education and professor of sociology at BYU for fifty-four years (during thirty of which he was head of the Sociology Department), established the first regular lyceum program at BYU in 1903. He was also BYU's first director of athletics. He was a stake high councilor for twenty-three years. Brother Swensen was born in 1869 and died in 1953.

Williams Hall

Helen Spencer Williams, born in 1896, was an accomplished writer, columnist, and speaker, as well as first counselor on the YWMIA General Board and a writer for the *Improvement Era*, the *Relief Society Magazine*, and the *Deseret News*. She died in 1965 after a lifetime of service to her family, Church, and community.

Wirthlin Hall

Joseph L. Wirthlin was born in 1893 in Salt Lake City, the oldest of eight children. He was a missionary, a bishop, a prominent businessman, a stake president for three years, a stake high councilor for ten years, chairman of the Salt Lake Regional Welfare Program, and Presiding Bishop of the Church. Brother Wirthlin died in 1963.

Young Hall

Levi Edgar Young, who was born in 1874 in Salt Lake City and died in 1963, was noted as an educator, historian, and author of several historical books and numerous articles. He served a mission in Germany and presided over the Swiss Mission, the Temple

Square Mission (for twelve years), and the New England Mission (for three years). He became a member of the First Council of the Seventy in 1909, serving in that capacity for fifty-four years.

Appendix 23

Biographical Sketches of Certain Important Figures in BYU History

Brigham Young considered his primary role in life to be that of carrying out the divine religious and educational work which Joseph Smith initiated. He said it was necessary to “continue the work that Joseph Smith commenced until everything is prepared for the coming of the Son of Man” (*Journal of Discourses*, 3:41). As he explained, he felt he was in a unique position to do this because of his closeness to Joseph Smith: “I was as well acquainted with him as any man. I do not believe that his father and mother knew him any better than I did” (*Journal of Discourses*, 9:332). Brigham’s assertion was especially true with respect to education, for President Young followed Joseph Smith’s teachings in all of his educational endeavors.

Brigham Young was born in Whittingham, Vermont, on 1 June 1801. He was of Puritan ancestry, his father, John Young, having fought under General George Washington in the Revolutionary War. At the age of three he moved with his parents to the western part of New York State where his mother died when Brigham was fourteen. He was put out as an apprentice but learned so rapidly that he was able to go into business for himself by the time he was sixteen. The youthful Brigham became an expert in carpentry and cabinet-making, and some of his handiwork from this period still exists. He also gained professional skill as a painter and glazer.

In 1830, when Brigham Young was twenty-nine, his elder brother, Phineas, let him read a copy of the Book of Mormon. Brigham was definitely impressed. However, he was not easily converted to Mormonism. He studied the Church for nearly two years before he was finally baptized on 14 April 1832. Afterwards, he walked two miles from the river in which he was baptized to his residence in cold, snowy weather. He later recalled that “before my clothes were dry on my back” he was ordained an elder in The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (*Manuscript History of Brigham Young*, p. 3). This changed his whole life.

The rugged dedication of this new convert manifested itself immediately. The very year he was baptized, he set out on foot in snow and mud two feet deep to fulfill a mission to Canada. He preached without purse or scrip, but within a month he had baptized around forty-five persons and organized several branches of the Church.

Almost immediately after his conversion to the Church, Brigham

Young shared the trials of the Saints and became oriented to their commitment to education. In 1834 a large body of Church members had been driven from their homes in Jackson County, Missouri, and had been forced to settle in Clay County across the river. Brigham walked 2,000 miles to and from Missouri in an effort to help protect the Saints from the looting and burning of their homes and their forced evacuation from Clay County to Far West. In Missouri, he acquired first-hand knowledge of the LDS educational program.

In 1837 Brigham Young nearly lost his life when a violent persecution broke out in Kirtland, Ohio, and forced him, along with Joseph Smith and other members of the Church, to flee to Far West, Missouri, where the new headquarters of the Church were established. However, persecution followed them there. When the Saints were driven from Far West and completely out of Missouri by order of the governor, and when Joseph Smith and many other Church leaders were arrested, it fell to Brigham Young to lead 12,000 Mormon refugees from Missouri to their new quarters in Nauvoo, Illinois.

The Mormons were barely settled in their makeshift homes along the malaria-ridden Mississippi River before Brigham Young was sent by revelation to preside over the European missions of the Church. Traveling as usual without purse or scrip, it took him four months to reach New York. He did not even have a coat, protecting himself from the cold with a bed quilt wrapped around him.

When he arrived in England in 1840, Brigham Young had only seventy-five cents in his pocket, but in less than a year he was able to return home and report that over 8,000 people had been converted; 5,000 copies of the Book of Mormon and 3,000 hymnals had been published; 60,000 tracts had been distributed; and publication of the *Millennial Star*, a Mormon periodical, had been launched. The largest shipping companies in England were seeking the favor of the Saints in order to bid for the contract of transporting thousands of new converts to America.

Returning in 1841 to the new Church headquarters which had been set up in Nauvoo, Illinois, Brigham Young spent the next three years building a family home (which still stands), serving on the Nauvoo City Council, helping supervise the construction of the Nauvoo Temple, and building Nauvoo into the largest community in Illinois.

On 27 June 1844, Joseph Smith and his brother, Hyrum, were murdered by a mob in Carthage, Illinois, and the leadership of the

Church fell heavily and unexpectedly on the shoulders of Brigham Young. This was to be a great test of his leadership, for, within a year mobs had moved in around Nauvoo and threatened to take the city by violence unless the Saints agreed to evacuate by spring. Fortunately, Brigham Young's faith, sense of responsibility, and experience had prepared him for supreme leadership in such an emergency. He knew that Joseph Smith had prophesied in 1842 that eventually the Saints would be driven to the Rocky Mountains, and the new Mormon leader recognized that fulfillment of that prophecy was imminent. He therefore began organizing his people into "Camps of Israel" to prepare for an exodus. They were forced to leave in midwinter of 1846, by which time they were fairly well organized. In the first flood of refugees there were more than 12,000 men, women, and children; 3,000 wagons; 30,000 head of cattle, horses, and mules; together with vast flocks of sheep, swine, and chickens, all hastily herded or carried across the frozen Mississippi River to join the trek West. The next task was to cross 1,500 miles of rivers and plains in winter weather and, as spring and summer arrived, along rugged and sometimes muddy, sometimes dusty frontier trails to get these 12,000 men, women, and children settled in the tops of the Rocky Mountains.

When the settlers arrived in Utah, they were deeply disappointed by Congress's refusal to grant them statehood. Nevertheless, under the dynamic leadership of Brigham Young, they moved out in a dozen directions to "build up the Kingdom." Brigham's prowess as an organizer and leader of worldwide missionary activities, as a colonizer comparable to Moses (for he colonized an area many times the area of the Promised Land), as a temple builder, as the tamer of the Great American Desert, as the organizer of a tremendous emigration from the Old World to this, and as the founder of a great educational system, resulted in the Mormon people, in the short period of thirty years (Brigham Young's tenure as President of the Church), accomplishing the following:

1. In spite of the poverty among the general population, Mormon missionaries were dispatched to the four corners of the earth: Norway, Denmark, Sweden, England, France, Italy, Switzerland, Australia, South Africa, Hawaii, China, South America, and the Pacific Islands. (*Essentials of Church History*, pp. 483-84)
2. Colonization was undertaken as though the Mormons were going to occupy most of the 495,000 square miles they had

- petitioned to be included in their new State of Deseret. In thirty years Brigham Young personally directed the establishment of 358 separate communities in Utah, Arizona, Idaho, Wyoming, Nevada, and Southern California. (Milton R. Hunter, *Brigham Young the Colonizer*, pp. 377-78)
3. Plans were laid and construction begun on a magnificent temple which was to take forty years to complete.
 4. Programs were initiated to give the Mormon commonwealth a completely self-sustaining and independent economy — grain, vegetables, fruit, meat, dairy products, textiles, grist mills, saw mills, potteries, iron foundaries, sugar manufacturing, cotton, wool, flax, soap, dyes, molasses, furniture, leather goods, and so forth. (Milton R. Hunter, *Brigham Young the Colonizer*, chapter 15)
 5. The taming of “the Great American Desert,” which was largely contained within the boundaries of the proposed State of Deseret, was launched with the most ambitious irrigation complex since the days of antiquity. The very first year they brought 5,000 acres under cultivation. By 1869 they had constructed 215 main canals extending over a thousand miles and at a cost of approximately \$1,700 per mile. These waterways irrigated more than 167,000 acres of land. (Milton R. Hunter, *Brigham Young the Colonizer*, p. 170)
 6. A “Perpetual Emigrating Fund Company” was incorporated to provide assistance to Mormons stranded in Nauvoo or on the plains and also to transport thousands of converts from Europe to America. It is estimated that in forty years this fund assisted approximately a hundred thousand “poor saints” to emigrate to Utah. (Gustive O. Larson, *The Americanization of Utah for Statehood*, footnote, pp. 5-6)
 7. The establishment of a Church school system, including Brigham Young Academy.

Brigham Young died on 29 August 1877.

Members of the Original Board of Trustees

William Bringham was born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on 8 November 1818. He married Ann Dillworth on 25 March 1845. They traveled to Utah with the John Taylor Company, arriving on 10 October 1847. After moving to Springville, he became a city councilman, a member of the territorial legislature, and served for

several years as bishop of the Springville Ward. He was a director of the Provo Woolen Mills, in addition to being a merchant, farmer, and stockraiser. When Brigham Young Academy was founded in 1875, he was named as a Trustee. He was still a member of the Board of Directors of the school when the sudden death of President Brigham Young placed the financial burden of the school upon that group. He died in February 1883. Due to the requirement that all of Brigham Young's heirs were to agree on a successor, he was not replaced on the Board of Trustees until 10 April 1886.¹

Harvey H. Cluff was born on 9 January 1836 at Kirtland, Ohio. A descendant of a pioneer American family which settled in Massachusetts and New Hampshire, his parents became associated with The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints upon their move to Kirtland where Harvey was born. His father arrived in Utah in the spring of 1850 and went directly to Provo to settle. He returned to the East to assist the handcart companies of 1856. Harvey married Margaret Ann Foster in 1857. He served three terms on the Provo City Council and then served a mission in England in 1865. In 1869 he was called on a mission to the Sandwich Islands. Accompanied by his wife, he labored at the Laie sugar plantation for five years. He returned to Provo and clerked in the Provo Co-op and became an assessor and collector in Utah County for the "United Order" organization. He served as bishop of the Provo Fourth Ward from 1875 to 1877 and then became second counselor to Abraham O. Smoot in the Utah Stake Presidency. Cluff married his second wife, Emily, in 1877. In 1879 he was again called to the Sandwich Islands, this time to preside over the mission. He served well in that capacity, meeting many dignitaries and royalty in the islands and returning home in 1882. Back in Provo, he resumed his duties in Utah Stake and became manager of the Provo Lumber and Building Company and building supervisor of the Provo Stake Tabernacle. He also served as director of the First National Bank of Provo. He was a member of the original Board of Trustees of Brigham Young Academy and served on the Board from 1876 until 1896. President Cluff served five months in jail for unlawful cohabitation in 1887. He supervised the construction of the new Brigham Young Academy Building. In August 1889 he was called by President

1. Unless otherwise noted, these biographical sketches were compiled by D. Michael Stewart and his history classes during fall semester 1974.

Wilford Woodruff to preside over the Hawaiian Saints in Skull Valley (near Tooele, Utah). Harvey H. Cluff continued in this capacity until his death on 19 April 1916. He was a staunch defender of Brigham Young Academy, and his nephew, Benjamin Cluff, Jr., was president of the school.

Martha Jane Knowlton Coray was born on 3 June 1822 in Covington, Kentucky. She joined the Church in January 1840. Shortly after her baptism, she became personally acquainted with the Prophet Joseph Smith. She became so interested in him that she wrote a biography of him from the memoirs of his mother, Lucy Mack Smith. Martha married Howard Coray on 6 February 1841. She taught school in Nauvoo with her husband until he was called on a mission to the Southern States. Upon his return, he rejoined his wife in teaching at Nauvoo. Martha moved west with the Church and her husband. They lived in Juab and Tooele counties, finally settling in Provo because of her failing health. Because of her interest in education, she was chosen to serve on the first Board of Trustees of Brigham Young Academy, holding her position until her death in 1881. She was the mother of seven boys and five girls.

Wilson Howard Dusenberry was born on 7 April 1841 in Perry, Pike County, Illinois. His parents, Mahlon Dusenberry and Aurilla Coray, took their family to California in 1860. After living there for a few years, Aurilla decided to move to Utah to be closer to the center of the LDS Church. Leaving her husband and her son John in California, Aurilla and her sons Wilson and Warren, along with her daughters, Mary Ann and Martha, moved to Provo, where Wilson and Warren became prominent and popular schoolteachers. They organized the Timpanogos Branch of the University of Deseret in 1870. Warren was chosen first principal of Brigham Young Academy, while Wilson was a member of the first Board of Trustees. He served on the Board from 1875 until his death in 1921.

Wilson married Harriet Virginia Coray on 4 December 1864, and they had four children. After the death of his first wife in 1872, Wilson married Margaret Thompson Smoot, daughter of A. O. Smoot, on 25 November 1874. They had six children.

In addition to his work with Brigham Young University, Wilson served on the Provo Stake High Council. He also served as county superintendent of schools from 1874 to 1880. During this time, he encouraged the county to provide scholarships for prospective teachers at BYA. A versatile individual, Wilson held such positions

during his lifetime as mayor of Provo, county clerk, a member of three state legislatures, cashier at two local banks, and assistant postmaster of Provo.

Leonard Ellsworth Harrington, a member of the first Board of Trustees of Brigham Young Academy, was born on 27 January 1816 in New Lisbon, Otsego County, New York. The son of Spencer Harrington and Polly Evans, he was the third of six children. In 1829 his family moved to the town of Akron, later named Newstead, in Erie County, New York. Spencer Harrington ran a tavern, and Leonard involved himself in farming, lumbering, tavern keeping, and intermittent schooling. Though the Harringtons had not associated themselves with any particular church, Leonard was taught to believe the Bible and Christian principles. On 3 February 1840 Leonard married Lois Russell, daughter of Daniel and Sarah Russell of Sparta, New York. He was introduced to Mormonism during the winter of 1839-40 and was baptized in April 1840. Driven from Nauvoo, where he served as justice of the peace, Harrington and his family crossed the plains with wagon and oxen.

In 1850 he went to American Fork as a representative of Heber C. Kimball. Eighteen months later he became bishop of the first ward and justice of the peace in American Fork. Through his efforts a city charter was secured, and in the first election (1853) he was chosen mayor, which office he held until his death in 1883. In 1851 he was appointed postmaster of American Fork and continued in that station until 1880.

Harrington served in the territorial legislature until 1882 when he was disqualified because of the Edmunds Act. He established the first free public school in American Fork in the fall of 1866. Undoubtedly, this fact prompted the decision to call Bishop Harrington to the Board of Trustees of Brigham Young Academy in 1875, where he served until his death on 21 June 1883.

Myron Tanner was born on 4 January 1826 in Bolton, New York. His father, John Tanner, was a prosperous, respected farmer in the community. After conversion to the LDS Church, the Tanner family moved to Kirtland, Ohio, where they gave freely of their time and means to build the temple.

Myron Tanner served in the Mormon Battalion in 1846. Following his release, he returned to Winter Quarters. In 1849 he reached Salt Lake City but left for California shortly after his arrival. Once in California, he became very successful as a gold miner and as a

businessman. He returned to Utah a few years later and married Jane Mount on 26 May 1856. After settling in Payson, Myron Tanner helped settlers make what was called "The Move" from the Point of the Mountain to Provo. Working with his brother, Dan, he began a successful freighting business between Los Angeles and Utah. He eventually owned a large grist mill and a few farms. He was also a director of the Provo Woolen Mills until his death in 1903.

Almost immediately after his move to Provo, Myron Tanner became active in civic affairs. He was on the city council for over twenty years, served as mayor for a few years, and served as chairman of the board of county commissioners in Utah County.

Myron Tanner had little formal schooling, but he placed great value on education and worked for its constant improvement. He was on the Executive Committee of the Timpanogos Branch of the University of Deseret from its inception in 1870 until the school was dissolved in 1875. He was appointed to the Board of Trustees of Brigham Young Academy in 1875 and served in that capacity until 1896, giving liberally of his time and means to the new school. Tanner married Annie Crosby in 1866. They had seventeen children and sent three of their sons to Harvard. In addition to the great service which he rendered to the Academy and the community, Myron Tanner served for thirty years as bishop of the Provo Third Ward. He died in 1903.²

Early Presidents of the BYU Board of Trustees

Abraham Owen Smoot, president of Utah Stake from 1868 to 1895, was born on 17 February 1815 in Owen County, Kentucky. His father, George W. Smoot, was from Prince Edward County, Virginia, and his mother, Ann Rowlett, was from the same state and county. They migrated from Virginia to Kentucky in 1812. When Abraham O. Smoot was seven years old, his parents moved to the western district of Kentucky, and when Abraham was about thirteen years old the Smoots moved a short distance across the state line into Tennessee. A. O. Smoot's father belonged to no church, nor did his mother until she joined The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. His father died in 1828, before the Church was founded; his

2. See "Early Presidents of the BYU Board of Trustees" for a biographical sketch of Abraham Owen Smoot, first president of the BYU Board of Trustees.

mother came into the Church in 1835. Abraham O. Smoot was baptized into the LDS Church on 22 March 1835 by Elder Warren Parrish. He was ordained an elder by Wilford Woodruff, with whom he traveled in the ministry for about a year in the states of Tennessee and Kentucky. In the fall of 1836 he went to Kirtland, Ohio, with Elder Woodruff. They spent the ensuing winter together, attending Kirtland High School.

In the spring of 1837 the Prophet Joseph Smith advised Elder Smoot to return to Kentucky because the northern climate did not agree with his health. He returned to his native state, but soon afterwards he and Elder Henry G. Sherwood organized a company of Saints and led them to Far West, Caldwell County, Missouri, where Church members had gathered after they were driven from Jackson County, Missouri. Elder Smoot continued his missionary work until the latter part of 1838 when the Saints were driven from Missouri. He was an active defender of Far West when the city fell to the combined forces of a mob and the state militia under the command of General John Clark. Elder Smoot was taken prisoner of war. While a prisoner he married his first wife, Martha T. McMeans, on 11 November 1838. In February 1839 the Smoots left Missouri when the Saints were expelled from the state. Their outfit was very scant, consisting of a small wagon and a span of horses; yet they took with them the family of John L. Butler (afterwards bishop of Spanish Fork) with his wife and five children. They made their way through winter storms into Illinois, arriving in Quincy on March 6. The Smoots traveled on to Nauvoo where Abraham was called to serve another mission. He traveled in the Southern States and introduced the gospel in Charleston, South Carolina. His mission after the martyrdom of Joseph Smith was to gather the Saints in the Southern States for the journey to the Rocky Mountains.

In the exodus he led a company to Winter Quarters and was the captain of a pioneer company of 120 wagons that arrived in Salt Lake Valley in 1847; it was the largest company on the road that season and was the second company that arrived in the valley after the pioneers. Elder Smoot was elected a member of the first high council in the Great Salt Lake Stake. He was the first justice of the peace that ever acted in Utah. As the only justice of the peace between the Missouri River and Salt Lake City, he was often called upon by goldseekers to adjudicate cases that sometimes involved thousands of dollars. In the fall of 1849 he returned east to establish a freight company with Jedediah M. Grant on the Missouri River

twelve miles from Winter Quarters. They were unable to start a company, but they spent the summer ferrying emigrants across the Missouri. In the spring of 1850 Smoot was engaged to bring out two trains of merchandise, one for Colonel John Reese and one for Livingston and Kinkade. These were some of the earliest of the merchant trains that supplied the Salt Lake City market in pioneer times.

In the fall of 1851 Elder Smoot was called to go on a mission to England. In company with elders Willard Snow and Samuel W. Richards, he arrived in Liverpool on New Year's Day of 1852. When they left Salt Lake City there had been no news from Liverpool for about seven months, and President Brigham Young was anxious for information of the work in Europe. Smoot and his companions traveled with all speed and made the quickest trip from the Salt Lake Valley to England accomplished up to that time. Smoot returned to Utah that summer, leading the first group of Saints to travel under the auspices of the Perpetual Emigration Fund Company. Immediately after Smoot and the emigrants arrived in Great Salt Lake City about the middle of September, he was sent back to meet the sugar works on the plains. In the spring of 1856 he went to St. Louis, Missouri, to purchase goods and supplies for the Church, expecting remittance from the Liverpool emigration headquarters. Unfortunately, the Liverpool office had been drained by the large emigration of the poor that season, and Abraham O. Smoot had to be personally responsible for the purchases until the Church could reimburse him. Nevertheless, Smoot succeeded in bringing forty wagons and 120 yoke of cattle across the plains.

When Jedediah M. Grant died in November 1856, Abraham O. Smoot was elected by the city council to take his place as mayor of Salt Lake City. In February 1857 Smoot was reelected by the unanimous vote of the people at their regular election. In 1857 he went east in charge of the mail carried by the X.Y.Z. Company and returned with the news of the coming of Johnston's Army. During the Utah War he moved south to Salem, where there was feed for his stock. After peace was negotiated, Smoot returned with the people to Salt Lake City and resumed his duties as mayor. He was reelected mayor in February 1859 and continued in office until February 1866.

In February 1868 he was called to Provo to take charge of Utah Stake. He was immediately elected mayor of Provo, a position which he held for twelve years without pay, just as he served Salt Lake City

for ten years without salary. He was a member of all the constitutional conventions except those of 1887 and 1895, and he was an officer of the provisional government of the State of Deseret. He also served twelve years in the council branch of the legislature.

A. O. Smoot was as successful in business as he was popular in public service. He was one of the promoters of the Provo Woolen Mills, for many years serving as president of the company. At the time of his death he was one of its principal stockholders. He was one of the organizers of the First National Bank of Provo, holding the position of president of the bank from its founding until his death. He also served as president of the Utah County Savings Bank, an institution he helped organize and finance. At the time of his death Smoot owned nearly half of the capital stock in the Provo Cooperative Institution. He was president of that organization from 1867 to 1895. He was identified more extensively than any other man with Provo's financial and industrial institutions.

A. O. Smoot was also a great educational leader. He was president of the Board of Trustees of Brigham Young Academy from its founding in 1875 to his death in 1895. He contributed much of his time and means to the school and used his credit to help the Academy through a number of financial crises. Without his leadership, the Academy never would have survived. President Abraham O. Smoot died in Provo on 6 March 1895.

Brigham Young, Jr., and his twin sister, Mary, were born on 18 December 1836 to Brigham Young and his second wife, Mary Angell Young.

During the exodus of the Mormons from Missouri, Mary, the twin sister of Brigham, Jr., was crushed under the wheels of a wagon. Her mother, exercising great faith and praying mightily, molded her crushed, nearly flat skull back into shape; the young Mary miraculously recovered.

When Brigham Young, Jr., arrived in the Salt Lake Valley at age twelve, he worked tending stock and served as a watchman against Indian attacks. On 15 November 1855 he married Catherine Curtis Spencer, and, sixteen months later, he married Jane Carrington. During the "Echo Canyon War" he served as a scout. Later, he served in a relief party sent to rescue the snowbound Willey and Martin handcart companies.

In 1863 he was called to serve a mission to England, laboring principally in London, as well as visiting other parts of Europe. Brigham Young, Jr., was ordained an apostle by his father on 4

February 1864. However, it was not until October 1868 that he was called to fill a vacancy in the Quorum of the Twelve. On 9 May 1874 he became an assistant counselor to his father. During his service in the Quorum of the Twelve, he returned twice to England, serving as mission president.

He and his brother John W. worked as contractors with the Union Pacific Railway Company. Brigham also served in the Nauvoo Legion until its disorganization in 1870. He played a prominent role in the colonization of Cache Valley, Southern Utah, New Mexico, Arizona, and the Mormon colonies in Mexico. He served several terms in the territorial legislature. In 1890 he returned to Europe for a fourth mission, serving as president of the European Mission.

On 17 October 1901 he was called to be the president of the Quorum of the Twelve, in which capacity he served until his death on 11 April 1903. Brigham Young, Jr., served as a member of the Board of Trustees of Brigham Young Academy from 1895 to 1902 and as chairman of the Board from 1895 to 1897.

George Q. Cannon was born in Liverpool, England, on 11 January 1829. Thirteen years later he was baptized into the LDS Church by his uncle John Taylor, who was then serving a mission in England. On the voyage to America in 1842, Cannon's mother died and was buried at sea. The rest of the family continued on to Nauvoo, where they lived until 1844. George's father died while on a trip to St. Louis, and young Cannon stayed with his uncle John Taylor, where he learned the printing business since his uncle was editor of *Times and Seasons* and *The Nauvoo Neighbor*. George Q. Cannon was called on a mission to California in 1849 and was there until he was called on a mission to the Sandwich Islands in 1850. Since the white population was unreceptive, Cannon urged that the natives be taught the gospel. He translated the Book of Mormon into Hawaiian. When he left the islands in 1854, there were four thousand members of the Church in Hawaii.

In September 1858 he was called to preside over the Eastern States Mission. Much of his time was spent in Washington, D.C., where he formed acquaintances with congressmen, editors, and other leading men which proved beneficial to the Church and himself in the future. He was called as an apostle on 23 October 1859, and he presided over the European Mission. After returning to Salt Lake in 1864 he became the private secretary to Brigham Young.

In the winter of 1864 he organized a Sunday School in Salt Lake City, and in 1866, in an effort to teach the young people of the

Church about the history and doctrines of the Church, he founded the *Juvenile Instructor*. In 1867 he became editor and publisher of the *Deseret News* and began the *Deseret Evening News*, which was issued daily.

While editor of the *Deseret News* he became very active in the development of industry in the territory and encouraged efforts to make Utah a state. In 1873 he became a delegate to Congress where he served five terms. On the passing of Brigham Young, he acted as an executor of the estate. In 1877 he was chosen as first counselor to President John Taylor, serving in that same capacity under President Wilford Woodruff and Lorenzo Snow.

George Q. Cannon promoted education in Utah, serving several terms as chancellor of the University of the State of Deseret. He suggested to Brigham Young that he should establish Brigham Young Academy. He was a member of the General Church Board of Education. In 1896 he became a member of the Board of Trustees of Brigham Young Academy and the following year became president of the Board, which position he held until his death on 12 April 1901 in Monterey, California.

Lorenzo Snow, fifth President of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, was born on 3 April 1814 in Mantua, Ohio. He was one of the first Church leaders to have attended college, doing so at Oberlin College. In June 1836 he was baptized, soon after which he received a special manifestation of the Spirit. He received from Joseph Smith, Sr., a patriarchal blessing in which he was promised great spiritual gifts, among them that he would be able to heal the sick, raise the dead, rend the veil, and see the Son of God. He was also promised that his life would be preserved while he was needed by his fellowmen.

He moved with the Church to Far West, Nauvoo, and finally to the Salt Lake Valley. Between 1837 and 1839 he preached the gospel in Ohio, Missouri, Illinois, and Kentucky, and in the spring of 1840 he was called on a mission to Great Britain where he presented a copy of the Book of Mormon to Queen Victoria. In 1849 he opened a mission in Italy. His missionary work took him to England, Switzerland, Malta, and India, as well as to Hawaii and to the American Indians. In 1853 he moved to Brigham City and developed a thriving community. He was a member of the Utah Territorial Legislature and was president of its upper house. He helped to establish the Perpetual Emigration Fund. He also created the Polysophical Soci-

ety in Utah to promote culture, education, and creativity among its members. He was ever a leader in education.

President Snow was ordained an apostle by Heber C. Kimball in 1849 and was made president of Box Elder Stake in 1886. From 1872 to 1873 he toured Europe and Asia Minor, dedicating Palestine for the return of the Jews. He spent eleven months in prison on charges of polygamy under the Edmunds Law. He served as a counselor to President Brigham Young and in 1889 became president of the Council of the Twelve. Four years later he became the first president of the Salt Lake Temple.

On 13 September 1898 Lorenzo Snow was sustained as President of the Church. During the three years he was President, three new missions were opened and members were encouraged to stay in their native lands. He faced squarely the financial problems of the Church and began a reemphasis of the Law of Tithing. He became President of the Board of Trustees of Brigham Young Academy in 1901. Lorenzo Snow died on 10 October 1901 in Salt Lake City at the age of eighty-seven.

Joseph F. Smith was the sixth President of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, serving from 17 October 1901 until his death on 19 November 1918. He was born on 13 November 1838 at Far West, Missouri, to Mary Fielding and Hyrum Smith. A nephew of Joseph Smith, he was well acquainted with the Prophet and the persecution that he endured. Young Joseph F. was left for dead by a mob while still an infant. He was present when his father and the Prophet mounted their horses for the ride to their martyrdom at Carthage, Illinois, and he fled from the mobs that destroyed Nauvoo. At the age of eight he drove his mother's oxen to Winter Quarters and then two years later drove the family's wagon to the Great Salt Lake Valley, arriving in the fall of 1848. Four years later his mother died, leaving him an orphan.

In 1854, at age fifteen, he was called on a mission to Hawaii. Returning in 1857, he married Levira A. Smith on 5 April 1859. In 1860 he was called on a mission to Great Britain. In addition, he served a second mission in Hawaii, served two terms as president of the European Mission, proselyted briefly in the Eastern United States, and, while in self-imposed exile because of persecution over polygamy, labored among the Saints in the Eastern and Southwestern United States, Mexico, Canada, and Hawaii.

Between missions, he helped with colonization efforts in Utah and

Davis counties. He served in the territorial legislature and participated in the Utah Constitutional Convention. On 1 July 1866, at the age of twenty-seven, Joseph F. Smith was ordained an apostle and second counselor in the First Presidency by President Brigham Young. He served as a counselor in the First Presidency under Presidents Brigham Young, John Taylor, Wilford Woodruff, and Lorenzo Snow. He was sustained President of the Church on 10 November 1901.

The years that Joseph F. Smith served as President of the Church were a time of transition for the LDS people. On the one hand, they saw the publicity against the principle of polygamy and the rise of bitter charges against the Church for an alleged domination of local politics, while, on the other hand, the Church was able to rid itself of indebtedness. In addition, eight new missions were opened, Russia was dedicated for the preaching of the gospel, President Smith toured the missions in Europe, and the Church seminary program was instituted. During his administration the Church Office Building was begun, as was LDS Hospital in Salt Lake City. Under his direction, many Church historical sites were purchased and developed. He served as President of the Board of Trustees of Brigham Young University from 1901 to 1918. Joseph F. Smith died on 19 November 1918.

Wives of Early Presidents of BYU

Adelaide Elizabeth Webb Dusenberry, wife of Warren Dusenberry, was born on 11 April 1844, in Kalamazoo, Michigan. She immigrated to Utah with her family in the Platt Company of pioneers and settled in Payson. She married Warren Dusenberry on 18 June 1865. Adelaide was the mother of ten children, eight boys and two girls. She also became mother to the many students who either roomed or took meals at the Dusenberry home. She was an excellent homemaker and was known for her many special recipes. Brigham Young was a regular guest at the Dusenberry home. An energetic woman and a devout member of the LDS Church, she took pleasure in serving others and in supporting her husband in his many Church and civic activities. She died on 19 January 1942 in San Francisco, California.

Anna Therese Mieth Maeser, first wife of Karl G. Maeser, was a woman of wit, charm, beauty, and culture. Anna was born in Saxony in May 1830, the daughter of the director of the respected Budig

Institute of Dresden. On 4 June 1854 she became the wife of the Institute's vice-director, Karl G. Maeser. Karl and Anna were baptized in October 1855 with the first group converted to the Church in Saxony. Even though the Church was outlawed in Saxony at that time, a small but secret branch was organized under the leadership of Karl Maeser.

Karl, Anna, and their son, Reinhard, left Saxony on 6 June 1856. Upon their arrival in England they were called on a mission to Scotland and England. Their young son, Franklin, who was born in England, died enroute to America. During the many missions her husband served for the Church in Scotland, England, Germany, and the Southern States, Anna supported him and the family by taking in sewing and doing housework.

In 1876 the Maesers moved to Provo to direct the work of Brigham Young Academy at the request of Brigham Young. Anna sustained her husband in his calling with her great faith and a bright disposition. The Maesers lived in Provo during twenty hard years, but Anna fully supported her husband, not only by cleaning house, taking boarders, and mending clothes, but by being Karl's consultant on his difficult problems, his papers, and his book. Her daughter, Eva, said that Karl Maeser did not make BYA, but that BYA made him, with the help of Anna Maeser. Anna Maeser was called "Mother" by Karl's students; she was the epitome of selflessness and love. She died in Salt Lake City on 2 April 1906.

Emilie Damke Maeser was born in 1834 in Saxony, Germany. She was the second of three daughters in a very cultured family. The Damke family joined the Mormon Church through the efforts of Emilie's uncle Charles H. Wilckens and emigrated to Utah. Emilie was introduced to Karl G. Maeser by her uncle Wilckens, who was a friend of the Maeser family. She taught in Maeser's school in Salt Lake City. In 1875 Maeser was asked by Church leaders to take a second wife, and he found the talented Emilie to be the ideal choice.

During most of Professor Maeser's administration at Brigham Young Academy, Emilie lived in Provo and kept a household not far from the home of Maeser's first wife. Emilie's reserved attitude was very different from Maeser's first wife, Anna, who possessed a warm and cheerful nature. Reinhard Maeser indicated that this balance of two personalities helped his father to achieve greatness. Emilie died in Salt Lake City on 7 February 1917 at the age of eighty-three.

Mary Jane John Cluff, first wife of Benjamin Cluff, Jr., was born in

Provo, Utah, on 23 July 1862. Her parents were David John and Mary Wride, who immigrated to the United States from Wales. Her father was a cultured gentleman, having been educated to become a Baptist minister, and he determined that his children would receive the best education possible. Mary enrolled at Brigham Young Academy when Karl G. Maeser was supervising the school. She graduated with the first class of twenty-nine students. She taught school in a small village and also a year at BYA.

Mary Jane met Benjamin Cluff at Brigham Young Academy and waited for him while he filled a mission to the Sandwich Islands. Mary and Benjamin were married by Daniel H. Wells in the Endowment House in Salt Lake City in August 1883. Benjamin taught at the Academy and received very little money for his efforts, so, from the first of her marriage, Mary took boarders to help with finances. From the time the Board of Trustees called Benjamin to be president of BYA, his whole life was centered on his work, and Mary had the full responsibility of rearing her children. She was affectionate and demonstrative in her love. Mary was an attractive woman with clear skin, dark twinkling eyes, and black hair. Never unfair in disciplining her children, she loved them all with deep devotion. She was extremely dedicated to her husband. She took in boarders when Benjamin was at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor.

Mary took care of a special parlor in the Cluff home where Benjamin held meetings and entertained leaders of the Church. There the Cluffs' ten children shook hands with apostles and educators and met the presidents of the Church. Mary Jane and Benjamin's children were Roy, Mary Fern, Ethel Ann, Benjamin, Harriet Lyle, David Theon, Goldwin Wride, Wilford Orus, Aaron and Danson.

Benjamin Cluff dedicated his life to the advancement of Brigham Young Academy; Mary dedicated her life to "Benny" (as she called him), to his children, and to his career. She taught her children and trained them in the ways of the Lord while Benjamin pursued his career. She died at age seventy-two.³

Harriett Cullimore Cluff was born in Lindon, Utah, on 2 October 1868 to James and Clara Cullimore. She was the third in a family of ten children. The product of a normal, happy, religious childhood,

3. This sketch was prepared by Fern Cluff Ingram. The original is in BYU Archives.

she married Benjamin Cluff Jr., on 17 December 1886. She was a great helpmeet and inspiration to President Cluff during his eleven years as president of Brigham Young Academy.

In 1898 President Cluff was instrumental in establishing the Beaver Branch of Brigham Young Academy, and Harriett became the matron of the school. Besides her duties as matron, she taught courses in domestic science. Her life in Beaver was filled with school and Church activity.

On 6 January 1904 Harriett and her six children left for Mexico where President Cluff had accepted a position as superintendent of the Utah-Mexican Rubber Plantation. Harriett lived with her husband in Mexico for five years, giving birth to a son and a daughter there. Their great sorrow during these years was the loss of two little boys, ages one and seven years.

Harriett returned to the United States in 1908 with her six living children to enroll them at Brigham Young University. One more son was born after her arrival in Provo. Benjamin and Harriett's nine children were named Veda, Cyril B., Ellen, George Hawaii, Waldo Cullimore, Elton Reed, Vernon Foster, Luz Dolores, and Harvey Carmen. Harriett Cullimore Cluff died on 29 April 1954 and was buried in the Salt Lake City Cemetery.⁴

Florence Mary Reynolds Cluff, third wife of President Benjamin Cluff, Jr., was born in Salt Lake City on 13 July 1874. Florence and her sister, Alice Louise, attended Brigham Young Academy where Florence met Benjamin Cluff, Jr., who was her teacher. President Cluff asked her to take care of his first wife's children, and she later became President Cluff's third wife. When President Cluff left on his expedition to South America in 1900, Florence stayed in Colonia Diaz, a Mormon settlement in Mexico. It was a time that required great courage and fortitude. After spending many years in Mexico, the family returned to the United States, moving to Los Angeles, California. Florence died on 26 September 1932 in Redondo Beach, California.

Alsina Elizabeth Wilkins Brimhall was born in Spanish Fork, Utah, on 7 May 1856. She was the fourth child and second daughter in the family of eight children born to George Washington Wilkins and Catharine Augusta Lovett. Her mother was born in Chalmersford,

4. This sketch was prepared by Anna Boss Hart and Fern Eyring Fletcher. The original is in BYU Archives.

Massachusetts, on 25 April 1823, and her father was born at Petersboro, New Hampshire, on 28 October 1822.

Alsina's parents were converted to the LDS Church and emigrated from New England to Utah, arriving in Salt Lake City in 1849. George W. Wilkins took his family to San Bernardino in 1852. They remained with the Saints there until 1855, when they returned to Utah and settled in Spanish Fork. Alsina had a happy childhood and was a favorite with her playmates. As an adolescent, she became known as a superior cook and housekeeper. She and her sisters worked for Brigham Young's family at the Lion House in Salt Lake City. Alsina's father was called to serve a mission in England in 1871; he returned in December 1872. Alsina's mother died in December 1874.

At the time of her mother's death, Alsina was courting George Henry Brimhall. The two, at the request of her mother before her death, were married by Daniel Wells in the Salt Lake Endowment House on 28 December 1874. The young couple settled in Spanish Fork where the following six children were born: Lucy Jane, Alsina Elizabeth, George Washington, Mark Henry, Wells Lovett, and Milton Albert. No mother was more devoted to her husband and children than Alsina Elizabeth Wilkins Brimhall, and those who knew her best say she was a housekeeper without peer. Her home was an open house to relatives, friends, and strangers.

After the birth of her sixth child, Milton, who lived only three months, Alsina contracted a serious illness which incapacitated her for life, making it impossible for her to care for her family. Accordingly, Flora Robertson Brimhall, President Brimhall's second wife, willingly took care of the whole family. Alsina died in Provo on 10 January 1926. At her passing, her husband wrote the following tribute: "To Alsina B. All radiant now over yonder she sits on the throne of her worth and smiles in the midst of her splendor with a love that reaches to earth." She is buried beside her husband in the Provo City Cemetery.⁵

Flora Robertson Brimhall was born on 14 March 1865 in Spanish Fork, Utah, where she was also raised. She went to school at the "Young Men's Academy" in Spanish Fork, where her future husband was the teacher. She remembered, "The school was inspiring.

5. Condensed from a short biography written by Lucy Jane Brimhall Knight, daughter of Alsina and George H. Brimhall.

How diligently I worked on my mathematics and my English composition. We wrote essays and read them aloud to the class for criticism.”⁶

Flora was compelled to discontinue school because of the illness of her father. She remembered that after that, “I bent my energies toward home manufacturing. We learned to operate Sam’s Knitting Machines. We furnished hose for the family, the community, and Provo Woolen Mills. We dealt with Reed Smoot, superintendent of Provo Woolen Mills, and later Jesse Knight. During one year I made two thousand pairs of men’s hose.” She also worked as “nursemaid to a four-year-old boy in Salt Lake City for \$1.50 per week, with which I presented the family a practical gift — a sack of sugar (four months’ work) and a box of laundry soap. Working out was common in those days in the Territory. We learned early, ‘It is better to give than to receive.’ ”

On 11 September 1885 she married George H. Brimhall in the Logan Temple. Their “honeymoon trip was a horseback ride up to the top of Mt. Flonett. Let me explain how Mt. Flonett was named. My husband had an intimate friend, Milton H. Hardy, who attended BYA, who combined two names — Flora and Nettie — into one name — Mt. Flonett, in honor of me and Nettie Southworth.” Since Flora was her husband’s second wife, “The first years of my married life, 1885-89, were very trying. The laws of the land were against plural marriage. I, being second wife, had to live in seclusion under an assumed name — Mrs. Graham. My places of abode were Salt Lake City and Spanish Fork, Utah. Meanwhile, my husband was teaching school in Provo and boarding at the Hardys’.” After the Manifesto of 1890, Flora was able to live with her husband at their home at 457 North 100 West in Provo. Flora and George H. Brimhall had eight children: Dean, Fay and Fawn (twins), Burns, Afton, Paul, Alta, and Golden.

Flora served for seventeen years as wife of the president of Brigham Young University, sharing all the responsibilities of his office. She was president of the BYU Women’s Organization, and she served on many important committees connected with the school. She not only raised her own eight children but assisted substantially in raising the five children of President Brimhall’s first

6. Quotes are from the diary of Flora Robertson Brimhall, dictated to Minnie I. Hodapp, on file in BYU Archives. This biographical sketch was prepared by Anna Boss Hart and Fern Eyring Fletcher.

wife, who was too ill to take care of them. She also served as president of the Women's Municipal Council of Provo. She appreciated her husband's love and devotion to her. With all his duties, responsibilities, and the many days away from home and family, he never failed to tell her of his admiration and gratitude for her patience, long-suffering, and hours of labor and devotion. She treasured his poetic tributes to her. She died on 5 April 1950 in Provo at the age of eighty-five.

Certain Other Important Figures in Early BYU History

Zina Young Williams Card was born on 3 April 1850 to Brigham Young and Zina Huntington. She was a Trustee of Brigham Young University who had great faith in the mission and destiny of the school, feeling that it had the "divine approval of Heaven." She recognized Dr. Karl G. Maeser as a great leader with a mission to teach and inspire the "Youth of Zion." Zina became the first matron of the girls at Brigham Young Academy and taught in the Primary Department and the Domestic Arts Department, which she helped to establish.

She married Thomas Williams and gave birth to two sons. After her husband's death she married Charles Ora Card, and they lived in Canada until Brother Card's death in 1906. After returning to Utah, Zina served the community and Church, and in 1918 she became a member of the Board of Trustees of Brigham Young University, serving for thirteen years. She died in 1931.⁷

Aurilla Coray Dusenberry was the mother of Warren N. and Wilson H. Dusenberry. Born on 22 January 1809 in Hornesville, New York, she married Mahlon Dusenberry of Easton, Pennsylvania, in May 1836. She was the mother of nine children, five of whom survived infancy. In 1840 the Dusenberrys emigrated to Pike County, Illinois, where they first heard of the LDS Church. Aurilla's brother Howard Coray was for a time secretary to the Prophet Joseph Smith.

When the family moved west, they passed through Provo, Utah, and stayed for two months with Aurilla's brother Howard; then they proceeded to Sacramento, California. Aurilla was a woman of strong will and insisted that her son Warren complete his seminary train-

7. This information was taken from a sketch prepared by Anna Boss Hart and Fern Eyring Fletcher for the Centennial History Committee. The original sketch is in BYU Archives.

ing. In California she encouraged Warren to pursue higher education at Vacaville College. Disenchanted with California as a place to raise her family, she moved to Utah. Her husband, Mahlon, not a Mormon, refused to move and remained in Sacramento with one son, John. Her son John later moved to Provo and joined the Church while Mahlon died in Sacramento at the age of ninety-one. Aurilla remained in Provo and died on 6 December 1884 at the age of seventy-five.

Susa Young Gates, a Trustee of Brigham Young Academy from 1891 to 1933, was born on 18 March 1856, the second daughter of Brigham Young and Lucy Bigelow. She was the first child born in the Lion House in Salt Lake City. In 1868, at the age of twelve, she began taking shorthand lessons along with fifty other students from a special teacher hired by Brigham Young. Within two years she had become an expert and accompanied her father as personal secretary; her most conspicuous task was that of recording the dedication ceremony of the St. George Temple. In 1870 she was a student at the University of Deseret and was appointed associate editor of *The College Lantern*, the first college publication in the West. The first state chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution in Utah was a later product of her efforts.

When Principal Karl G. Maeser learned of Susa's musical ability, he placed her as head of the Music Department at Brigham Young Academy in 1878. She also organized and taught in the Domestic Science Department at the Academy.

In 1889, while on a mission to the Hawaiian Islands with her husband, Jacob F. Gates, whom she had married in 1880, she felt inspired to introduce a magazine for the young women of the Church. The result was the *Young Women's Journal*, which she founded and edited for forty years until its merger in 1929 with the *Improvement Era*. She attended Harvard Summer School in 1892 where she received her only formal education in writing. During her time she was the most prolific female writer in the Church. She published in the *Contributor*, *Juvenile Instructor*, *Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine*, *The Relief Society Magazine*, *Deseret News*, and the *Young Women's Journal*. Books she authored included novels and historical works: *John Steven's Courtship*, *Prince of Ur*, *The Life Story of Brigham Young*, *Surname Book and Racial History*, *History of the Young Women's Mutual Improvement Association*, *Lydia Knight's History*, and *Heroines of Mormondom*.

At the request of Governor Cutler, Susa Gates served on the

Board of Trustees of Utah State Agricultural College from 1906 to 1912. Having served on the YWMIA General Board since 1889, Mrs. Gates was called to the General Board of the Relief Society in 1911, and in 1914 she became editor of the *Relief Society Magazine*.

Mrs. Gates gained national fame as an advocate of women's rights. She actively strove for national women's suffrage and female enrollment in colleges and high schools. She was a close friend of Susan B. Anthony, the famous suffragette, and was well acquainted with Clara Barton of the Red Cross. Mrs. Gates was a representative to the National Council of Women seven times, acting as chairwoman of the Press Committee for three years. Susa Gates was chosen as sole delegate to represent the U.S. Council of Women at the 1901 International Council in Copenhagen, Denmark. Her abilities were recognized by Susan B. Anthony, who offered to make Sister Gates president of the National Council of Women if she would abandon Mormonism. Sister Gates suggested that the price was too high. The Church took precedence in her life. She was a notable temple worker and published much information on the subject. As was taught by both her father and her Church, she considered her first and most important responsibility to be her family. Susa Gates bore thirteen children, five of whom grew to maturity.

Edwin Smith Hinckley, the son of pioneer parents, was born at Cove Fort, Millard County, Utah, on 21 July 1868 to Ira M. and Adelaide Noble Hinckley. His father had been sent there to build a fort for protection against Indian raids upon the area's settlers. Born while the fort was under construction, Edwin was the first white child born in Millard County. He obtained his early education in Fillmore's public schools and at Millard Stake Academy. Eager for more schooling, Edwin went to Provo, graduating from Brigham Young Academy with a normal diploma in 1891. After his graduation, he matriculated immediately at the University of Michigan. His young bride, Adeline Henry Hinckley, whom he had wed on 3 September 1890, went with him to Ann Arbor. The couple kept an off-campus boardinghouse while Edwin was an undergraduate. Majoring in geology, he was awarded his bachelor of science degree in 1895. While attending the University of Michigan he also acted as a missionary for The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. In 1897 he was called to the mission field in Colorado.

That autumn found him back in Provo, teaching at his alma mater. In 1900 he was named professor of natural science, teaching botany, zoology, plant physiology, ornithology, economic and his-

torical geology, and the geology of Utah. In 1902 a Department of Science was organized at the school, and classes in agriculture were offered for the first time. Hinckley conducted courses in farm management, farm crops, animal husbandry, entomology, and soil science. In 1904 he was named second counselor to BYU president George H. Brimhall. By 1906 Hinckley was finally able to concentrate on teaching his specialty, geology. He soon became known as "the geologist of the University." He was a dedicated and inspiring teacher. Quite apart from his purely scholastic duties, Hinckley and E. D. Partridge supervised the construction of the block Y on the mountainside. In 1913 he was made dean of the Church Teachers College at Brigham Young University.

Hinckley had great visions as to future developments in the field of science. About the time of the first flight of a heavier-than-air machine by Orville and Wilbur Wright (17 December 1903), Hinckley predicted to his class that he "expected to live to see the day when a man could eat breakfast in New York and supper in San Francisco." For this he was scoffed at by other faculty members. Indeed, Joseph B. Keeler, the first counselor in the school presidency, took him very seriously to task, saying, "Well, never mind, Brother Hinckley. I don't think any of these wild imaginations of yours will ever do anybody any harm. In the first place, sane, sound thinking men know that such things are utterly impossible and the average individual forgets them."

Professor Hinckley lived to see the fulfillment of his prediction, for in 1924 Russell Maughan of Logan flew an airplane between breakfast in New York and dinner in San Francisco. Unfortunately, Hinckley did not live long enough to see his son, Robert Henry, become chairman of the Civil Aeronautics Authority in Washington, D. C., in 1938-40, the first federal agency to have control of all aviation in the United States. At about the same time he predicted the flight from New York to San Francisco, Hinckley also stated that the time would come "when a man could carry in his pocket an instrument scarcely larger than a watch through which he could get in conversation with his own family when a thousand miles away." This has not yet come to pass, but it very probably will in the near future.

With his visions of the future, Hinckley was also a great promoter of BYU. While the University was still on lower campus with only a small number of college students, he predicted "that the campus of the Brigham Young University would one day extend to Rock Can-

yon.” Were the temple to be counted as a part of the University, the campus now extends that far.

After twenty-one years at BYU, Edwin Smith Hinckley left Provo in 1915 to become superintendent of the State Industrial School at Ogden, where he remained for seven years. Intensely interested in the welfare of the boys and girls of that school, he inaugurated many notable reforms. Because of his guidance, many of the boys in the Industrial School joined the Armed Forces in World War I and served their country with honor at home and overseas. In 1922 Hinckley returned to Provo to become executive director of the city’s Chamber of Commerce. During the remainder of his life, he was a principal participant in every one of the major economic and civic developments in Central Utah.

Despite Hinckley’s success in education and civic affairs, perhaps his most notable record was as husband and father. He and his wife were devoted to each other and to their thirteen children: Robert Henry, Leonore Adelaide, Edwin Carlyle, Norma Elizabeth, Claudius Warren, Paul Bryant, Frederick Russell, John Noble, Evelyn Marguerite, Gordon Holbrook, Murial Aileen, George Marion, and Angela Ruth. Edwin Smith Hinckley died on 15 November 1929 at his home in Provo. His children established the Hinckley Scholarship Foundation, and it is a great honor at BYU to be known as a Hinckley Scholar.

David John was born on 29 January 1833 in the village of Little New Castle, Pembroke, Wales. He took an unusual interest in learning and was diligent in his studies. Because of his father’s promptings and the influence of his teacher, he seriously considered entering the ministry of the Baptist Church. These desires continued until he was fifteen and he had made his first contact with missionaries from The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints at an open air meeting near his home town. He was baptized in February 1849. David met his wife, Mary Wride, while serving in the mission field and married her while serving in the Welsh Mission on 8 February 1860. One year later they immigrated with four hundred other Saints to Utah.

David John was twice elected to the board of trustees of Provo schools. He also served as the superintendent of common schools and served for fifteen years on the board of trustees of Provo district schools. He was also very active in Church affairs, serving as president of the high priests, presiding bishop of Utah Stake, counselor

in the stake presidency, stake president, and patriarch. He was appointed to the Board of Trustees of Brigham Young Academy in 1891 and served until his death in 1908. He was vice-president of the Board for sixteen years. David John signed personal notes for over eight thousand dollars for material and labor in construction of the Academy Building.

Joseph Brigham Keeler, son of Daniel Hutchinson and Ann Taylor Keeler, was born on 8 September 1855 in Salt Lake City. In 1858 he moved with his family to Provo where he lived the remainder of his life. He married Martha Fairbanks in May 1883 and was the father of ten children. Joseph entered Brigham Young Academy in 1876 as one of Karl Maeser's original twenty-nine students. He also studied business in New York and received his M.A. in accounting. After serving a mission for the Church to the Southern States Mission, he was appointed to the faculty of the Academy in 1884. Keeler taught classes in astronomy, bookkeeping, civics, and geology. He was the principal of the commercial college and was the campus supervisor of theology. In 1888 he was appointed first counselor to President Karl G. Maeser, a position he continued to hold under Presidents Cluff and Brimhall. When he retired in 1920 Joseph B. Keeler was the senior member of the faculty, having served for thirty-six years.

Keeler was one of the first presidents of the Alumni Association of Brigham Young University. He worked on fund-raising committees, assisting the University in acquiring land and equipment and in facilitating the construction of campus buildings. During the construction of the Maeser Memorial Building he led a drive that raised over \$60,000 for the building's completion. Joseph B. Keeler was also active in community affairs. While only a sophomore at the Academy, he served on the Provo City Council. He later served as Utah County recorder and as director of the Provo Reservoir Company and the Utah Lake Irrigation Company. He was also a reporter and city editor for the *Provo Enquirer*.

Brother Keeler's church service paralleled his service to the University. He was superintendent of the Utah Stake YMMIA and stake superintendent of religion classes. He was bishop of the Provo Fourth Ward from 1895 until 1901. After serving seven years as first counselor in the Utah Stake Presidency, he served as stake president from 1908 to 1913. Following his release as stake president, he was called to be stake patriarch, a position he held until his death in December 1935.

In addition to his many years of service to the Church and to the University, he was the author of one textbook, four religious books, two extensive family genealogies, and several pamphlets and Church magazine articles. As one of the early faculty members and administrators of the University, Joseph B. Keeler helped solidify the University's commitment to spiritual and academic excellence.

Jesse Knight was born on 6 September 1845 in Nauvoo, Illinois, to Newell and Lydia Knight. Jesse hardly knew his father, for Newell Knight died on 11 January 1847 during the Mormon exodus to Salt Lake Valley. Jesse Knight's early life was one of privation. As a young boy he sought employment driving ox teams to help support his needy family. Jesse married Amanda McEwan on 18 January 1869 in the Endowment House in Salt Lake City. He began married life as a small-time rancher near Payson.

A faith-promoting incident turned Knight away from Church inactivity. When Jennie, the youngest daughter and darling of the family, fell ill with fever, the doctors despaired for her life, but she became well following a blessing given by two brethren of the Church. Jesse recognized the hand of the Lord in her recovery and promised to serve God from then on to the best of his ability. Guided by inspiration, Jesse dug the rich Humbug mine. This provided the financial basis for other mining ventures. With the great wealth from his mining operations, Jesse Knight acquired other business concerns. These include the Provo Woolen Mills, the Spring Canyon Coal Company, the Knight Trust and Savings Bank, stock in the Blue Bench Irrigation District No. 1 in Duchesne County, the Layton Sugar Company, large ranches in Colombia and Nevada, the Springville-Mapleton Sugar Company, and a sugar factory at Raymond, Alberta, Canada.

Jesse Knight used his wealth to assist the Church's financial standing in the late 1890s. He was generous in his gifts to Brigham Young University. In 1898 he and his family contributed \$30,000 to the erection of College Hall. In 1901 he gave \$20,000 to the University for the erection of what is presently the Women's Gym on University Avenue. He also persuaded a business partner to contribute \$5,000. (The business partner, David Evans of Salt Lake City, was later to remark that his contribution was the best investment he had ever made.) The Maeser building was largely built with Knight money. Of the original building cost of \$130,000, the Knight family contributed around \$65,000. Later, Jesse gave BYU an additional \$20,000

to help pay the remaining debts on the building. In 1907 Knight deeded 500 acres of land on the Provo Bench to Brigham Young University. An additional forty acres were later added to the original deed. On 22 September 1914, Jesse offered the Board of Trustees of BYU an endowment of \$100,000 of Blue Bench Irrigation District No. 1 bonds to further the work of the University. Jesse Knight served on the Board of Trustees from 1901 to 1921, dying in Provo on 14 March 1921.

Appendix 24

Members of the BYU Board of Trustees Appointed after 1920

Name	Years of Service
Thomas N. Taylor	1921-1939
J. William Knight	1921-1939
Joseph D. C. Young	1932-1939
Sylvester Q. Cannon	1932-1939
Leah D. Widtsoe	1933-1939
J. Reuben Clark, Jr.	1939-1961
David O. McKay	1939-1970
Rudger Clawson	1939-1944
Stephen L. Richards	1939-1959
Richard R. Lyman	1939-1944
John A. Widtsoe	1939-1952
Adam S. Bennion	1939-1958
Joseph F. Merrill	1939-1952
Charles A. Callis	1939-1947
Franklin L. West	1939-1953
Arthur Winter	1939-1941
Albert E. Bowen	1939-1953
Frank Evans	1941-1947
George Albert Smith	1945-1951
Harold B. Lee	1950-1973
Ezra Taft Benson	1950-
Mark E. Petersen	1950-1975
Matthew Cowley	1950-1953
Henry D. Moyle	1950-1963
Spencer W. Kimball	1951-
Delbert L. Stapely	1951-1975
Marion G. Romney	1951-
LeGrand Richards	1952-1975
Richard L. Evans	1953-1971
George Q. Morris	1954-1962
Hugh B. Brown	1958-1975
Howard W. Hunter	1959-1975
Gordon B. Hinckley	1961-
Marion D. Hanks	1962-
Boyd K. Packer	1962-
N. Eldon Tanner	1962-

A. Theodore Tuttle	1962-1975
John H. Vandenberg	1962-1972
Thomas S. Monson	1964-
Thorpe B. Isaacson	1966-1970
Paul H. Dunn	1966-
Alvin R. Dyer	1968-1975
Belle S. Spafford	1968-1975
Marvin J. Ashton	1972-1975
Victor L. Brown	1972-
Bruce R. McConkie	1972-
L. Tom Perry	1974-1975
Barbara B. Smith	1975-

Appendix 25

Deans of BYU Colleges during the Brimhall, Harris, and McDonald Years

College Education	Dean	Years of Service
<i>Church Teachers College</i>		
	Edwin S. Hinckley	1913-1915
	Amos N. Merrill	1915-1919
<i>School of Education</i>		
	Amos N. Merrill	1920-1921
<i>College of Education</i>		
	John C. Swensen (Acting)	1921-1924
	L. John Nuttall, Jr.	1924-1926
	John C. Swensen (Acting)	1926-1928
	L. John Nuttall, Jr.	1928-1930
	Amos N. Merrill (Acting)	1930-1939
	Amos N. Merrill	1939-1945
	Reuben D. Law	1946-1954
Applied Science		
	Melvin C. Merrill	1922-1924
	Christen Jensen (Acting)	1924-1929
	Lowry Nelson	1929-1936
	Thomas Martin (Acting)	1936-1937
	Thomas Martin	1937-1951
Commerce		
	Harrison Val Hoyt	1921-1931
	Herald R. Clark (Acting)	1932-1934
	Herald R. Clark	1934-1951
Fine Arts		
	Gerrit de Jong	1925-1960
Graduate School		
	Christen Jensen	1929-1949
Arts and Sciences		
	Martin P. Henderson	1920-1923
	Carl F. Eyring	1924-1950

Appendix 26

BYU Students Who Lost Their Lives in the Service of Their Country during World War II and the Korean Conflict

World War II

Aamold, Stanley Carl (killed in Luzon in February 1945)
Abbott, Lane Myron (killed in the battle for Tarawa in November 1943)
Adair, Jay Ross (killed over Ploeste on 5 April 1944)
Bean, Willis E. (missing in action in raid over Japan on 30 July 1945)
Bird, Gene Emmett (died in November 1944 in Asia)
Braithwaite, Burke T. (killed in air crash in Philippine Islands on 18 June 1945)
Broberg, Craig Nelson (killed in training in March 1943)
Brown, Clyde Glen (killed in action over Germany on 23 December 1944)
Brown, Hugh C. (missing in action over North Sea)
Burnside, Don N. (killed in France on 20 August 1944)
Callahan, Kenneth Earl (missing over Philippines on 14 April 1945)
Campbell, Charles R. (killed in raid over Vienna in December 1944)
Crammer, Robert A. (killed over France on 14 September 1944)
Chatwin, James E. (killed in battle on Okinawa on 16 May 1945)
Christensen, Allen P. (killed over Europe on 25 May 1944)
Christensen, Donald Needham (killed in training crash in California)
Christensen, Don Alma (killed in action over Kyushu on 18 April 1945)
Collard, Ellis M. (killed in action in Saipan in July 1944)
Cox, David Lorrain, Jr. (killed aboard a rescue plane in the South Pacific on 27 July 1945)
Davies, Arthur C. (killed over Sussex, England, on 21 October 1942)
Davis, Keith Giles (killed in action in France on 13 September 1944)
Duggan, Robert Emmett (killed in air crash in California on 27 May 1944)
Dunford, Paul Oliver (killed in training in Kansas in August 1943)
Fox, John Weldon (killed in Belgium on 26 December 1944)
Francis, Malin E. (killed in air crash in India on 31 January 1945)
Galbraith, William Lee (killed on 16 August 1944)
Gardner, David Boyd (killed in plane crash on 26 July 1945)

Gowers, Jay E. (killed in plane crash in California in September 1943)

Halterman, Austin (died while a prisoner of the Japanese on 24 October 1944)

Halverson, Max B. (died while a prisoner of the Japanese in October 1944)

Hand, Roland J. (killed in midair collision over Kansas on 30 September 1944)

Harris, Joel E. (killed in action in Okinawa on 2 April 1945)

Harris, Norman Alva (killed in action over Essen, Germany)

Hart, Sylvester E. (killed in action on Iwo Jima on 21 February 1945)

Harvey, Richard P. (killed in action in Germany on 20 January 1945)

Haws, Gilbert Smith (died at O'Reilly General Hospital)

Hermansen, Glen Ronald (killed over Borneo on 20 April 1945)

Hodson, Robert (killed in air crash at Ogden, Utah)

Huff, Marvin S. (killed in action near Lee, Germany, on 13 April 1945)

Huish, Billy Hugo (killed in action at Liege, Belgium)

Huntington, Royal C. (killed in Germany on 6 December 1944)

Johnson, Don U. (killed at sea on 1 July 1946)

Johnson, Fred D. (killed in action over Germany on 30 November 1944)

Jones, Que D. (killed over Germany on 30 November 1945)

Killpack, Reece (missing over Pacific Ocean on 29 May 1945)

Kimball, Vaughn (killed on a carrier off Okinawa on 11 May 1945)

King, Ralph V. (killed over Austria on 16 October 1944)

Knaphus, Ned (killed in air crash in Nebraska)

Knight, Dale C. (killed in France on 6 June 1944)

Lake, George M. (killed in air crash in California on 12 June 1943)

Larsen, Corwin T. (killed in action on Guam on 21 July 1944)

Larsen, Jay Reed (killed in France)

Law, Rondo (killed in air crash of test plane on 2 February 1943)

Loth, Loren (killed in action in Alsace-Lorraine on 21 February 1945)

Lundy, Wayne I. (killed in Belgium on 29 December 1944)

MacFarlane, Hubert Wayne (killed in battle in North Africa on 2 February 1945)

Madsen, Allen E. (killed in automobile accident in Texas)

Maloney, Jay Paul (killed in action in Pelelieu Islands on 23 September 1944)

McBride, William J. (killed in plane crash in Florida)

- McPhie, Donald A. (killed in action on 25 October 1944)
Mendenhall, Dean (killed in action in Alaska)
Miller, Bert H. (killed in action in New Guinea)
Miller, Lowell (died in 1955 from effects of 42 months in a Japanese prison camp)
Milner, Leon R. (killed in Germany on 8 April 1945)
Owens, Robert L. (missing over Tokyo on 10 March 1945)
Peterson, Clair L. (killed in plane crash over Luzon on 23 March 1945)
Peterson, John R. (died at training station in California in February 1943)
Preece, Leland (killed in Asiatic Zone in July 1943)
Rasmussen, Cannon (died in Japanese prison camp at Bataan)
Rehor, William G. (killed in plane crash in Virginia on 23 May 1944)
Rex, Dale B. (killed in Germany on 18 December 1944)
Rice, Grant (killed in Ardennes on 12 January 1945)
Richins, Othello D. (killed in action in the Pacific on 24 May 1944)
Roper, Hugh Rawlin (missing in Ploesti raid on 1 August 1943)
Rust, George Nelson (killed in Normandy)
Secor, Arthur (killed in action in Germany on 12 March 1945)
Seeley, Max M. (missing in action on 15 December 1944)
Sharp, Ivan Paul (killed in action over Austria on 26 June 1944)
Shelley, David Edward (killed in plane crash on 25 January 1945)
Simmons, Gerald L. (killed over Germany on 6 March 1943)
Skousen, Murr (killed over Eastern Manchuria on 29 July 1944)
Smith, Heber Joseph (killed in action over Germany in November 1943)
Smith, Paul H. (missing in action over Southern France on 26 May 1944)
Smith, Victor E. (killed over Burma on 30 October 1943)
Smith, Wendell Olsen (died at Ft. Douglas in June 1944)
Snow, Calude S. (killed in Italy on 28 March 1945)
Snow, Ray B. (died as a Japanese prisoner in the Philippine Islands)
Sorensen, Sam W. (missing in action off Australia on 16 November 1942)
Spencer, Farlan L. (killed in plane crash in Florida on 18 November 1944)
Stringham, Irving Ray (killed in action over Germany on 16 November 1944)
Sundahl, John C. (killed in action in Germany in March 1945)
Swenson, Lyman K. (died at sea in Solomon Island area)

Thomas, Harry (killed in action in Italy in March 1945)
 Vance, David H. (missing over France on 13 April 1944)
 Vest, William Veloy (killed in Southern France on 29 September 1944)
 Wardle, Leland Taylor (killed in flight from Bougainville to Raboul on 22 January 1944)
 White, Charles William (killed at Pearl Harbor in December 1941)
 White, John G. (killed in action in Alsace-Lorraine on 11 January 1945)
 White, Lewis Elmer (killed in plane crash near Richfield, Utah, in January 1943)
 White, Samuel Max (killed in action in Asiatic area in January 1943)
 Will, Wallace K. (died from effects as a prisoner of war in December 1944)
 Williams, James J. (killed in action on Iwo Jima on 15 March 1945)
 Williams, Waldon (killed in Guadalcanal area in April 1943)
 Wilson, Gene L. (died of wounds received in Italian campaign on 15 December 1944)
 Wilson, Ronald (killed in action in the Pacific)
 Woolley, Cloyd (killed in crash in Florida in February 1943)
 Wright, Robert S. (killed in airplane crash in North Carolina in April 1943)
 Young, James Warren (died as a prisoner of the Japanese in the Philippines on 16 July 1942)

Korean Conflict

Matthews, Arnold B., Jr. (died on 8 June 1954)
 Wilkins, Kirk Chase

Appendix 27

Summary of Vote on the Junior College Referendum in Utah, 2 November 1954

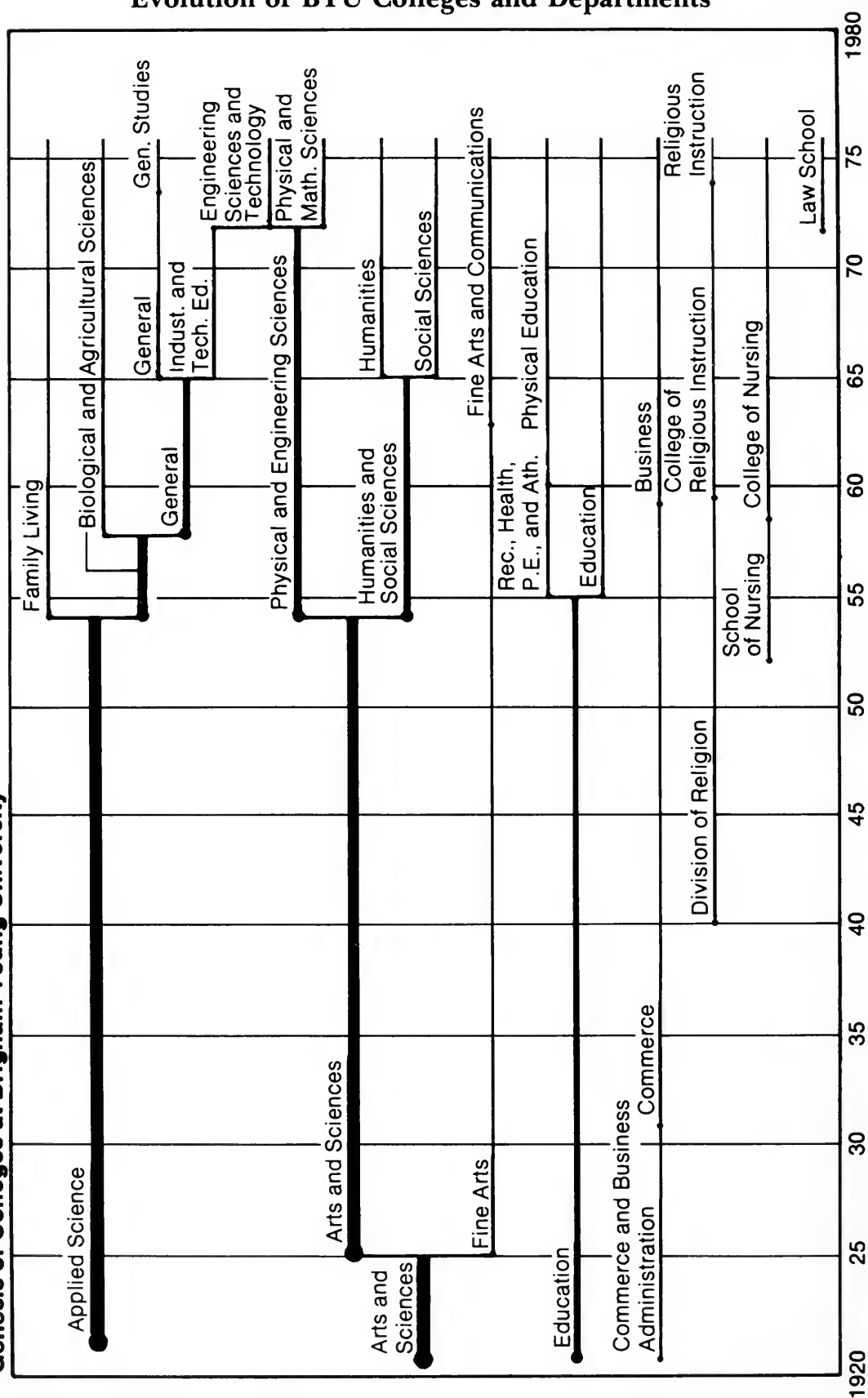
County	Votes Cast	For	Percent	Against	Percent
Beaver	1,444	824	57.0	620	43.0
Box Elder	5,736	2,721	47.4	3,015	52.6
Cache	9,321	4,095	43.9	5,226	56.1
Carbon	6,873	873	12.7	6,000	87.3
Daggett	118	25	21.2	93	78.8
Davis	9,756	3,813	29.0	5,943	61.0
Duchesne	2,151	1,395	65.0	753	35.0
Emery	1,858	775	41.7	1,083	58.2
Garfield	281	179	63.7	102	36.2
Grand	512	212	41.4	300	58.6
Iron	3,316	2,084	62.8	1,232	37.2
Juab	1,175	595	50.6	580	49.4
Kane	727	587	80.7	140	19.3
Millard	3,048	1,984	65.0	1,064	35.0
Morgan	1,110	421	37.9	689	62.1
Piute	450	253	56.2	197	43.8
Rich	536	314	58.6	222	41.4
Salt Lake	92,363	38,583	39.2	59,780	60.8
San Juan	921	509	55.3	412	44.7
Sanpete	1,079	724	67.1	355	32.9
Sevier	3,076	1,654	53.4	1,422	46.6
Summit	512	214	41.8	298	58.2
Tooele	3,745	1,736	46.3	2,009	53.7
Uintah	413	325	73.7	88	21.3
Utah	19,159	8,103	42.4	11,056	57.6
Wasatch	134	75	56.0	59	44.0
Washington	3,168	2,680	84.6	488	15.4
Wayne	460	213	46.3	247	53.7
Weber	21,206	3,996	18.8	17,210	81.2
TOTAL:	200,638	79,955	39.8	120,683	60.2

Note: Those who voted for the proposal desired to see Weber State College, Snow College, and Dixie College returned to the LDS Church. Those who voted against the proposal wished to see the State of Utah retain control of these schools (*see* Chapter 27 for a detailed discussion).

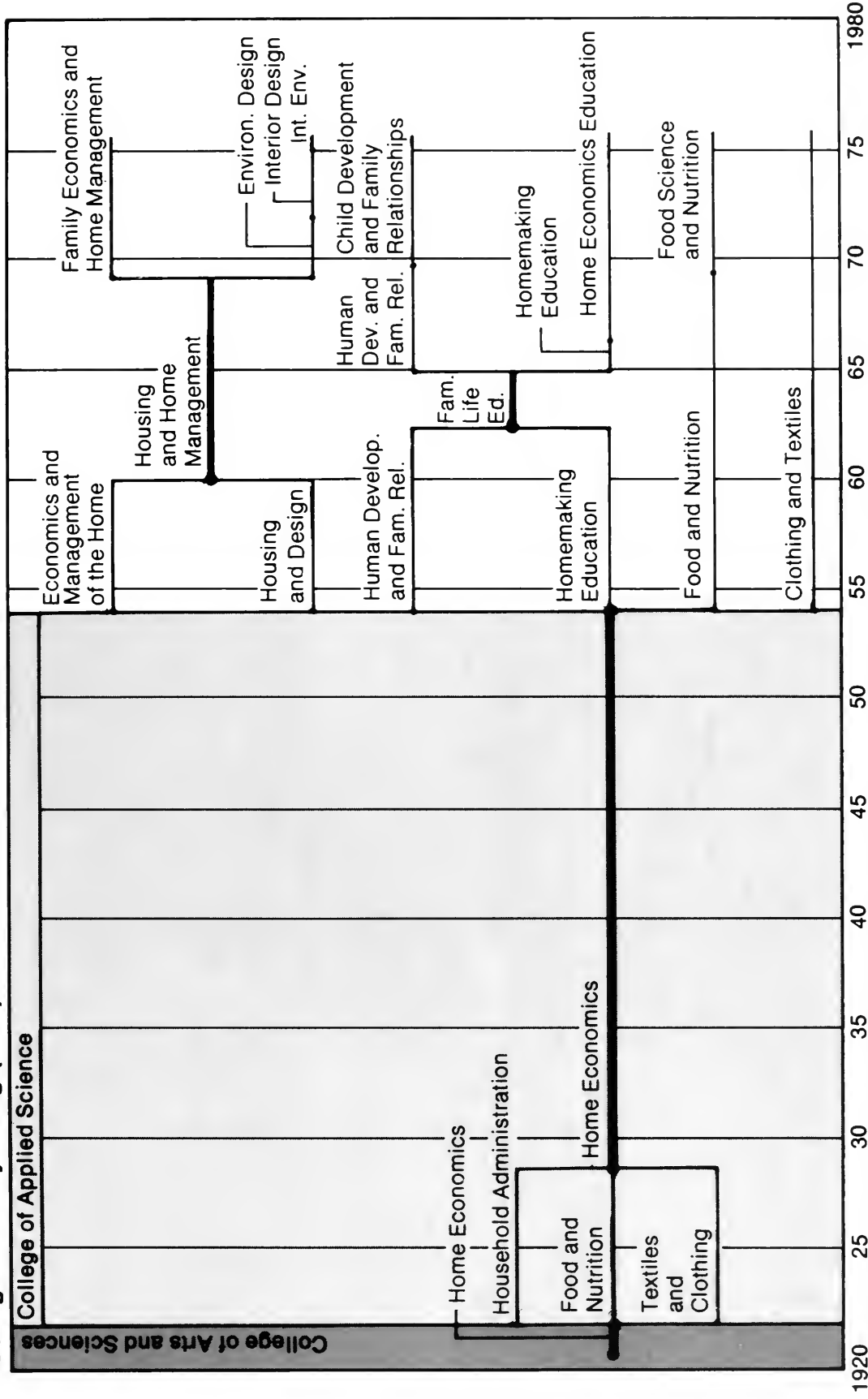
Appendix 28

Evolution of BYU Colleges and Departments

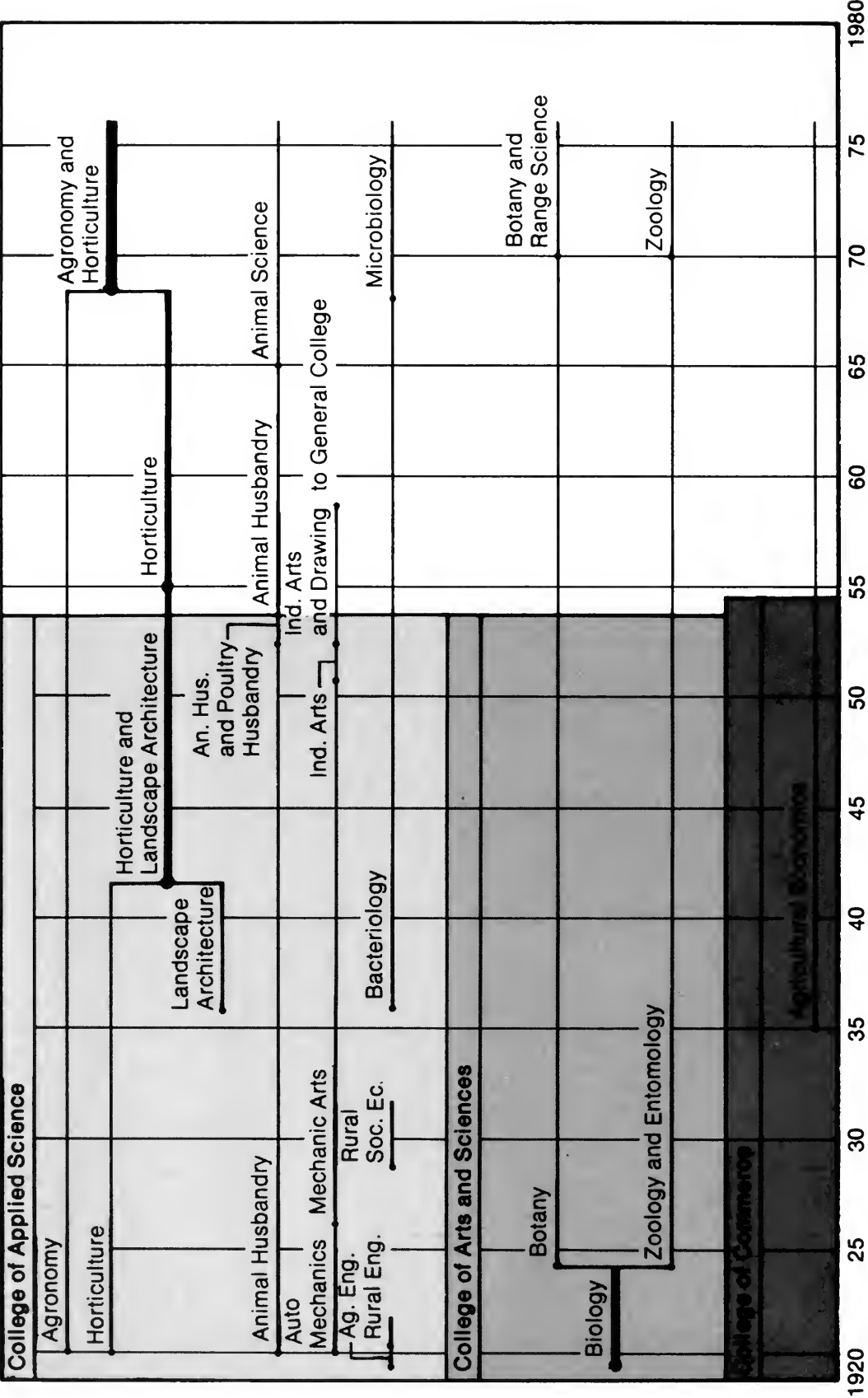
Genesis of Colleges at Brigham Young University



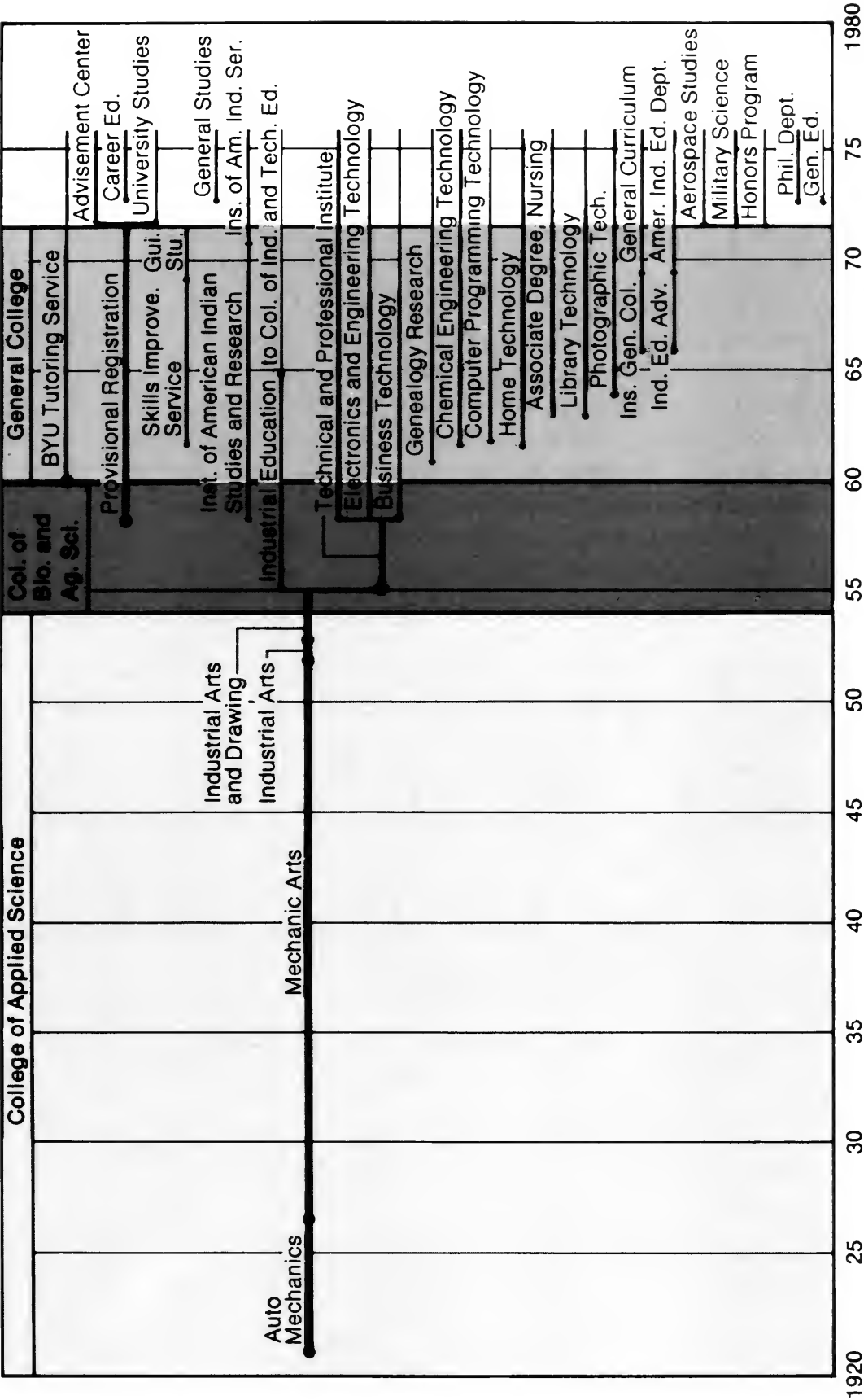
College of Family Living (1954)



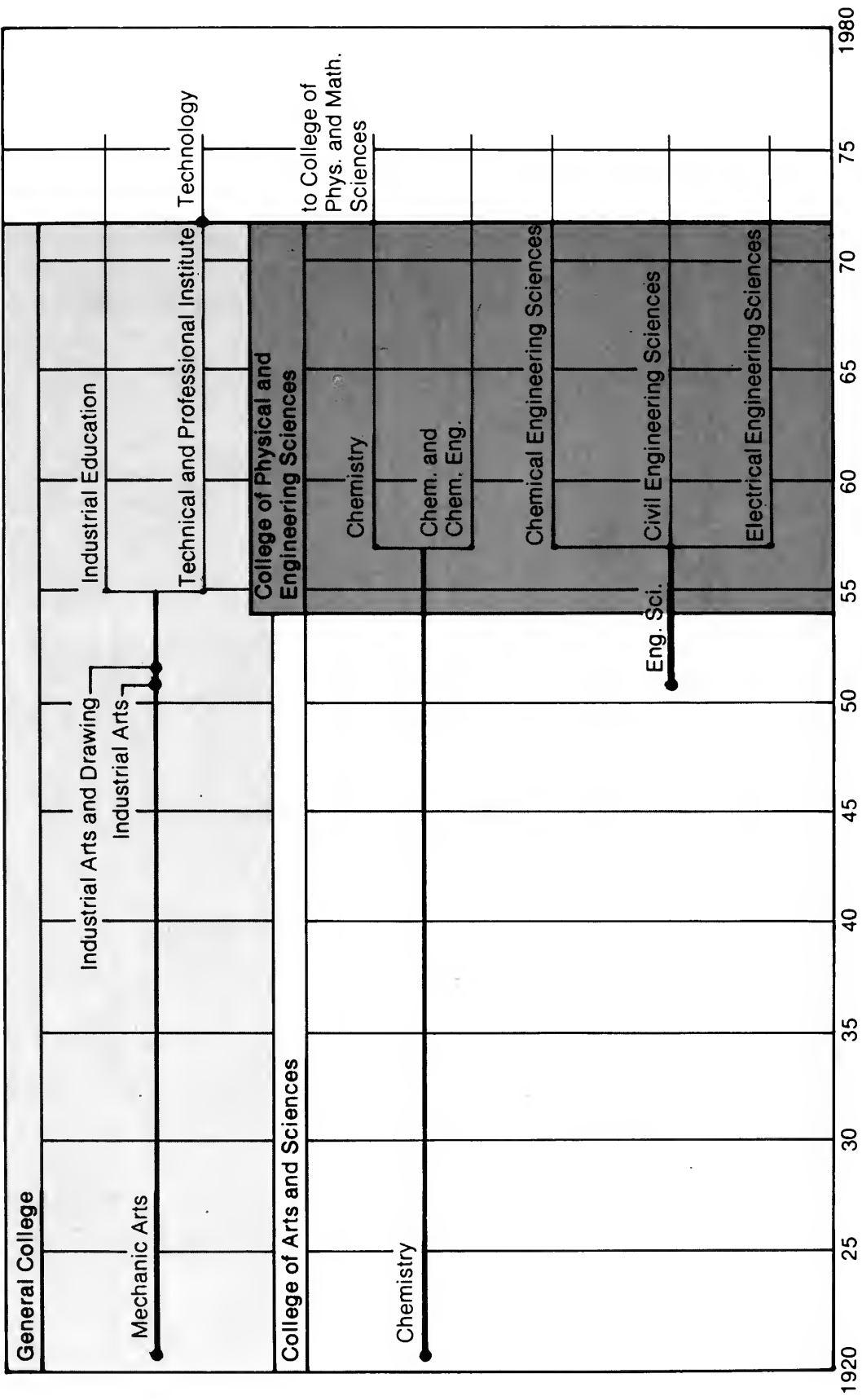
College of Biological and Agricultural Sciences (1954)



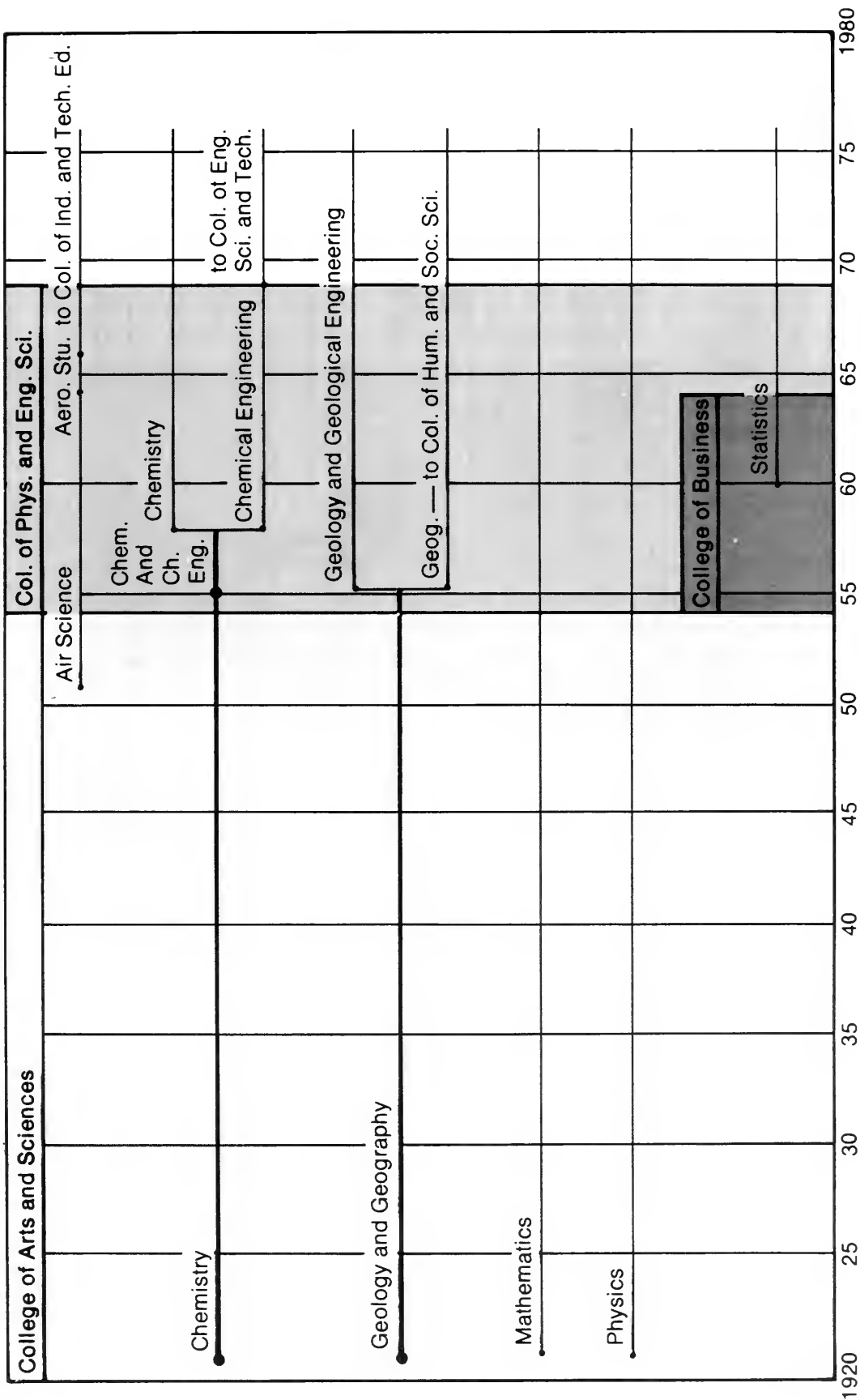
General Studies (1972)



College of Engineering Sciences and Technology (1972)



College of Physical and Mathematical Sciences (1972)



College of Humanities (1965)

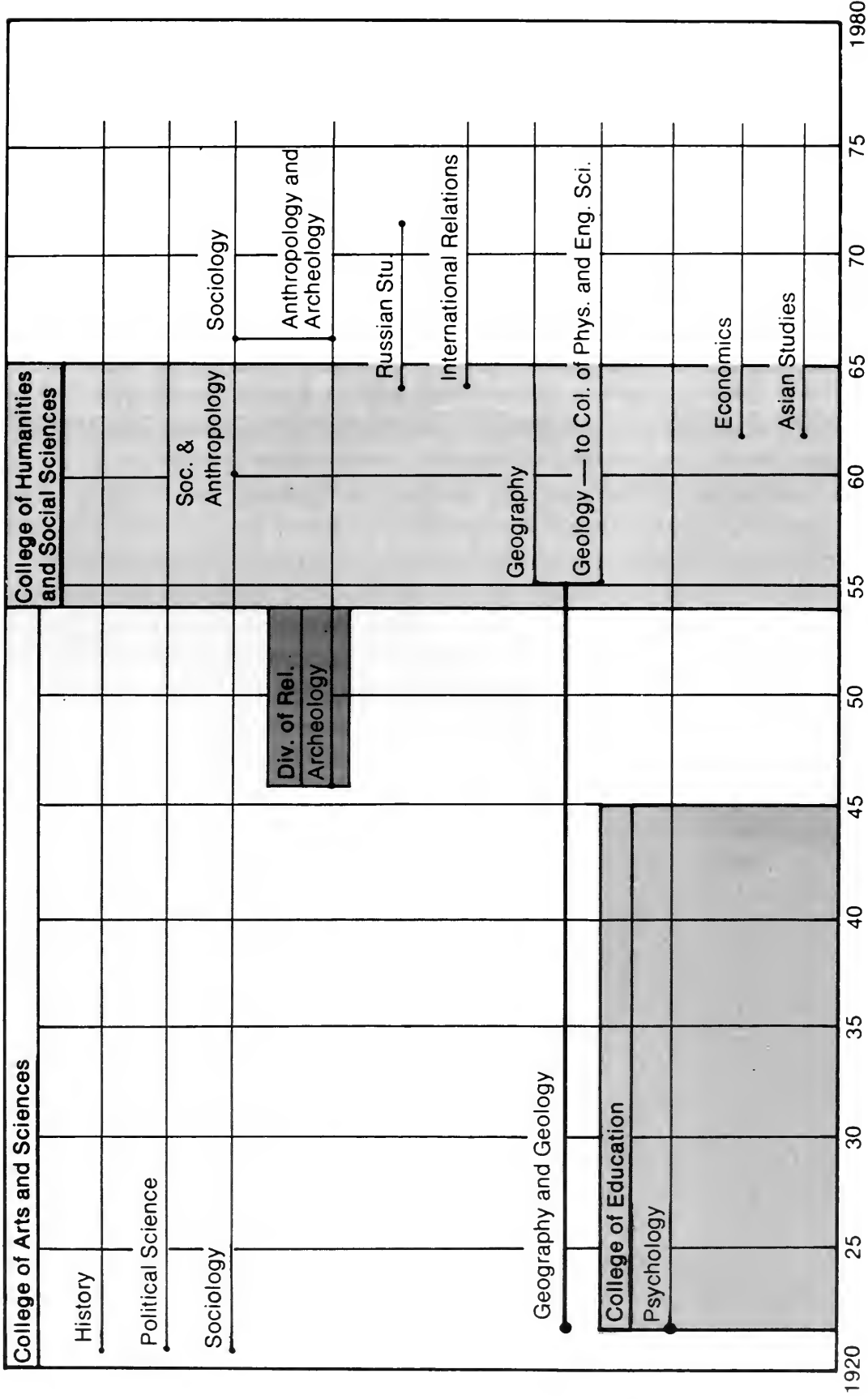
College of Arts and Sciences										Col. of Hum. and Soc. Sci.		
English										Human. and Comp. Lit.		
										Latin American Studies		
Modern Languages and Latin										Asian and Slav. Lang.		
										Cla., Bib., and M. E. Lang.		
										French and Italian		
										Germanic Languages		
										Linguistics		
										Spanish and Portuguese		
										Lan. Res. Cent.		

College of Nursing (1952)

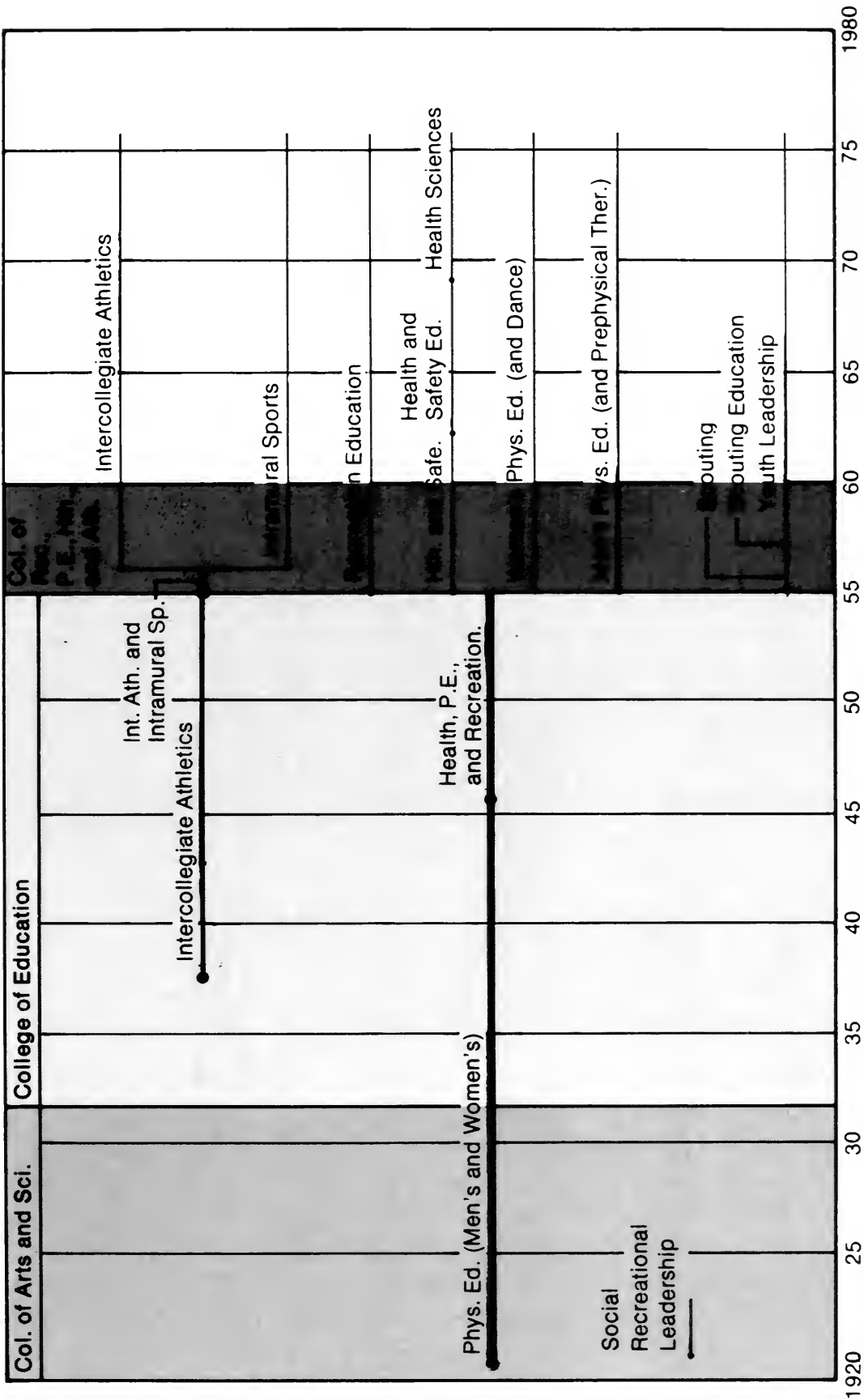
Law School (1972)

1920 25 30 35 40 45 50 55 60 65 70 75 1980

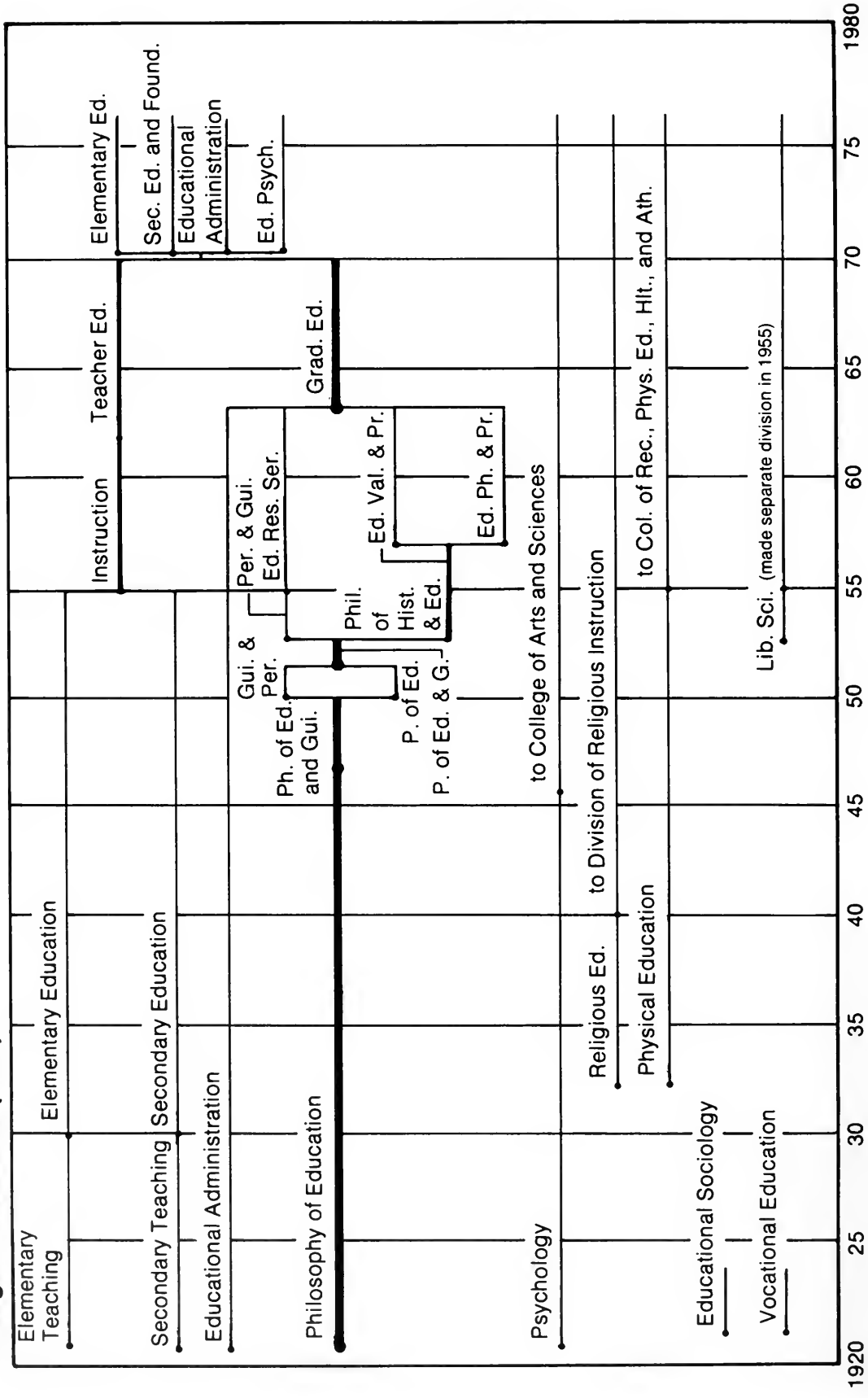
College of Social Sciences (1965)



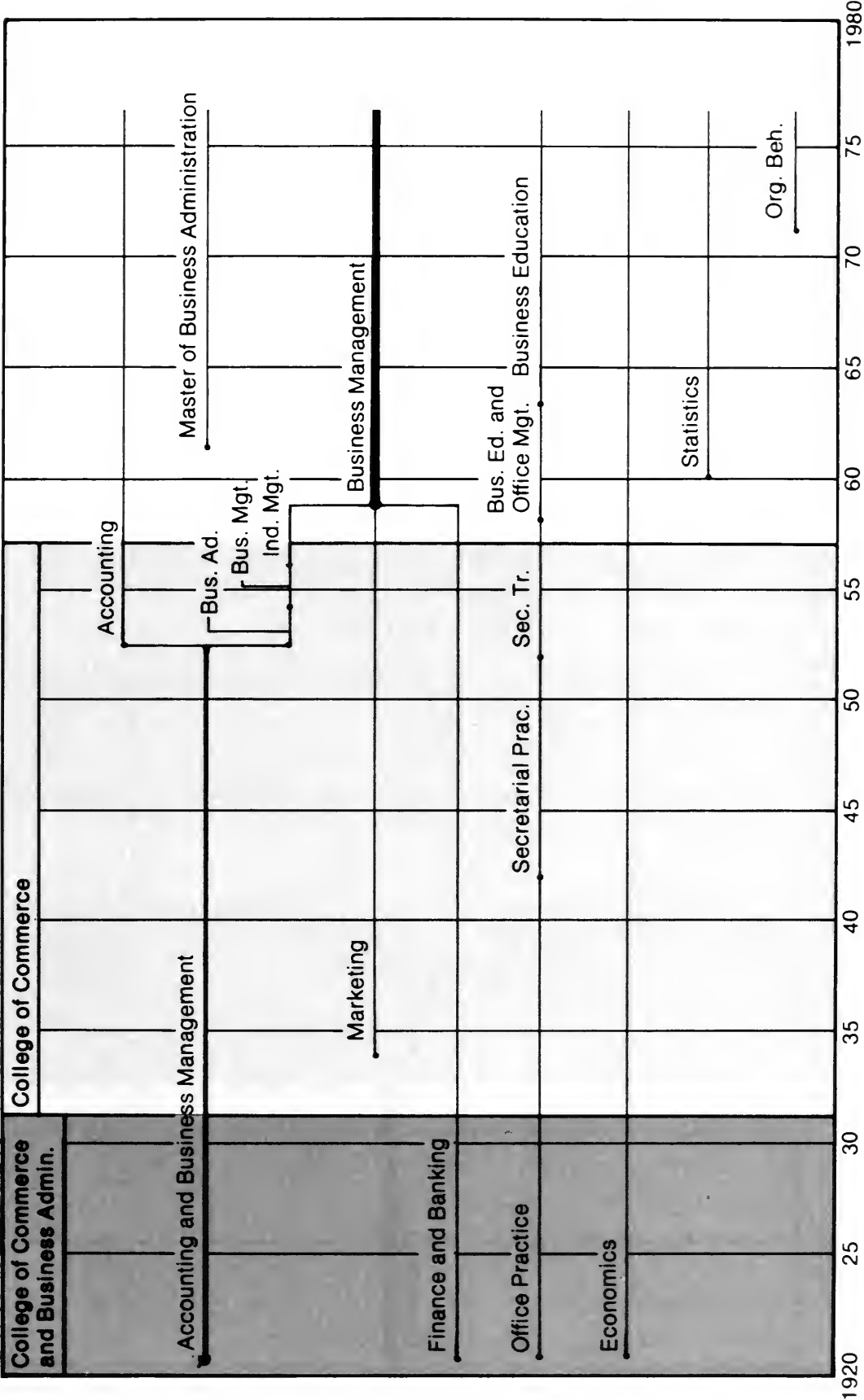
College of Physical Education (1960)



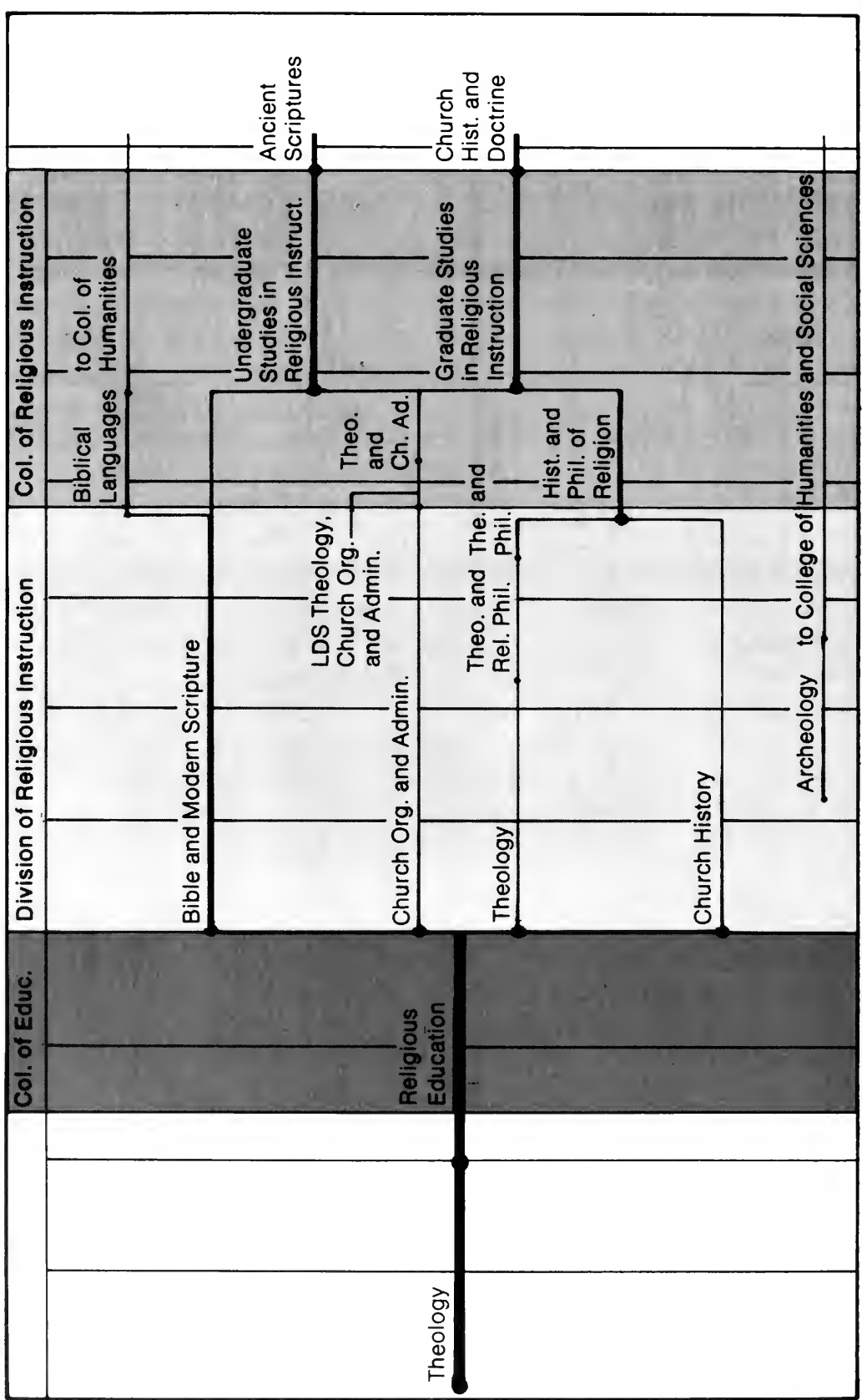
College of Education (1921)



College of Business (1957)



Religious Instruction* (1974)



*No longer a college.

